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AN INSTITUTION OF GENERAL HISTORY,

From the beginning of the VVorld

TO THE

Monarchy of *Conſtantine* the Great.

COMPOSED

In ſuch Method and manner as never yet was extant.

By *William Howel*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College in CAMBRIDGE.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ἑτοιμοτάτη διόρθωσις, καὶ ἀληθεστάτη παιδεία. Polybius.

Nescire quid antequam natus ſis acciderit, id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum. Cicero.

Unde facilius quam ex Annalium Monumentis aut res bellica aut omnis Reipub. diſciplina cognoſcetur? Idem.

Q318

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Herringman*, and are to be ſold in his Shop, at the *Anchor* in the lower Walk in the New Exchange. 1661.

To the KINGS *most Excellent and most Sacred*

MAJESTY.

SIR,

ALthough the quality of this work be truely such, that, considering the brightnesse of Royal Majesty, and the obscurity of its own extraction, it cannot expect a bare acceptance, much lesse plead any merit in this addresse, yet doth it find more reason for hope than despair; for as much as the whole World hath taken notice that your Majesty's Grace and Clemency is founded more upon the transcendent goodnesse of your own Disposition than the qualifications of your Subjects. Allowance hereby being made for what is mine, it were needlesse to insist upon the Nobility and usefulnesse of the subject, the excellency whereof as humane transcendeth not your Orb, and the utmost improvement of which is within the sphear of your activity. It were a piece of pedantry to shew to your Majesty that History is the store-house whence Precedents may be fetched for all sorts of Actions, Publick and Private, Military and Civil; that it is a Mirrour of prudence to shew both their beauty and deformity, a Touchstone to discover deceits, an incentive to virtue, and a terror unto vice; that in it are contained the Prudence of times, imbecillity and strength of Nations, Reasons of State, Councils of Peace, and Stratagems of War; that in it Monarchy triumpheth over the Confusions, Alterations, and Seditions of Popular Government. And should I go about to instance in the various helps it affoardeth to the management of Civil matters, I might justly incurre more than the censure that light upon him, who was so impertinent as to read a Lecture of the Art of a General in the presence of *Hannibal*. For it may justly be said that your Majesty hath improved History to the

utmoſt; that your actions have ſo far imitated antient Patterns as to exceed them. Others have waſted and deſtroyed Nations, you have recovered and reſtored three dying ones. Others have raged with fire and ſword, have rooted out, overturned, and made deſolate; your Majeſty by Mercy and Grace hath replanted, ſetled, and inriched. *Alexander* Conquered the effeminate *Perſians*, and ſubdued other Nations whom their own unfitneſſe for Military matters helped him to overcome. *Cæſar* tamed the naked *Galls*, and painted *Britains*, whom fool-hardineſſe and barbariſm had armed againſt themſelves; or if there be any other Atchievements of them, or others, which ſeem more glorious, yet the valour of their Soldiers, the experience of their times, and viciſſitude of humane affairs, challenge to themſelves the greateſt ſhare of reputation. Your Majeſty hath ſubdued thoſe things which are beyond *Mars* his reach: You have tamed wild and extravagant paſſions of men, Conquered ſtubborn and perverſe diſpoſitions, laid low prejudice, and convinced ſuch, whom all theſe diſtempers had rendred affectedly ignorant and diſobedient. Your Majeſty's Conqueſts therefore ſo much more excell the commendations of others, as it is more glorious to cure than kill, to reſtore than to deſtroy, to follow the dictates of Compaſſion and Mercy, then of indignation and revenge, to Conquer the mind than the body; and indeed to overcome one's ſelf than ſubdue others. That this is no flattery Hiſtory will aſcertain future times, and both the mouths and hearts of your People at preſent do teſtifie, which, though in other matters they may diſagree, yet all unite in this concent, that you are the *True Father of your Countrey*. In our acclamations during thoſe ſolemnities of your Majeſty's Royal Coronation, ſeeing there is no need of wiſhing you the Goodneſſe of *Trajan*, we ſo much the more pray that the Happineſſe of *Auguſtus* may light upon you, and that thoſe ſolemnities may in one part imitate the *Sæcular* ones amongſt the *Romans*, that though ſome of us have heretofore ſeen the like, yet through the length of your happy reign none of us may do it for the time to come. I for my part, though a vvell-wiſher to Hiſtory, unfeignedly deſire, that not till after very many years ſo great an acceſſion of glory may come to it, as will accrue from the paſſages of your Majeſty's Government; and that in the mean time your Majeſty may be as happy in the love and loyalty of your People, as they are in your Princely clemency and care. To this, both a ſenſe of merit and duty binds me, being

Your Majeſties moſt loyal, and moſt humble ſubject and ſervant,

Will. Howel.

PREFACE.

THe French (*who firſt Introduced this cuſtom into the World of writing Prefaces before the works of others*) *have uſed that liberty with ſo much exceſſe in the commendation of their friends, that they have rendered it not onely ſuſpected to the Reader, but prejudicial to their repute whom they intended to honour by it. But as I cannot approve the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe perſons that would rather abrogate a good Office when abus'd, than indeavour to reform it, I would neither wave an imployment which gave me the occaſion of hinting to the Reader ſome ſuch things as may be of concernment to him in the peruſal of this work, and which the modeſty of the Author would not permit him to communicate, neither on the other ſide would I willingly recede from the ſtrictneſſe and ſeverity of truth. So that whatſoever ſhall fall from me to his advantage ſhall not need any favourable conſtruction to make it paſſe, nor ſhall I take that freedom to mix fiction and Hiſtory together: The uſe of this latter is ſo obvious to every eye, that it is needleſſe to ſpeak much of it, it ſhall ſuffice me in ſhort to ſay, that by the knowledge of Hiſtory we are taught wiſdom, and led to vertue, there being n thing in the Actions or Fortunes, either of publick or private perſons, to which ſomewhat in former Ages bore not a reſemblance, and which by a due conſideration of the circumſtances we may not with profit apply to our preſent occaſions. How much we are excited to virtue by it, they that know the power of Emulation in noble minds will eaſily conclude: which is manifeſt by the famous examples of* Themiſtocles, *whom the victories of* Miltyades *robbed of his repoſe, of* Alexander, *who was ſtirred up to the deſire of glory by reading the actions of* Achilles, *as* Cæſar *by reflecting upon his; add to this, that ſuch perſons whom theſe Precedents of vertue will not encourage to it, are aw'd by Hiſtory from running headlong into vice, when they cannot but look on the writers of the preſent Age to be ſet as ſpies upon their Actions, and muſt expect when they are dead to be expoſed without fear or flattery to the Impartial cenſure of the living. For who is there that would*

would so much value the pleasure of a glasse of Wine, as not to abstain from drinking it, if he knew it had been all night steep'd in Antimony.

These, besides many others, are the benefits which accrue to us by the knowlege of History in general, but that I may inform the World how much it is acknowleging to the worthy Author of this Institution in particular, and wherein those excellencies of his consist, which distinguish him from the ordinary crowd of Historians, Ut possit digito monstrari & dicier hic est, I must take leave to insist upon these ensuing heads, wherein I shall plainly make appear to the equal and candid Reader, that History is reduced by him in this work to such order, and exact Method, as never yet in any Language.

For, first you have here all the Empires in distinct Chapters by themselves, with the Contemporaries of them distinguished in the same manner from each other, and from the Empire to which they were Coætaneous. Whereas both in Systems and in larger Volumes of General History they are mingled together with a strange confusion, like the several ingredients of an Olio in the same Dish, where the variety of the Meats destroy the taste of one another, and he that would read any History by it self, finds it immediately embroyl'd and interwoven with the affairs of other Nations, so that he will not easily form a perfect Idea in his mind of that which is given him but in parcels.

In the next place this Author has furnished you with a general Description of Greece, its antient Kingdoms and Commonwealths, from their first Originals, the successions of Kings, changes of Government, and forms of the several Republicks, with the power and nature of their respective Magistrates and Officers, not omitting the most considerable Customs, Laws, and Antiquities of each of them, deduced from the best Historians, whom you still find quoted in the Margent; this, as it hath never been intirely performed by any Author heretofore, so ought it to set a peculiar mark of Honor upon ours, who hath been carefull to give us an exact account of that Countrey, which was the Mother of Arts and Sciences.

After this, if we will turn our eyes upon the Macedonian Empire, and the several parts and branches of it, as the Kingdoms of Syria, of Macedon, and Egypt, we shall still have greater occasion to admire the learn'd diligence of the Author. The Græcian Monarchy after the decease of Alexander not being more dismembred and rent in pieces by his Successors, than by those Writers who have transmitted the memory of it to posterity, particularly, the Asian and Egyptian Kingdoms under the Seleucidæ and Ptolomies have never been compiled in one History, and I have often wondred in my perusal of this Institution, by what means the Author of it could arive at so clear a knowledge of those perplex'd successions, it was certainly a work of great labour to compare Historians, and to weave these several Arguments and loose pieces into one entire Loom, which I the rather mind the Reader of, because it is not easily perceiv'd by every ordinary capacity, for the uniformity of the style, and the unbroken order of the whole is such, that they onely who are conversant in Antiquities are able to judge what travel and study were required to it.

The Roman History next invites our observation; wherein the successe of this Author hath sufficiently recompenced his worthy pains: I dare confidently affirm, No modern Pen hath yet carried it on with so great light from the Original of the Citie to the time of Constantine. For from the banishment of Tarquin to the new modeling of the Government by Augustus, you have all the Intermediate Changes, Alterations, and Seditions of it, while yet a State, as the contests of the Patricians and Commons, with the several motives of them, The displacing and restoring of Annual Magistrates, the Description of their Offices, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; all collected with great diligence from the Fathers of Roman History, but never given us in one body by antient Authors, or by any of later dayes. I confesse I have read a French Historian, who from the reign of Augustus almost to that of Justinian hath given me the greatest satisfaction of any man; Yet he often amuseth himself (as some of our bad Chroniclers at home have done) with passages of small concernment, & below the Dignity of an Historian to relate: and from the Foundation of the Citie to Augustus, pays his Readers with a bare Translation of Florus. Sr. Walter Rawleigh (never to be mentioned without honour) concludes his History with the end of the Macedonian War, and the conversion of that Kingdom into a Roman Province: much about the same time we are forsaken by our best Guide Livy, whose Decads from the Captivity of Perseus to the time of Octavius Cæsar (whose Contemporary he was) are wholly lost: for in the conclusion of his 45th Book (the last which is left us) he introduces King Prusias speaking to the Romans, whom he came to visit, in these words; Deos qui urbem Romam incolerent Senatumque & Populum Romanum salutatum se venisse, & gratulatum quod Persea Gentiumque Reges vicissent, Macedonibusque & Illyriis in Ditionem redactis, auxissent Imperium. But as this Author hath supplied the Defects of Livy, and continued the Roman History five hundred years beyond Sir W. Rawleigh, so in the alteration of the Government from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy by Augustus, the reasons which induced the Emperour to make that change, the manner how, and the form of it, are delivered with so great care, and describ'd with so much life, That I could not but take a particular notice of it; and (with the civility of those that carve to others where themselves best like) invite the Reader to a more exact observation of that which hath given me so great contentment.

Neither

Neither hath he deserved lesse of Christian than prophane History: for from the Primitive times till Constantine *the* Great *he hath deduced the Successions of Bishops in the principal Sees, with the practice of the Christians, and a faithfull relation of their sufferings in all the persecutions.*

For what concerns our own Island, I think he hath perform'd the part of a true English-man, *and a lover of his Country: for he hath vindicated the Antiquity of its first Discovery by the* Phœnicians, *and that not onely by the probable reasons alleged by that great person* Bochartus *for the Etymology of the word* Britannia, *but by other indeniable, and convincing circumstances, which as it redounds to the honour of our Nation, so reflects a part of that glory to our Author.*

One particular of no slight consequence I had almost omitted: That as the Reader may without any intervening matters impertinent to his present purpose read the History of any Empire, or Kingdom Contemporary to it, by it self, so he may likewise observe that the principal passages in all of them are linck'd together by Synchronisms, not onely placed in the Margent, but in the beginning or end of every notable Occurrence.

Thus I have briefly, and with much sincerity couch'd together some of those Excellencies, which amongst many others I have observed in this Institution of History: of which if I may presume to give my private opinion, (though I am conscious to my self how little it ought to signifie to the World) I think the work taken all together is for the order of it handsomly and judiciously contrived, for its style perspicuous, and for the learning in the several parts of History, *Antiquity, and Chronology, uncommon. Those who desire a greater politenesse in the style may consider, that the florid way of writing, which hath undeservedly acquired so great a name to some of our own Age and Nation, is nothing proper to an Historian, and that our Author busied himself in matters more serious, and of greater use, he chose rather the plain but comely strength of the* Dorique *Pillar, than the Effeminate, though curious shape of the* Corinthian. *For my own part, I confesse that plainnesse and unaffected simplicity is pleasing to me: and I think no Intelligent Person that goes upon businesse, will leap Hedges out of the open and direct Road, to Travel over Flowry Fields, or painted Meadows.*

A N

A N INSTITUTION OF Generall History.

The First Part.

BOOK I.

Chap. I.

From the beginning of the world, to the beginning of the first Empire.

1. IN (a) the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth. By (b) Faith we understand that they were framed by his Word, so that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear. (a) Gen. 1. 1. (b) Heb. 1. 3.

Man created.

2. Mans habitation being made and conveniently furnished the sixth day; then (and not till then) was he made of the dust of the Earth, and, God breathing into his nostrils the breath of life, he became a living Soul. Being placed in the Garden of *Eden*, and a meet help wanting to him, *Eve* was framed of one of his ribs. Of all the Trees of the Garden, except that of the knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*, they might safely eate; and at such time as they should eat *it*, they were surely to dye. But the Serpent beguiled the woman, who did eat thereof, and giving to her Husband, he also did eat. Hereby they rendred themselves guilty of temporall and eternall death; they were condemned to labour and sorrow; and those not confined to their own persons, but extended to their whole posterity, involved with them in the same guilt: the demonstrating whereof might seem the Scope of this present Work; nothing having succeeded but *vanity and vexation of spirit: nothing but labour and travail under the Sun.* Gen. 1. &c.

Falleth.

Expelled Paradise.

3. *Adam*, being expelled Paradise to till the ground, begat of *Eve* his

wife *Cain* and *Abel*; though in what years is not expressed. *Abel* was a Keeper of Sheep, and *Cain* a Tiller of the Ground. By Faith, *Abel* offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than *Cain*, by which he obtained witnesse that he was righteous, and contracted such envy, that his Brother slew him in the field. The voice of his blood cryed to God from the ground, and drew down this punishment upon *Cain*, (besides that of the ground formerly laid upon his Father) to be a Fugitive and Vagabond in the Earth: Then departed he from the presence of the Lord, and went into the Land of *Nod*, where he built a City, and called it *Enoch*, after the name of his Son. His Family was propagated to *Lamech*, the fifth in descent from himselfe, by whom the Jews * have thought him to have been slain, by reason of *Lamech*'s words to his two wives: that *he had slain a man to his wounding, and a young man to his hurt: if* Cain *should be avenged seven fold, then* Lamech *Seventy and seven fold.* After the death of *Abel*, *Adam* begat *Seth*, in the hundred and thirtieth year of his Age, as *Moses* (c) maketh expresse mention; neglecting the account of time in the Family of *Cain*, because his wicked race perished in the Flood: the Church of God being to be continued in the posterity of *Seth*, of whom also (as to the flesh) his Son himselfe was to proceed.

Cain killeth *Abel*.

Seth's birth.

4. In the race of (d) *Seth*, is laid down the account of years from the Creation to the Deluge. For *Seth*, being born when *Adam* was 130 years old, begat * *Enos* at the age of 105; *Enos* being 90, begat *Cainan*, and *Cainan* when he was 70, begat *Mehalelec*. From the birth of *Mehalelec* to that of his son *Jared* passed 65, from *Jared*'s to *Henoch*'s 162. and thence to that of *Methusalah* 65. *Methusalah* when he begat *Lamech*, was aged 187 years; *Lamech* when he begat *Noah* was 182, and *Noah* at the time of the Flood had lived 600 years, all which amount to the summe of 1656; each year of the Father's age being supposed compleat at the birth of his Son. All these by divine providence, for the propagation of Mankind, obtained a very long time upon the Earth. Though *Enoch* had the shortest, yet he never died, being taken up by God, after he had walked with him 365 years. *Methusalah* his son of all others, arrived at the greatest age, being 969 when he died. Yet, in a certain sense, *Adam* lived longer than he; for being created in his perfect strength, and fit for generation, he had the advantage of 60 years, before which age we read none of them to hive had any children; Nature then requiring a longer time for maturity. If 60 now be added to 930 years, which he lived, the number exceeds that of *Methusala*'s age by 21. Seeing the World required it, it cannot but be presumed, that each of these begat other children, and some of them before these here mentioned. But such being but collateral to that line, which was to be brought down to *Noah*, (who was to continue the generation of Mankind, and to repeople the Earth) *Moses* upon that account, had no occasion to make mention of them.

And posterity.

Man's wickednesse causeth a Deluge.

5. In the 480 year of the life of *Noah*, God seeing all flesh to have corrupted it selfe, and as well the posterity of *Seth*, as that of *Cain*, to be given up to all wickednesse; it repented him that he had made Man. He resolved not always to strive with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time he fully determined by an universall Deluge to destroy Man and Beast, with the creeping thing, and the Fowls of the air. Yet *Noah* a just man found grace in his sight, and being a Preacher of righteousnesse to the wicked World, the Lord was graciously pleased to make choice of him and his family to be a remnant and a seed, out of which Mankind and his Church might be propagated and repaired. He commanded him to build an Ark of * *Gopher* wood, into which he was to take his wife, his sons and their wives, with some of every living thing of all flesh: of the clean by seven, and the unclean by two. On (e) the tenth day of the second Month, he commanded him to bring the living Creatures into the Ark: On the seventh after, he entred it; and on the same day, the rain began to fall, and so continued for 40. dayes, and as many

Noah and his family preserved in the Ark.

The order of the Deluge.

* *Vide* Merum *in* Gen. 1. & Pererium.
(c) Gen. 3.
(d) Gen. 1.
* Here the word *begat*, is to be understood in the same sense as the Hebrew יָלַד, the Greek γενᾶν, and the Latin *gignere*, which are applied to Mother as well as to Father, and betoken birth rather than conception. The Latin word *genitus* and *natus*, signifie the same thing. *Tunc ille Æneas quem Dardanio Anchisæ Alma Venus Phrygiæ genuit Simoentis ad undas? Vide* Gen. 40. 20. Mat. 11. 1. Luc. 1. 47. 1 Pet. 2. 2. *Vide* Plin. *lib. 7. cap.* 8.

Gen 5. A. M. 1656.
* Some interpret it *Cedar*, others *Cypress*, than which no wood is stronger; of which the doors of the Temple of *Ephesus* were made, the coffins of those that died in the service of their Country, *Jupiter*'s sceptre, & ships in *Babylon* and *Assyria*.
(e) *Vide* Ludov. Capellum. *in Chronologia sacra.*

many nights. For 150 dayes the waters prevailed upon the Earth, (reckoned from the first fall thereof); insomuch that fifteen Cubits upward the Mountains were covered, and all flesh died that moved upon the Earth, both of Fowl, and of Cattel, and Beast, and of every Creeping thing that creepeth upon the Earth, and every Man. But God remembring *Noah*, and every living thing, and all the Cattell that was with him in the Ark; after the fourty dayes, the windows of Heaven were stopped, and the rain from Heaven was restrained, and at the end of 110 more (which make up the 150) the waters were abated. This fell out on the 29th day of the 7th moneth, and the 196 of the year consisting of Lunar moneths; or the 17th day of the 7th moneth, if they were Solar.

The Ark resteth on *Ararat*.

6. On the 17th. day of the 7th. moneth the Ark rested upon the Mountains of *Ararat*, according to the *Hebrew*; if, in this place, the version of the 70th. and *Hierome* in the *vulgar*, be not rather to be credited (which have the 27th) seeing it is not probable that the Ark should rest the same day, or two dayes before the waters began to decrease. On the first day of the 10th. moneth were the tops of the Mountains seen, and fourty dayes after, *Noah* sent forth a Raven which went to and fro untill the waters were dried up from off the earth. The Raven returning no more unto him, seven dayes after he sent forth a Dove to see if the waters were abated, which finding no rest for the sole of her foot returned unto him. He stay'd yet other seven dayes, and again sent forth the Dove, which in the evening brought in her mouth an Olive leaf; so that he knew the waters to be abated. Then, seven other dayes passed, he sent her out the third time, and she returned not to him any more; the waters being now so much faln, that the ordinary Hills might be uncovered, wherein she might continue and feed; although the Plains and Vallies were still overwhelmed. On the first day of the first moneth of the 601 year of *Noah*'s life, the waters were dried from off the face of the earth; yet so, as it still remained moist and dirty, having been so long a time soaked with such quantity of moisture. Therefore he stay'd yet 55 dayes more, till the 27th. day of the second moneth, before he went out of the Ark; so much time having been requisite for drying the ground (especially in low places) and for the growth of grasse, and other things necessary for the sustenance of living Creatures, which had now continued in the Ark 365 dayes, or a full *solar* year, which exceedeth the *lunar* eleven dayes.

Where *Ararat* is.

7. *The Ark rested upon the Mountains of Ararat*; by which place most understand *Armenia*, rejecting the pretended Verses of *Sibylla*, which place it upon a Mountain of *Phrygia*, near to the Citie *Celanæ*, and out of which the two Rivers *Marsyas* and *Meander* do issue. Some will have it to have rested about *Araxene*, a Plain of *Armenia*, through which the River *Araxes* runneth, by the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*. But the far greater number consisting both of Heathens, Jews, and Christians, pitch upon the Mountains of the *Gordyæans*, otherwise called *Cardnchi*, *Cardiæi*, *Cordyæi*, *Corduæni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. the Hill it self being variously named *Kardu*, *Cardon*, *Kurud*, *Kardynus*, *Cordyæus*, &c. What Hill soever it was, it must have stood Eastward of the Countrey of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, and the Vine must have naturally grown there; upon which, and other accounts these *Gordyæan* Mountains are rejected by a learned (*) Writer of modern times, who affirmeth that *Ararat* named by *Moses* is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountains which part *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*, and will have the same ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, to keep the same name all along, and even in *India*, to be called *Ararat*. For that the best Vine naturally groweth on the South-side of the Mountains *Caucasi*; and, because of other excellencies of that soyl, he thinketh it most probable that *Noah* there setled himself and planted his Vineyard. And he allowеth best of the opinion of *Goropius Becanus*, who conceived the Ark to have rested on the highest Mountains of that part of the World.

Vide Bochart. Phaleg. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

(*) *Sir* Walter Raleigh. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *Sect.* 10.

The Testimony of the Heathen concerning *Noah*'s Flood.

8. Of this Deluge a tradition remained amongst the Heathen. (e) *Berosus* the *Caldæan*, Priest of *Belus*, and contemporary with *Alexander* the Great, wrote

(e) Josephus *Antiqu. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

wrote of the Ark's resting upon the *Cordyæan* Mountains of *Armenia*, and how those that came to see the Reliques of it (which yet were to be seen in his time) plucked off some pitch which they used to carry about them, as an Antidote against infection. *Hieronie* the *Ægyptian*, who wrote the Antiquities of *Phœnicia*, related the same; besides *Mnaseas*, and many others: amongst whom *Nicolas* of *Damascus* is considerable, who in his 96 book spake of the Hill *Baris*, in the Countrey of the *Mynians*, (a people in *Armenia*) upon which many saved themselves in a Deluge, and one being carried thither in an Ark, there rested; who might (saith he) be the same man concerning whom *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Jews* wrote. *Xisythrus* by one(f) is related, being forewarned of a Deluge by *Saturn*, to have fled by Boat into *Armenia*, where, the waters decreasing, he sent out Birds to discover dry Land; which, finding none, returned to him again. He is said by (g) a second to have escaped a great Deluge which hapned in his dayes, (being also forewarned by *Saturn* thereof), by providing an Ark, wherein, with himself, birds, creeping things, and beasts were preserved. (h) A third brings in an *Ægyptian* Priest declaring to *Solon*, out of the monuments of Antiquity, that before the particular *Ogygian* and *Deucalionean* Deluges, there was an universal one, by which the Earth was much defaced. (i) Another yet telleth a story like in all things to the History of *Moses*, but that *Deucalion* is placed in the room of *Noah*. The particular Deluges which hapned afterwards in *Greece*, and other places have by the ancients been confounded with this; and (k) some think they did not in reallity differ from it.

(f) *Abydenus apud Eusebium, præparat. Evangel. lib. 9.*
(g) Alexander Polyhistor, *apud* Cyrill. *contra* Julian. *lib. 1.*
(h) Plato *in* Timæo.
(i) Lucian. *in lib. de dea Syra.*
(k) *Vide* Gerard. Iohan. Vossii. Chronol. Sacr. Isagog. Dissert. 4. *cap.* 3. *Vide eudem* Dissert. 5. *c.* 1. (l) Bochart. Phaleg. *lib.* 1. *capt.*

Noah's progeny.

9. *Noah*, before the Flood, begat three Sons, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; of which the last in order seemeth to have been the first in Nature, although the contrary is defended; and yet so, as *Cham* is never accounted the eldest. (l) *Noah* is, with great probability, thought to be *Saturn*, so much talked of by the Heathen; for many things concur to perswade us to it. He was the common father of all mankind after the Flood, which thing is by *Orpheus* attributed to *Saturn*. Not onely a just person, as *Saturn* (m) was, but a preacher of righteousnesse. From the time of the Flood to the division of the Earth, he had a natural Dominion over all mankind, which space fifty answereth to the Golden Age under *Saturn*. In that Age, there was but one Language, which *Mythologists* (n) so far extended as to make men & beasts to have spoken in the same Dialect. *Noah* is called an husband-man, (or, in the Hebrew phrase, a *man of the Earth*); and *Saturn's* wife, *Rhea*, is the same with the Earth: he (o) being also said to have taught *Janus* the use of the Vine and sicle in imitation of *Noah*, who planted a Vineyard. From *Noah's* once being overtaken with Wine, the liberty of the *Saturnals* might proceed; and from his cursing of *Cham* with servitude, the custom (p) observed amongst the *Romans* during that solemnity, of exercising servile Offices. The occasion of the Curse was *Cham's* seeing his father's nakednesse, and making a jest thereof; and the Poets (q) feign'd a Law made by *Saturn* that none should see the gods naked and go unpunished. *Saturn* and *Rhea* are said (r) to have been begotten of the *Ocean* and *Thetis*, and thence the ancient *Romans* would have (s) the badge of *Saturn* to be a ship; which things much accord with the History of *Noah*. *Saturn* devoured all his Children but these three, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, who divided the World amongst them, as did *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*. Of these, *Cham* the youngest agreeth with *Jupiter*, being named *Jupiter Hammon*. *Japhet* with *Neptune*, for that he had his portion in Islands and Peninsula's. And *Sem* being for his goodnesse hated by idolaters might by them be condemned to Hell and termed *Pluto*.

He is compared with *Saturn*.

Cham is *Jupiter*.
Japhet Neptune.
Sem Pluto.

(m) Diodorus *lib. 5. &* Aurelius Victor. *de orig. Rom.*
(n) Plato *in* Polit.
(o) *Servius in Virgil. Ænead.* 8.
(p) Athenæus *lib.* 14.
(q) Callimachi Hymni.
(r) Plato *in* Timæo.
(s) *Vide* Aurelium Victorem *de orig. Gentis Rom. ad initium.*

10. Two years after the Flood, *Sem* being an hundred years old begat *Arphaxad*, who is rationally (t) thought his eldest Son; although *Elam* and *Assur* be named before him, the Scripture in Genealogies not alwayes observing the order of birth. *Arphaxad* at the Age of 35 years begat a Son called *Selah*, according to the *Hebrew*; but the *Greek* Translation of the 72. maketh him at the Age of 125. to have begat *Cainan*, which is followed by *Luke* in the Genealogie of Christ. Much is said on both sides for these several readings;

The posterity of *Sem*.

(t) Jacobus Cappellus *in Hist. sacra & Exotica. p.* 34.

ings; but most likely it is that this *Cainan* was neither thought of by *Moses*, the 72 *Interpreters*, nor St. *Luke*; but that by a mistake of the Transcribers he crept into the Copies of *Luke*, and the 70. *Beza* had a Copy of *Luke* very antient, and now in the publick Library of the University of *Cambridge*, wherein he is not found; and, what is more, he was not acknowledged by the primitive Church, as appeareth by (u) *Irenæus*: That the Version of the 70. most antiently had him not, is probably inferred from *Josephus*; who, though he wrote in *Greek*, and usually followeth that Translation, nameth him not; neither doth *Epiphanius* against Hæresies, nor *Hierome* in his *Heb ew Traditions*, though he there discourseth of the differences betwixt the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Copies. Neither is he read in all Copies of the 1 *Chron.* 1. In *Moses* he is no where to be found, either in the *Hebrew* Text, or the *Chaldean*, or *Samaritan* Versions. *Selah* (or *Schelach*) at the Age of thirty years begat *Heber*, from whom many think the *Hebrews* and the *Hebrew* tongue to be so named. *Heber* being 34 years old begat *Phaleg*, so called because in his dayes the Earth was divided.

(u) *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 33. *Vide de hac re* Jacob. Capell. *Hist. sacr. & exotic. pag.* 35. *&c.* Gerard. Iohan. Vossii. *in ejus Dissert. de genuina Scripturæ Sacræ Civitate ad dissert.* 5. *E. Chronol. Sacr. Isagog. Dissert.* 5. *cap.* 2. Gregorium Angl. *in Operculis.* Bochart. Phaleg. *lib.* 1. *c.* 13. Usserii *Chronicl. sacra. c.* 6.

The building of *Babel*.

11. The division of the Earth was occasioned by the confusion of Languages, and this by building of the Tower of *Babel*. (x) *Josephus* telleth us that God had several times admonished men to separate themselves, and inhabit the Earth: which they impiously taking in an ill sense, as though he did it upon design to destroy them; at the instigation of *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, and Nephew of *Cham*, (who now ambitiously affected dominion over them) agreed to build a stately Citie, and a Tower which should reach to Heaven, to defend them from danger, in case another Deluge should overwhelm the Earth. They came from the *East* into the Land of *Shinar*, and there began their work. Some put no other distinction betwixt the Citie and Tower, but will have it onely a Citie adorned with Towers. Others place them at a great distance from each other; but it (y) seemeth evident, that some one notable Tower was begun, and that in the Citie, which was situate upon the River *Euphrates*. To put an end to this design God confounded their Language, that they understood not one another's speech, and hereupon the Citie was called *Babel*, signifying confusion, and the Land of *Shinar*, afterwards known by the name of *Babylonia*, sometimes called *Babel* it self, and the Citie *Babylon*, in several Languages. Of this great passage a tradition also remained amongst the Heathen, as appeareth by (z) *Abydenus*, *Histreus*, and *Sibylla*, who made mention of it, the Land of *Senaar*, and of *Babylon*, which they acknowledge was so called from *Babel*, in the *Hebrew* tongue signifying *confusion*. Hence also the fable arose concerning the Giants fighting against the gods, and their making a way to Heaven by heaping up Mountains one above another; which attempt was blasted by *Jupiter* his Thunderbolts.

(x) *Antiquat. lib.* 1. *c.* 4.
(y) *Vide* Bocharti Phaleg. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.

Confusion of Languages.

Mentioned by Heathens.

The fable raised thereupon by the Poets.

(z) *Apud* Joseph. *qui prius. Et* Euseb. *præparat. Evangel. lib.* 9.

12. What the sons of men (in opposition to the people of God so called) laboured to prevent in the building of *Babel* was thereby brought upon them; the Lord scattering them abroad upon the face of the Earth, and yet doing them more good then they intended to do themselves. Some will have the three sons of *Noah* to have divided the Earth by Lot, which as yet could not be sufficiently known, and at such a Citie (namely *Rhinocoluca*) as was not built till many Ages after, by (a) *Aclisanes*, King of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*: Nay, one (b) proceedeth so far as to brand him with Heresie whosoever doth not believe it. *Cham*, though the youngest, was advanced by the Heathen above the rest, and named *Jupiter*: *Japhet*, as the eldest, had the prerogative of birth-right; but *Sem* for his piety was preferred by his father, through Gods dispensation, and obtained the choisest inheritance which extended to this, and a better World. He hath five (c) Sons mentioned in Scripture, *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*. Of *Elam* descended the *Elamites*, or *Elymæans*, Neighbours to the *Medes*, and whom *Luke* placeth betwixt *Media* and *Mesopotamia*; from whom also the Neighbouring Regions were named. For *Susan* the Metropolis of the *Susians* is by *Daniel* placed in the Province of *Elam*; and, besides that, (d) *Gabriana*, *Carbiana*, *Massabitica*, and *Susiana*, as far as to the River *Eulæus*; near the mouth of which

The division of the Earth.

(a) Diodorus *lib.* 1. *pag.* 38. *in margine notata.*
(b) Philastrius. *Hæres.* 70.

Sem's inheritance.

His five Sons. 1. *Elam*.

Gen 10. 22.

(d) *De his omnibus, vid.* Bocharti Phaleg. *lib.* 2. *&c.*

which also upon the *Persian* Gulf, *Pliny* and others place the *Elymæans*.

2. *Assur.* 13. From *Assur* descended the *Assyres*, called afterwards *Assyrians*, and from him was named *Assyria*, properly so called, (which was the Countrey lying about *Ninus*, or *Nineve*), named also anciently (e) *Aturia*, and (f) *Assyria*, and in latter times (g) *Adiabene*. In it *Strabo* placeth the *Babylonians*, *Elymæans*, *Paratacans*, *Gordiæans*, *Mesopotamians*, *Arabians*, and *Syrians* (from *Ægypt* to *Pontus*, where the *Leuco-Syrians* dwell) called also *Assyrians*. *Syria* and *Assyria* were of old time promiscuously used; but at length custom obtained that *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, parted them. From *Arphaxad*, *Josephus* would have the *Chaldæans* issued, which as he and others say were anciently called *Arphaxadæans*; but in Scripture they are constantly read *Chasdim* from *Chesed*, or *Chased* son to *Nachor*, the brother of *Abraham*, and therefore owe their Original rather to him; and from *Arphaxad* seemeth to have received it's appellation a part of *Assyria*, called *Arphaxitis*, and named *Arrapachitis* by *Ptolomy*. From *Lud* came the *Lydians* anciently also known by the name of *Mæones*, as we have it from *Herodotus* and others; the *Carians* and *Mysians* also, who inhabited the South part of *Asia*, beyond the River *Mæander*, being reckoned of the same Original by him. Of *Aram* descended the *Aramæans* and the *Arimi*, called *Syrians*, after the growth of the *Assyrian* Empire. Four sons of *Aram* are mentioned by *Moses*, which (*) elsewhere are reckoned amongst the Sons of *Sem*, viz. *Huz*, *Hull*, *Gether*, and *Mas*, or *Mesech*.

Vide Ewadem.

(e) *Strabo lib. 16. pag. 736.*

(f) Dio *in Traiano.*

(g) *Suidas.*

3. *Arphaxad.*

4. *Lud.*

Lib. 1.

5. *Aram.*

(*) 1 Chron. 17.

The four Sons of *Aram.*

Huz 1. 14. *Huz*, or *Uz*, by general consent of the ancients built *Damascus*. There being two besides of the same name; this hath made a confusion amongst Writers. One (*h*) was the Son of *Nachor*, the brother of *Abraham*, whose seat is called *Ausitis* (i) in the *Greek*, and his posterity *Ausitæ*, a people of *Arabia* the *desart*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*. (k) Another of the posterity of *Esau*, or *Edom*; who fixed in *Arabia* the *stony*, on the Borders of *Canaan*, from whom *Idumæa* is (*l*) called the Land of *Uz*. *Hull* (by *Josephus* named *Otrus*) as they say, inhabited part of *Armenia*. *Gether* was the father of the *Bactrians*, according to *Josephus*; according to *Hierome*, of the *Carians* and *Acarnanians*; and *Mercerus* strangely joyneth all these Nations so far distant in place, together in Original. *Mas* (called also (m) *Mesech*) is thought by *Josephus* to be the founder of the *Mesanæans*, a people near the *Camp of Pasinus*, about the mouths of *Tigris*. *Hierome* maketh him the father of the *Mæones*; being the same with the *Lydians*, whom he himself deriveth elsewhere from *Lud*. (*n*) Others will have him to have given Original to the people, inhabiting the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the Mountain *Masius*; or to the inhabitants of this Mountain, called *Masieni* and *Masiani*. *Eber* the Son of *Selah*, besides *Phaleg*, had another Son named *Joktan*, whose thirteen Sons *Moses* relateth, as the founders of so many Nations; *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazermaveth*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. Their dwelling was from *Mesha*, as thou goest, saith *Moses*, unto *Sephar*, a Mount of the East. They inhabit, saith *Josephus*, from *Cophenes*, a River of *India*, that Countrey of *Syria* which lieth upon it; as now the Text is: which cannot but be false Geography. And for *Syria*, *Aria* is rather to be read, which, as *Pliny* saith, according to the judgement of others, included three other Provinces of the *Gedrosi*, *Arachotæ*, and *Paropamasidæ*, being terminated with the River *Cophetes*.

(h) *Gen. 22. 21.*

(i) *Job 1. 1.*

(k) *Gen. 36. 28.*

(l) *Lam. 4. 21.*

Hull 2.

Gether 3.

Mas. 4.

(m) 1 Chron. 1. 17.

(n) *Junius Bochartus.*

Joktan the second son of *Eber* had thirteen Sons.

15. But neither in this place is there any thing to be met withall like *Mesha*, or *Sephar*, or any people thereabout of the same name with *Joktan*, or his Sons; neither could that *Ophir*, to which *Solomon* sent for Gold by Sea, and which they also will have denominated from one of the thirteen, be near *Aria*, which lieth at the foot of the Mountain *Paropamisus*, at a vast distance from the *Ocean*. Great *Bochartus* therefore placeth them in the Mediterranean parts of *Arabia* the *happy*, the inhabitants whereof, if they may be heard, challenge *Joktan* for the founder of both the *Arabian* Nation and Language,

Their seat.

guage, calling him otherwise *Cahtan*. From *Almodad* then, descended the *Almodæans*, by the *Greeks* called *Allamæotæ*, whom *Ptolomie* placeth in the middle of *Arabia*, near the head of the River *Lar*, which emptieth it selfe into the *Persian* Sea. From *Saleph* the *Salapeni*, who lived more remote upon the borders of *Arabia Desert*, not far from the spring of the River *Betis*. From *Hasarmaveth* (which word is variously written, and by the *Arabians* called *Hadramauth* or *Chadramauth*) were named the regions *Adramyta*, *Chatramis*, *Chatramitis*, and the Inhabitants *Athramotitæ*, *Chatramotitæ*, *Chatramotæ*, *Aramitæ*, and *Adramitæ*, whose Metropolis was anciently called *Sabota*, *Sabbaia*, *Saubata* at this day *Sebam*. From *Jerach* came the *Alilæi*, a people inhabiting near the *Red Sea*: *Jerachai* in *Hebrew*, and *Alilæi* in *Arabick*, being the Sons of *Jarlach*, *Hilal*, or the *Moon*.

Almodad. 1.

Sheleph. 2.

Hatsarm aueth. 3.

Jerach. 4.

Hadoram. 5.

Uzal. 6. 16. From *Hadoram* issued the *Drimanti* placed by *Pliny* upon the *Persian* gulfe, near the *Macæ*. From *Uzal*, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Alieman* (in the eastern part of *Arabia*) seem to be descended, *Sanaa* the Metropolis being by the Jews still called *Uzal*. *Dicla* in the *Chaldæan* and *Syrian* tongues signifying a *Palm*; from him must that part of *Arabia* have been called, wherein that Tree most grows, inhabited by the *Minæi*. *Obal* (in the *Arabian* tongue *Aubal* and *Abul*) seemeth to have passed over the gulf into *Arabia Troglodytica*, and to have given name to the mart-Town and Bay of *Abalites* or *Analites*. *Abimael* was the Father of the *Malitæ*, whom *Theophrastus* maketh to have inhabited one of the four Regions fruitfull in spices. Of *Seba* came the *Sabæans* properly so called, named also *Sabatæ*, who dwelt by the *Red Sea*, betwixt the *Minæans* and *Catabanes*, which Nations also together with the *Chatramotæ*, are by Writers often included amongst the *Sabæans*. Besides this *Seba*, there were three others of that name and founders of Nations. As (*o*) *one* the Son of *Chus*, *another* his Nephew by *Ragmah*, and the (*p*) *third* the Son of *Jockshan* and Nephew of *Abraham*. *Seba* the Son of *Joktan* joyned to the *Arabian* Sea; the rest to the *Persian*; so that the *Sabæans* (of whom the Greeks and Romans know no distinction) are said by *Pliny*, to live from Sea to Sea. The Son of *Joktan* lived on robberie; but the rest by Commerce with other Nations. *Ophir* (in *Arabick*, *Auphar*, signifying *most rich*) gave name to that part of *Arabia* near the *Sabæans*, which was inhabited by the *Cessanitæ*, *Casandres*, or *Gasandritæ*, so called from the Treasures; gold, for it's plenty, being here in little request. Another *Ophir* there was also in *India*; in the Island *Taprobane*, as most probable; the *Phœnicians* being accustomed to give old names to new-found places. From *Chaulia* the Son of *Joktan* (for there was another of this name, Son to *Chus*) descended the *Chaulonitæ*, called otherwise *Carbi*, and *Cerbani*, the most warlike of the *Arabians*, whose seat is yet called *Chaulan*. Of *Jobab* the last of the thirteen, came the *Jobabitæ* placed by *Ptolomy* next to the *Sachalites*. This was the habitation of the Sons of *Irelan* from *Mesha*, called otherwise *Musa* and *Muza* a famous port upon the *Red* Sea, as one goeth to *Saphar* a mountain Eastward, where was a City of the same name; both Port and City being well known to the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, who used to trade into these parts. This was the inheritance of the Sons of *Sem*, the choisest of all, though contained onely within *Asia*.

Obal. 8.

Abimael. 9.

Sheba. 10.

(o) Gen. 10. 7.

(p) Gen. 25. 3.

Ophir. 11.

Havilah. 12.

Jobab. 13.

17. To *Japhet* fell a very considerable part of *Asia*, and all *Europe*, the least of the divisions of the Earth, but better improved than the rest, and far more populous; of later times the seat of learning, of two Empires which extended their power to the inwards both of *Asia* and *Africa*; and in an especial manner blessed with more than worldly prosperity, since *Japhet dwelt in the tents of Sem*. The *Greeks* acknowledged him for their Founder, by the name of *Iapetus*, than whom they thought nothing more ancient. *Moses* reckoneth seven of his Sons, and as many Nephews. The Sons are (*q*) *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshech* and *Tiras*. *Josephus* maketh *Gomer* the Father of the *Galatians*, which if so, the same Originall

Japhet's portion.

Iapetus.

Japhet's 7. Sons.

Gomer. 1.

(q) Gen. 10. 2.

ginall must be extended to the *Gauls*, of whom the other were but a colonie; and to some the names of *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri*, whereby the Inhabitants of the Western parts have been known, as also those of *Kumero*, *Kumeri* and *Cymbro*, which our antient *Britains* (of the same stock with the *Gauls*) called themselves, seem to own no other originall. But another thinketh the Land of *Gomer* to be that part of *Phrygia* called *Catecaumemene*, lying upon the rivers *Cayster* and *Mæander* and the City *Philadelphia*; the Plains of which consist of a burnt kind of Earth like to ashes, and the hilly parts are all stonie, the whole Country being brittle, adust and easie to be inflamed. This he gathereth from the signification of *Gomer* and *Phrygia*, both which import *burning*; *Moses*, (according to his judgment) not alwaies calling the Founders of Nations by their true and proper names, but by the names of the Countries which they planted. Ever when the word is of the plural number, as of the Sons of *Javan*, *Citthim*, and *Rodanim*; and all the Sons of *Mizraim* and *Canaan* (except *Sidon* and *Heth*) must needs be names of peoples, not of particular Men. *Hatsarmaveth* he proveth to be the name of a place onely, for that it signifieth the *region of Death*; as *Dkla*, a place of *Palm-trees*, *Ophir* a *rich*, *Jobab* so called from the *desart*, and several others.

Bochartus lib. 3. cap. 8.

Gomer's three Sons. *Askenaz* 1.

18. *Gomer* hath three Sons mentioned by *Moses*; *Askenaz*, *Riphath*, and *Togarmah*. From *Ashkenaz* those descended, according to *Josephus*, by the *Greeks* called *Rhegines*; which who they were, is not to be understood. Most probably, by *Askenaz* is signified *Bithynia*, in which is the Bay *Ascanites*, besides a Lake and River of the same name; or *Troas* and *Phrygia the lesse*, in which were *Ascanea*, both Country and City, and Island *Ascania*. Form *Riphat*, *Josephus* deriveth the *Paphlagonians*, a people of *Asia* the *lesse*, near *Pontus*, and neighbours to the *Phrygians*. *Togarma* is variously expounded by Writers. It appeareth out of *Ezekiel*, (r) that *Gomer* and *Togarma* were not far distant; both North of *Judæa*: and that from *Togarmah* came Horses and Mules to be sold at *Tyre*. Hereto well agreeth the opinion of *Josephus*, who placeth *Togarmah* in *Phrygia*, to which *Cappadocia* was near adjacent, North to *Judæa*, and excelled in the breed of Horses and Mules.

Riphath. 2. *Togarmah.* 3.

(r) chap. 38. & chap. 27. v. 14.

2. *Magog.*

19. From *Magog*, *Japhet's* second Son, descended the *Scythians*, according to *Josephus* and others; *Gog* and *Magog*, being that part of *Scythia* about *Caucasus*, which the *Colchi* and *Armenians* (whose language was half *Chaldæan*) called *Gog-hasan*, (i. e. the Fort of *Gog*) and thence the *Greeks*, *Caucasus*: to whom also *Gogarene* was known, which *Stephanus* describeth to be between the *Colchi* and Eastern *Iberi*. *Magog* seemeth to be the same with *Prometheus*. For as *Prometheus* was the Son of *Japetus*, so *Magog* of *Japhet*. *Prometheus* was feigned to be fixed to *Caucasus*, and *Caucasus* was the seat of the *Scythians* of old time, till they expelled the *Cimmerii*, and succeded them; *Prometheus* brought down fire from heaven, which might take Original from *Magog* his finding out of Metals in *Colchis* and *Iberia*. And the Fable of his Heart, or Liver, being eaten by an Eagle, may be found in (s) the word *Magog*, which signifieth *to be dissolved* or *to decay*. *Hierapolis* a City in *Syria*, seemeth to have been called also *Magog* from him; seeing *Deucalion* the *Scythian*, and Son of *Prometheus*, is by *Lucian* said to have consecrated the Temple there to the *Syrian Goddesse*. From *Madai* it's generally granted, that the *Medes* are issued; the *Medes* and *Persians* being constantly in the Books of *Daniel* and *Esther*, named *Mædai* and *Paras*. From *Javan* descended the *Iones*, (or all that inhabited *Greece*, from *Thrace* to the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, the *Macedonians* being included) *Homer* calling them *Jaones*, and *Alexander* being signified by (t) *Daniel* under the name of the King of *Javan*.

The same with *Prometheus.*

(s) *Vide* Boachartum. lib. 1.

3. *Madai.*

4. *Javan.*

(t) cap. 8. v. 21.

20. The Sons of *Javan* were *Elisa*, *Tarshish*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*, from whom four Provinces took their names. From *Elisa* *Æolis*, according to *Josephus*, but rather *Elis* (the most antient and ample region of *Peloponnesus*, part whereof is by *Homer* called *Alisium*) to be taken for the whole *Peninsula*.

His 4 Sons. *Elisa.* 1.

2. *Tarshish.*

Sula. From *Tarsis*, *Josephus* and others derive *Tarsus*, the great City in *Cilicia*, some *Carthage*, another *Tunis*; but *Eusebius* and *Bochartus* understand the *Iberians* or *Spaniards*, amongst whom was a place called *Tarlessus*. Besides this, there was another * *Tarsis* in the *Indian* Sea, whither ships went from *Ezion-gaber*; and indeed, whatever the word originally signifieth (whether *Cilicia* or any other place) it is secondarily applied to the *Mediterranean Sea*, which reacheth unto *Phœnicia*, and sometimes seemeth to denote the *Ocean* it selfe. *Josephus* will have *Citim* to have possessed himselfe of the Island *Cyprus*, where was a City called *Citium*, the native place of *Zeno* the Stoick; and hence he saith the *Hebrews* called all Islands and maritime places by the name of *Chethim*. Others will have the *Chians*, some certain Nations of *India*, others *Cilicia*, some *Macedonia* to be understood by this word. The *Romans* are by *Daniel* signified under this name, and in *Italy* were of old the Cities *Cetia*, *Echetia*, and the River *Cetus*; and *Chittim* imports the same thing with the word *Latium*, betokening to lye hid. The opinion therefore of *Josephus* is very probable, that these Islands and Coasts of the *Mediterranean* might be known to the *Hebrews*, under the name of *Chethim*.

* a Chron. 20. 36.

3. *Kittim.*

Chap. 11. ver. 29, 30.

4. *Dodanim*, or rather *Rhudanim.*

Dodanim (omitted in *Josephus*) by some is interpreted *Dardanians*, by others *Dodanæans*. But most antiently it was read *Rhodanim*, which the *Greek* rendreth *Rhodians*, though the name of *Rhodes* is later than *Moses* his time. *Bochartus* therefore placeth this people in *Gaul*, about the River *Rhodanus* (now *Rhene*) which he proveth, not to have been so named from *Rhoda*, a Town there founded by the *Rhodians*. *Rhodanim*, he saith, signifieth *Yellow* or *Saffron-coloured*, which agreeth well with the colour of the hair of the antient *Gaules*, either naturall or affected; wherein also the *Britains* shewed themselves descended of the same stock, as *Jornandes* judgeth.

5. *Tubal.*

21. *Tubal* and *Meshech* (the fifth and sixth Sons of *Japhet*) are joyned in Scripture, most commonly, together; as near to each other. *Josephus* from them deriveth the *Iberians*, and *Cappadocians*, who had a City in his time known by the name of *Mazacha*. *Bochartus* understandeth by *Meshech* and *Tubal*, the *Moschi* and *Tibareni*, which are so joyned together by *Herodotus*, as *Meshech* and *Tubal* in the Scripture. The *Moschi* (besides *Moschica* properly so called) possessed all from *Phasis* as far as *Pontus* of *Cappadocia*; the *Moschian* Mountains reaching so far. Then next succeeded the *Tibarens*, according to *Strabo*, who extendeth their borders to *Pharnacra* and *Trapezond*, the *Moschian* and *Colchian* Mountains; so that they lay betwixt the *Trapezuntians* and Inhabitants of *Armenia* the lesse. *Tubal* and *Meshech* are noted by *Ezechiel*, to abound in Slaves, and Brasse, which, by the consent of Authors, fitly agreeth with the regions of *Pontus*; especially *Cappadocia*.

6. *Meshech.*

Chap. 27. v. 13.

7. *Tiras.*

From *Thiras* most Authors derive *Thrace*, a woman of which Country was called *Threissa*; and many names there, both of places and persons, perswade the same thing. This was the portion of *Japhet*, answerable to the blessing of his Father; that *God should enlarge him*. For unto it belonged all *Europe* how big soever, besides *Asia* the lesse, *Media*, part of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and those vast Tracts towards the North, inhabited of old by the *Scythians*, and now by the *Tartars*: To say nothing of the new World, into which it's probable the *Scythians* passed by the Straits of *Anian*. To his Posterity belong the Northern parts, which by *Jornandes*, an Historian of the *Goths*, are deservedly termed, The *work-houses of people*, and *sheaths of Nations*.

Cham's portion.

22. Curst *Cham* was not excluded from Earthly blessings. To his lot fell *Ægypt*, and all *Africk*, a great part of *Syria* and *Arabia*, besides *Babylonia*, *Susiana*, *Assyria*, and other Countries, which his Grand-son *Nimrod* possessed himselfe of. *David* very often calleth *Ægypt* the Land of *Cham* or *Ham*: the antient Inhabitants themselves *Chamia* or *Chemia*. In *Arabia* and *Africk* the name of *Ammon* (the aspiration being taken away) was universally known, as appeareth by *Ammon* a River in *Arabia*, the promontory *Ammonium*, and the people called *Ammonii*. In *Africk*, the City *Ammonis* upon the River *Cinyphus*. The Chappell of *Ammonis* in the

Plutarch *in Iside.*

Island *Meroe*. In *Marmarica*, the City *Ammonia* vulgarly *Paraetonium*: And the *Ammonian* Country, where was the famous Oracle of *Ammon*. Nay all *Africk* was called *Ammonis* or *Ammonia*. *Ham* signifieth *hot*; in which respect it agreeth well with the Greek word *Zeus*, the name of *Jupiter*. *Ham* was *Noah*'s youngest Son; so was *Jupiter* the youngest of *Saturne*. From *Cham*'s living in *Africk*, the hottest part of the World, *Jupiter* may be counted the Lord of Heaven. And *Saturne* his being made an Eunuch by his Son *Jupiter* (or *Caelus* by his Son *Saturn*, as *Macrobius* hath it) seemeth to relate to that fault, for which *Cham* received from his Father a curse instead of a blessing. Of these things *Bochartus* giveth abundant satisfaction, to name no more.

His 4 Sons.

23. Four Sons of *Cham* are recorded by *Moses*; *Chus*, *Misraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*. From *Chus*, by a generall mistake, the *Aethiopians* in *Africk* have been thought to be descended; whereas by the land of *Chus* in Scripture is meant (*a*) part of *Arabia*, inhabited by the *Chusaans*, called also *Cuthaans*; of whom were the *Madianites*, and *Sephora* the wife of *Moses*, who did not flie into *Aethiopia* and there marry her. They inhabited above *Aegypt* upon the *Persian Gulfe*, in part of *Arabia* the *stonie* and the *happy*; thought by some to be the same with the antient *Scenites*, and the moderne *Saracens*, being called *Scenites* from dwelling in Tents, and *Saracens* from their robberies. *Chus* hath six Sons mentioned; *viz. Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha* and *Nimrod*. *Raamah* hath two, *Sheba* and *Dedan*. All these inhabited about the *Persian Sea*. Except *Nimrod*, whom *Moses* affirmeth to have fixed his seat at *Babel*. By the name of *Mizraim* is to be understood the Father of those who inhabited *Aegypt*, thrice in Scripture called *Masor* (the singular number of the word *Mizraim*) as it's thought, from the straightnesse of it, being extended out in length from the *Sea* towards *Syene*. From *Mizraim*, *Moses* deriveth seven People or Nations: *Ludim*, *Anamim*, *Lehabim*, *Naphtuhim*, *Pathrusim*, *Casluhim* (out of whom came *Philistiim*) and *Caphtorim*.

Chus. 1.

(*a*) *Vide* Bochartum *lib.* 4. *c.* 2. Raleium *l.* 7. *c.* 8. *sec.* 10.

His 6. Sons.

Their Seat.

2. *Mizraim*.

Antiq. l. 1. *c.* 6.

24. *Josephus* will have the eight Sons of *Misraim* to have possessed all the Country lying between *Gaza* and *Aegypt*, though *Philistin* onely gave name to it, from whom the *Greeks* called it *Palaestina*. *Lybis*, he saith, led a colonie into *Libya* which he named after himselfe; but as for the rest, he confesseth both their names and affairs to be obscure, their Cities being overthrown, as he saith, in the *Aethiopian* War made by *Moses*, concerning which he bringeth a meer Fable, taken out of *Artapanus*, and the inventions of the *Hellenists*. As for *Ludim*, *Bochartus* by ten Arguments proveth the *Aethiopians* to be meant thereby, whom he will have also a colonie of the *Aegyptians*. By *Anamim* the *Nomades* of *Africk*, who inhabited about *Ammonis*, and in *Nasamonitis*, and for *Anamians* might easily be called *Amonians* and *Ammonians*; they being also a colonie of the *Aegyptians* and *Aethiopians*, as appeareth out of *Herodotus*. Of the same Original he maketh the *Nasamones*, *Amantes*, *Hammamientes* (who * made their houses of salt) and the *Garamants*. *Lehabim* or the *Lehabeans* are thought to be the same with the *Libyans* bordering upon *Aegypt*, from whom this denomination might passe to those that inhabited the greatest part of *Africk*. *Naphtuhim* he placeth in *Marmarica* upon the Mediterranean Sea; *Pathrusim* in *Thebais*, a Province of *Aegypt*, called *Pathros*, and by many distinguished from *Aegypt*, though peopled from it.

His 6. Sons.

Their Seat.

2. *Mizraim*.

Ludim. 1.

Anamim. 2.

Lehabim. 3.

Naphtuhim. 4.

Pathrusim. 5.

Casluhim. 6.

Caphtorim. 7.

Misraim's 8. Sons.

* Solinus *c.* 31.

25. *Casluhim* he maketh to signifie the *Colchi*, though so far distant from *Aegypt*, out of which they descended, and from *Palestine*, the Inhabitants whereof descended from them; both their Language and life in all particulars so absolutely agreed with the *Aegyptians*, of whom by the Heathen also they have been thought a colonie, left there by *Sesostris* in his expedition, though they be of more antiquity then he. The *Caphtorim* seems to have been Neighbours to him, from whom also together with them, the *Philistines* descended, as appeareth from * Scripture. They are therefore to be placed in that part of *Cappadocia*, which lyeth next to *Colchos* about *Trapezond*.

* Jerem. 47. 4. Amos 9. 4.

It

It is probable that, upon the report of the richnesse of these places, the *Aegyptians* sent out a Colonie (for this drew thither *Perseus*, *Jason*, *Sesostris*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, and of later times the *Saracens* out of *Arabia*): which finding the Climate too cold; or the Country not to answer expectation; or perhaps molested by the *Scythians* and others; part thereof resolved to return home, and in their way seated themselves in *Palestine*, after they had expelled thence the * *Amims*. The Captain of this Expedition seemeth to have been *Typhon*, reported by the *Greek* Poets to have made War against the gods, and to have peirced as far as *Caucasus*; but, after many battells, being stricken of *Jupiter* with a thunderbolt, to have fled into *Palestine*, where he dyed at the Lake of *Serbonis* and there still lyeth buried.

Deut. 11. 23.

3. *Phut*.

26. The third Son of *Cham* was *Phut*, who divided *Africk* with his Brother *Misraim*. To *Misraim* fell *Aegypt* and most of *Africk*, as far as the Lake of *Tritonis*, which divideth *Africk* into two equall parts. To *Phut*, all from the Lake as far as the *Atlantick Ocean*, as may be gathered from (*x*) *Herodotus*. As far as the *Lake*, he saith, all the *Africans* used the customes of *Aegypt*; but those beyond them towards the West, a far different kind of life. Some names retained a memoriall of *Phut*; as the City *Putea*; a River of *Mauritiana*; *Tengitana*, called *Phut*; and the Haven *Phthia*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, and others.

(*x*) *Lib.* 4. *c.* 186, 187.

4. *Canaan*.

His Posterity and Seat.

Canaan is the fourth Son reckoned in order by *Moses*. He begat *Sidon* his first-born, and *Heth*, the *Jebusite*, the *Ammonite*, the *Girgasite*, the *Hivite*, the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, the *Arvadite*, the *Zemarite*, and the *Hamathite*. By *Canaan* was inhabited the Land, which thereupon bore his name, and was afterwards conquered by the *Hebrews*. His Family was propagated as far as the Sea, the *Phoenicians* being descended of him, as *Eupolemus* an Heathen Writer, in his Book of the *Jews*, bare witnesse, saying, That *Saturne* begat *Belus*, and *Chanaan*; and the later begat the Father of the *Phoenicians*: besides, one *Cna* is said by *Sanchoniathon* (a most antient *Phoenician* Writer) to have been the first Man that was called *Phoenician*; whence by *Stephanus*, *Phoenice* is called *Cna*, and the *Phenicians Cnai*. But, what is more, the Scripture calleth *Phoenicia* the Land of *Canaan*.

Euseb. *praepar. Evang. lib.* 9.

Sidon 1.

27. *Sidon* the first-born of *Canaan*, was the Father of the *Sidonians*, or the builder of the City *Sidon*, which was more antient than *Tyre*, and the Metropolis to it; the *Sidonians* having led a Colonie thither, and founded *Tyre*, according to *Trogus* (*y*) before the destruction of *Troy*; 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, as *Josephus* counteth. The children of *Heth* dwelt in the Land of *Canaan*, about *Hebron* and *Barseba* towards the South; and from them the *Anakims* descended. The *Jebusites* held *Hierusalem*, and the Castle of *Sion* until *David*'s time. The *Ammonites* passed the Mountains of *Judaea*, and passing over *Jordan* made War upon the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*; seized upon *Basan*, *Hesbon*, and all the Country lying between the Rivers *Jabbok* and *Arnon*: in memory whereof, one of their Poets wrote a Poem which *Moses* (*a*) hath inserted into his Writings. The *Gergasites* seem to have continued about *Geresa* or *Gadara*, over against *Galile*, beyond *Jordan*, (*b*) till Christ's time. The *Hivites* dwelt in Mount *Hermon*, towards the East of the Land of *Canaan*, from whom descended the *Gibeonites*, living nigh to *Jerusalem*, and the *Sichemites* dwelling near to *Samaria*, more towards the West. The *Arkites* inhabited *Arca*, or *Arce*, a City in *Libanus*, mentioned by *Josephus* and *Ptolomy*. The *Sinites* had a City called *Sin*, not far from *Arce*, according to *Hierome*: but *Bochartus* placeth them at *Pelusium*; *Sin* signifying *mud* or *clay*, as *Pelos* in *Greek*. The *Arvadites* or *Aradites*, seized upon the Island *Aradus*, on the Coast of *Phoenice*, at the mouth of the River *Eleutherus*, and part of the neighbouring Continent, where was *Antaradus*, *Marathus*, and *Laodicea*. The *Zemarites*, or *Semarites*, dwelt as it's thought about *Finesa* a notable City of *Celosyria*, upon the River *Orontes*, and built *Semaraim* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And the *Hemathites* were seated about the City of *Syria*, called *Epiphania*, and not at *Antiochia*, which is at too great a distance. This was the Inheritance of

(*y*) *Lib.* 18. (*z*) *Antiq. lib.* 8. *cap.* 2.

Heth. 2.

The Jebusite. 3.

Ammonite. 4.

Gergasite. 5.

Hivite. 6.

Arkite. 7.

Sinite. 8.

Arvadite. 9.

Zemarite. 10.

Hemathite. 11.

(*a*) Num. 21. 27.

(*b*) Mar. 8. 28. Mark 5. 1. 5. Luke 8. 26.

the Sons of *Canaan*, *whose border was from* Sidon, *as thou comest to* Gerar *unto* Gaza, *as thou goest unto* Sodome *and* Gomorrah, *and* Admah *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Lasha; which some interpret *Cæsarea Philippi*, others *Callichoë*; but *Bocharius* thinketh it to be *Lysa*, a City of the *Arabians*, in the mid-way between the *Dead* and *Red Seas*.

Thus was the Earth most antiently divided and possessed after the Flood. How it hath since, in the severall parts of it, changed it's Inhabitants, shall be discovered, upon occasion, as the Work will bear.

CHAP. II.

Of the Babylonian Empire, from the first founding thereof to it's utter subversion by Cyrus.

The beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom.

1. After the division of the Earth; *Nimrod*, as we said, the Son of *Chus* and Nephew of *Cham* fixed his seat at *Babel*, and therein first began a Kingdom; having joyned to it (*a*) *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calneh*, in the Land of *Shinar*. By *Erech*, the ancients understood *Edessa*; and by *Accad*, *Nisibis*: But neither the names nor situation of these Cities do agree; they being in that part of *Mesopotamia* which lyeth towards *Armenia*, and very far from *Babylon*. Therefore *Erech* is rather to be taken for *Arecca* a City of *Susiana* upon *Tigris*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, which also seemeth to be the same with *Ardesica* or *Anderica* (*b*) in *Herodotus*; *Ard* in the *Persian* tongue signifying *great*. And well *Arecca* might so be called, which was so long, that sailing up the River one should meet with it three severall dayes, one after another; as the Historian relateth. *Bocharius* thinketh *Accad* (called also *Archad*) to have given name to the River *Argad*, which ran through *Sittacena* a Province near to *Babylonia*, & since called *Apolloniatis*. By *Calneh* (which is also *Calno* and *Canno*) is to be understood that City, by the *Parthians*, re-built and called *Ctesiphon*. It stood upon *Tigris*, three miles from *Seleucia*, being the Metropolis of *Chaloenitis*, a Province denominated from it, and mentioned by *Strabo*, and others. *Babylon* was exhausted by the building of *Seleucia*, as *Pliny* (*c*) telleth us; and the *Parthians* built (or re-built) *Ctesiphon* in *Chaloenitis*, three miles off, to drain *Seleucia*.

(*a*) Gen. 10. 10.

(*b*) Lib. 1. c. 185.

(*c*) Lib. 6. c. 26.

The beginning and duration of the *Assyrian* Empire.

2. The duration of this *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* Empire till *Sardanapalus* is variously assigned; the cause of which seemeth to be, for that some derived the Originall thereof from the birth of *Chus*, *as Cappellus* * thinketh, and so *Herodotus* might assign 1520 years to the continuance of it. Others from the beginning of the *Babylonian* Kingdom, as *Diodorus*, who reckoneth 1400 years to the death of *Sardanapalus*. Some from the building of *Ninive*, as *Ctesias*, who hath 1360. And lastly, others from the death of *Belus*, as *Trogus* and *Eusebius*, who give to it 1300 years. That *Nimrod* should begin his Kingdom within an hundred years after the Flood, is not very probable, as neither that the building of the Tower of *Babel* happened within that time; which would have been too short a space for the propagation of mankind to so great multitudes. An hundred years after the Deluge, *Phaleg* was born, in whose dayes it was that the Earth was divided. Some make the division to have been at the same time of his birth, and thence his name imposed, as from a thing already done, or in doing. Others assign it to the latter end of his dayes, and will have his name prophetically given by his Father: But there are not wanting, who take a middle way betwixt these two, and think the division made, when he was come to ripeneſſe of age; or in the middle of his years; the number of which amounted to 239. When *Alexander* the great had conquered *Babylon*, which fell out about the 3675th year of the World; *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, who followed him in his Wars, at the desire of *Aristotle* his Kinsman, inquired into the Antiquities of the *Chaldæans*, and could find no observations of any longer date then 1903 years; which being cast back from the foresaid years, fall in their beginning, into

* *Ad* A. M. 2822. *p.* 45.

A. M. 759.

Lege Vossii *Isag. Chron. Dissert.* 5. *c.* 5, 6.

Porphyrius *apud* Simplicium *in Aristot. de cælo. lib.* 2.

into the 1772 from the Creation, the 116th from the Deluge, and the 16th. of *Phaleg's* life.

Nimrod named *Belus*.

3. *Nimrod*, the founder of this Empire, was by his subjects named *Bel*, or *Belus*, which signifieth *Lord*, or *Soveraign*. That he was the ancient *Belus*, is thence proved; that * most of the old Writers accounted *Belus* the builder of *Babylon*, although some attributed it to *Semiramis*, herein relying upon the credit of *Ctesias*, which now is deservedly suspected by learned men, and in no case worthy to stand in Competition with that of *Berosus* the famous *Babylonian Priest* (who, as *Pliny* saith, had a Statue erected to his memory at *Athens* with a guilded tongue) nor with that of *Abydenus*, who also collected his Histories out of the *Chaldæan Archives*. After *Moses* hath spoken of the four Cities, which were the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom; we read that *out of that Land* (of Shinar) *Assur went forth and built* Niniveh *and the Citie* Rehoboth, *and* Calah, *and* Resen, *between* Niniveh *and* Calah. Some, according to this Translation, will have this *Assur* to have been the son of *Sem*, who having built *Nineveh*, and founded the *Assyrian* Kingdom; *Nimrod* dispossessed him, or his; or some manner of way obtained, and joyned it to the *Babylonian*, as *Julius Africanus* hath delivered. But others contend that this *Assur* is the name of the Countrey, and not of a Man, and that it is to be read: *And out of that Land went out* (Nimrod) *into* Assur, (*i.e.* Assyria) *and builded* Ninive, *&c.* Otherwise they think it would be out of the way, for *Moses* to mention the son of *Sem* in this place, where he is in hand with the Genealogie of *Cham*; neither could it be peculiar to him to go out of this Land and build *Niniveh*, seeing all mankind almost, at the division of the Earth, went out of it. The last reading onely maketh the sense intire; for how else could the four Cities properly be said to be the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom, except he added more unto it? Lastly, this seemeth very urgent that, *in Scripture*, *Assyria* is called the *Land of Nimrod*.

* Semiramis eam celebrarat, vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Curtius *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. Berosus *apud* Joseph. *contra Apionem lib.* 1. Abydenus *apud* Euseb. *præp. Evang. lib.* 9. Dorotheus, *Sidonius versus apud* Julium Firmicum.

Whether he built *Niniveh*.

Mich. 5. 6.

4. He was *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*, or, therein none was to be compared with him; things being said to be such before God, as were so indeed, or in an eminent manner; He judging not according to outward appearance, but as they are in their own natures. By the means of Hunting it is probable that he made way unto his Monarchy. For under pretence of what was very necessary at this time (when men were few, scattered, and lying abroad, without defence against wild beasts, which ever especially abounded about *Arabia* and *Babylon*) he might gather a band of men, and by such exercises (which the Heathens (*d*) by their practice, as well as opinion shewed to be convenient for breeding of Warriours) train them up, till he converted their force from beasts to men. What was performed by him seemeth to have been attributed to his successors. *Ninus* is (*e*) said to have gathered an Army of *Arabians*, and therewith to have subdued the *Babylonians*; which seemeth to have related to his Conquest of that Countrey. For being a *Chasdan*, and consequently an *Arabian*, he might by the assistance of his own Countrey-men and Kindred effect it; whom he (*f*) rewarded with that Region beyond *Tigris*, which thence was, by the *Hebrews*, called *Chus*, by the *Caldæans*, *Chuth*; *Cissia*, by the *Greeks*; and *Chuzestan* (*i.e.* the Province of *Chus*) by the *Persians*. From his usurping the right of *Noah*, some think the Fable to have sprung, of *Saturn* being cast out of his Kingdom by *Jupiter*; the word *Nimrod* signifying a *Rebell*, and answerable to his carriage. He is also judged to be the true *Bacchus*; this word being little changed from *Bar-Chus*, that is, the son of *Chus*. *Bacchus* was the son of *Jupiter*, and he was the Grand-son of *Jupiter Hammon*. The most ancient name of *Bacchus* was *Zagreus*, which signifieth a *strong hunter*, answerable to the Epithete given to *Nimrod*. He undertook an expedition into the East, wherein seem to be contained the Facts of *Nimrod* and his Successors. *Bacchus* was feigned to be born at *Nysa* in *Arabia*; and *Nimrod* was also an *Arabian*. And not unlikely might *Nimrod* be thought to be over the Vines, who first taigned at *Babylon*, where was that most excellent kind of Wine, dignified by the Ancients with the name of *Nectar*. To the raign of *Belus*, or *Nimrod*, 65 years are given by *Julius Africanus*.

The true *Bacchus*.

(*d*) Xenophon. *de venatione & in Cyropædia.*

(*e*) Diodorus *l.* 2. *p.* 64. *A.*

(*f*) Bochartus *l.* 4. *c.* 12.

Athenæus.

5. *Ninus*

Ninus.

5. *Ninus* his son succeeded him, and canonized him for a God, which gave, as 'tis said, the first occasion to Idolatry. He made a confederacy with *Arieus*, King of *Arabia* (which Countrey withstood most Conquests); and then invading *Armenia*, forced *Barzanes* the King thereof, to submit to his Vassallage. Next he entred *Media*, where he took and Crucified *Pharnus* the King; and then, being pricked on by desire of glory, and incouraged by his successe, he subdued all the people of *Asia* in seventeen years, except the *Indians* and *Bactrians*; the latter whereof under Conduct of their King *Zoroastres* (or rather *Oxyartes*, for *Zoroaster* the great *Magician* lived many ages after) stoutly opposed him, and yet at length were brought under, as we have it from *Diodorus*, who reporteth also that *Ninus* built *Nineve*, which he so named after himself. Whether he, his father, or any other built it, A Citie it was of great bigness, strength, and ornament, being in compasse sixty miles; of a Quadrangular form, incompassed and fortified with a Wall a hundred foot high, and of such a breadth as three Charriots might have been driven together a-breast upon it; adorned also with Towers, 200 foot in height. The place of it is not agreed of, and (*b*) some think there were two Cities of this name; one upon *Euphrates* in *Comagena*, and another in *Assyria* beyond *Tigris*. As for *Ninus*, many things done both by his father, and successors seem to be attributed to him, He reigned 52 years; and the manner of his death is diversly related. (*i*) One saith, he was shot with a Dart as he lay before a Town. (*k*) Another writeth that *Semiramis* his wife (whom he had chosen for her admirable beauty and now doated on) obtained leave to wear his Royall Robe, and reign over *Asia* five dayes; and then, when she had got the power into her hands, commanded one of the Guard to kill him: But a third, (*l*) onely relateth him to have been secured in prison.

(g) Biblioth. l. 2. p. 65. ex Ctesia Cnidio. Justin. lib. 1.

Ninive.

(b) Lege Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 20.

(i) Orosius.

(k) Dinon apud Ælian. var. Hist. l. 7. c. 1.

His death.

(l) Diodorus ubi supra. p. 76. D. ex Athenæo & aliis.

Semiramis his wife counterfeiteth her son.

6. He left a son by *Semiramis*, named *Ninyas*, who being but young, she put on mans Apparel, and counterfeiting his person as well as *Sexe* is reported to have done very great things; part of which might rather be challenged by the two foregoing Kings, and by some that followed her. The resemblance of her son in all the lineaments and proportion of his body took away suspicion; for the further prevention whereof, she commanded the same kind of Garment to be worn by the people. At length, when she thought she had got fame sufficient, she made her self known, which detracted not from her glorie, but added to the lustre of it. She re-edified and inlarged *Babylon*, incompassing it with a Wall made up of Brick, Sand, and a certain Clay, or slime clammy, like Pitch, which there abounded: and * restrained, by new works, the violence of *Euphrates* which formerly was wont to overflow into the Town. Nor content with the Empire as her husband left it, she inlarged it by the Conquest of *Æthiopia*, and made War upon *India*, though without successe; in which undertaking she onely had *Alexander* the Great her Æmulator, as *Justin* affirmeth. But, after she had reigned 42 years, either for that she would have had to do unlawfully with her son (being reported exceeding vitious of her body), or because he was impacient of her so long retaining the power, he slew her; although some say, she voluntarily resigned the Kingdom. After her death she was feigned to be turned into a *Dove*, and worshipped for a Goddesse under that shape; the occasion of which seemeth to have been the bearing of that bird pourtraited in her Ensign.

Justin. ex Trogo. lib. 1. Diodorus, ut prius.

Her acts.

* Herodotus. lib. 1. cap. 184.

Ninias.

7. *Ninyas*, or *Ninus*, (as *Justin* calleth him) succeeding, imitated neither Grand-father, Father, nor Mother; but giving up himself wholly to an effeminate course of life, would be seen by none except Concubines and Eunuchs. Yet to him is ascribed that politick ordering of the Militia, which was imitated constantly by his Successors. A yearly choice was made of Officers and Souldiers out of each Province, to lye in Garrison in the Citie, and to be ready at all Essayes, there to continue for one year; at the end of which they were succeeded by new Levies. Hereby the subject was contained in obedience; and yet, by suffering the Souldiers no longer to continue together, all conspiracies and plots were prevented, which might else have risen amongst such multitudes; the space of a year not being sufficient for such through and

Diodorus. l. 2. p. 77. A.

and intimate acquaintance, as might produce any considerable stirs. Those that followed *Ninyas* for thirty Generations trod, for the most part, in his paths; nothing either memorable, or certain, remaining of them, except of

Teutames.

Teutamus the 20th. from *Ninyas*, to whom *Priamus* King of *Troy*, when he was besieged by the *Greeks*, sent for aid. This *Teutamus* is said to have sent him a supply of 10000 *Æthiopians*, and as many of the inhabitants of *Susiana*, with 200 Chariots, under the Command of *Memnon*, who bearing himself very valiantly against the besiegers, was at length by the wiles of the *Thessalians*, circumvented and slain. From the beginning of the *Assyrian* Empire, to the destruction of *Troy*, *Eusebius* reckoneth 943 years, *Cappellus* from the building of *Nineveh* 995.

Sardanapalus.

8. The 30th. in order was *Tonos-Concoleros*, by the *Greeks* and *Romans* called *Sardanapalus*, ennobled onely above the rest, for his excesse in effeminateness, and his ruin caused thereby. He spent all his time amongst women; with whom he would sit and spin, imitating them in all things possible, so as scarce ever in his whole time was he seen of the other Sex. This extraordinary corruption of manners gave occasion to two of his greatest Officers to compasse his destruction. For *Belesis* (or *Belochus*) the Governour of

A.M. 3166.

Belesis & Arbaces conspire against him.

Babylon, a great Magician and Astrologer, out of the Doctrine of the Starres, foretold to *Arbaces* Governour of *Media*, (otherwise called (*m*) *Arbachus*, (*n*) *Orbachus*, and (*o*) *Pharnaces*), that one day he should obtain the whole principality of *Sardanapalus*, and excited him to attempts suitable to such an atchievement. *Arbaces* herewith puffed up, promised him the possession of *Babylon*, if his Prediction should take, and laboured to ingratiate himself with the Captains of the several Provinces. Then, having a great desire to see what manner of life the King lived, he hired an Eunuch to bring him into the Pallace, where beholding with his eyes his dissolute carriage, he despised him, and much more incouraged himself in the hope given him by *Belesis*. They now resolved, the one to draw the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the other the *Babylonians* to revolt; and *Arbaces* communicated his design and purpose to the Governour of *Arabia* his great friend.

(m) Justin. (n) Strabo. (o) Gatercularius.

9. These things being as diligently put in practice, as readily undertaken, the next year an Army of 400000 men coming up to *Nineveh*, where the King then lay; under pretence of relieving the former year's Guard, resolved to employ their force in the ruin of the *Assyrian* Kingdom. *Sardanapalus*, having timely notice of the revolt, drew out such forces as were in the Citie, and falling upon the Rebels in the Plain, put them to the rout. They flying to the Mountains, and recollecting their courage, came down again and ingaged; but with the same successe: after which they retreated to the same place. Hereupon *Arbaces* calling the Officers together to advise what was to be done, all of them were for disbanding the Army and departing home, except *Belesis*, who urging them with what the Starres portended, prevailed with them to stay; but to no other purpose than that the King might gain the third victory, which shortly happened. Now they fully resolved to be gone; when *Belesis*, his credit being deeply ingaged, spent the whole night in viewing the Stars; out of the mystery of which he was bold to affirm, that help would come of its own accord, and great changes follow, if they would have patience but five dayes longer. They being yet prevailed with, for this once; before the five dayes were expired, news came that great forces were coming from *Bactria* to the aid of the King. To them *Arbaces* sent, and easily perswaded them to joyn with the Conspirators.

Diodorus.

He obtaineth three victories over them.

10. *Sardanapalus* knowing nothing of this, and puffed up with his successe, returned to his former course of life; which *Arbaces* understanding from certain Fugitives, and how his Army lay in a secure and careless posture, drew down upon it in the night, made a great slaughter, and drove those that escaped into *Nineveh*. Hereupon the King committed the conduct of the Army to *Salamenes* his wives brother, and took upon himself the defence of the Citie; but the Rebels twice in the field overthrew his forces, and killed the General with most of his Souldiers. Then was the Citie closely besieged, and many

Is worsted twice.

ny Nations revolted to the conspirators; which the King considering, and sensible of his condition, sent out his three Sons, and two Daughters, with a great treasure, to *Cotta*, the Governour of *Paphlagonia*, and, dispatching Courriers into several Provinces, took what care he possibly could for the making of new Levies.

11. Neither was he behind hand in providing all things within, that were necessary for resistance. There being no fear of storming the Town, by reason of the wonderful strength and heighth of the walls. He considered the main danger to lye in the affections of the inhabitants; to whom, that they might have no cause to attempt any new thing, he supplied all necessaries in a plentifull measure. Two years and above he held out, and doubted not but to be able to do it, till relief should come; and the rather, for that they had an Oracle that *Ninivie* should never be taken, till the River first proved an enemy to it; which he never could suspect. But in the third year fell such rains, that *Euphrates* (or *Lycus*, upon which some conceive that *Strabo* placeth the City, and not *Euphrates*, nor *Tigris*, as others) swelling with abundance of waters, made a breach in the Wall twenty Furlongs in length. At this the King utterly discouraged, as judging the Oracle to be fulfilled, lest he should fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he built a pile of wood in his Palace, upon which he heaped his treasures, and rich attire; and, making a little room in the midst, wherein he bestowed himself, his Concubines and Eunuchs, set fire to the heap, and so perished with this Company and the Palace. Such was the end of him, who placed all his felicity in his sensuall apperite, which he would have also recorded in his (*p*) *Epitaph*, and advised the Reader to imitate. He is reported to have built (but rather he restored) two Cities of *Cilicia* in one day, *viz.* *Tarsus* and *Anchiala*; in the later of which was his (*q*) Monument to be seen, being a Statue of stone, with the finger and thumb of the right hand joyned together as about to give a fillip. Upon the Monument was written in *Assyrian* Characters: Sardanapalus *the Son of* Anacyndaraca *built* Anchiales, *and* Tarsus *in one day. As for thee, Friend, Eat, drink, and play: for all things else are not worth this*, viz. that *fillip*. In him this line of the *Assyrians* failed, the Empire being divided into two Principalities, after it had continued about 1400 years, reckoned from the building of *Babylon*. This fall of *Sardanapalus* hapned about the year of the World 3186, 43 years before the first *Olympiad*.

12. The (*r*) besiegers understanding what was become of *Sardanapalus*, presently entred in at the breach, and took the City. Then, investing *Arbaces* with a royall roabe, they created him King; who rewarded them according to their deserts, and allotted the Provinces to their severall Governours. *Belesis*, according to agreement, having received the principality of *Babylon*, and understanding from an Eunuch how great treasure *Sardanapalus* had burnt with himself, begged the ashes of *Arbaces*, under pretence of having made a vow, in the heat of the War, to carry them to *Babylon*, and therewith to raise a lasting Monument of the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire. He, being ignorant of his covetous design, graunted his request; but when the matter was discovered, referred his judgement to a Councill of Officers who condemned him to death. Yet, being desirous to begin his reign mildly, he not onely remitted this punishment, but permitted him to enjoy all the gold and silver already transported; and, what remained, which amounted to many talents, he conveied it to *Ecbatane* the chief City of the *Medes*. (*s*) *Diodorus* and (*t*) *Strabo* tell us how he levelled *Ninus* (or *Ninive*) with the ground. Some (*u*) think it was onely the Castle; seeing the City had afterwards Kings, if not comparable to the rest, yet great and powerfull, which they think might descend from *Belesis*.

13. *Herodotus* (*x*) writeth how the *Medes*, having freed themselves from the *Assyrian* yoak, lived for many Ages without a King, in way of a popular government. But (*y*) *Ctesias* of *Gnidus* an Author of something a later date (who served *Cyrus* the younger, in his expedition against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and being taken prisoner in the Battell, was for his excellent skill in

The River swelling with rain breaks the wall.

Sardanapalus burneth himselfe in his Palace.

(*p*) Athenæus *lib.* 2.

(*q*) Strabo *l.* 14. *Edit.* Causab. *p.* 672. *A. Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libido Hausit, at illæ jacent, multa & præclara relicta. Epitaph.* & Ciceron *de verssum. Tusc. l.* 5. *Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in Bovis, non in Hominis sepulchro inciderés? Hæc habere se dicit, quæ nec vivus quidem diutius habebat, quàm fruebatur.*

(*r*) Diodorus *l.* 2. *p.* 81. *A.*

(*s*) *L.* 2. *p.* 816

(*t*) *L.* 16. *p.* 737.

(*u*) Jacob. Cappellus *Hist. Sacr. & Exotica. p.* 170. Simson *in Chronico ad A. M.* 3187.

(*x*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 95.

(*y*) *Vide* Diodorum *ut supra. p.* 84.

What kind of Government was in *Media*.

in Physick, which he professed, received into favour by the King, and lived in good esteem in his Court 16. years, pretending to transcribe his History out of the Records of *Persia*, reported that *Arbaces*, after the overthrow of the *Assyrians*, reigned 18. years: and as he left the dominion of *Asia* to the *Medes*, so also the Soveraignty over them to his Son *Mandauces*. That *Mandauces*, having reigned 50. years, left the Kingdom to *Sosarmus*, who reigned 30. Him followed *Artias*, and reigned 50, then *Arbianis* 22, *Arsæus* 40, in whose time the *Cadusians* revolted through the procurement of *Parsodas* the President of his Councill, whom he had offended. *Artynes* 22. *Artibarnes* 14 (in whose reign the *Parthians* revolted, and gave up themselves to the *Saca*). And last of all *Astyages* his Son, who being overthrown by *Cyrus*, the Empire was thereby devolved upon the *Persians*.

Kings of *Media* according to *Ctesias*.

14. That *Ctesias* out of design wrote things contrary to *Herodotus*, is probable enough, and that he is fabulous cannot be denied; yet have we a succession of Kings elsewhere (*z*) recorded, though such an one as scarce in one name agreeth with that of his. *Sosarmus* is said to have succeeded *Arbaces*, and continued 30 years, then *Medidus* 40, *Cardiceas* 13, and then *Deioces*, whom *Herodotus* will have to have first obtained soveraignty over the *Medes*. For having, as he (*a*) writeth, an ambition that way, he made himself popular by pretence to the love of Justice, which then ran at a low ebbe amongst them, for want of authority. He first took upon him to decide the controversies of his own Village, which performing with much equity and conscience, thence became known to other parts, and at length became so famous, that few would bring their causes before any other Judge than him alone. Being aware of this, he withdrew himself, giving out that no longer could he undergo such a burthen, and thereby neglect his private affairs. Hereupon, robberies, violence, and oppression, returned throughout the Country; insomuch, that the people, gathering together from all quarters, after a serious debate, concluded there was necessity of having a King, under whose protection every man living, might the better minde his domestick matters. *Deioces* was chosen by universall consent, who, having got the power into his hands, caused them to build a City for his residence, which he called *Ecbatane*, and having ruled with abundant severity 53 years, left the Kingdom to his Son *Phraortes*. He, after he had reigned 22, left for successor his Son *Cyaxares*, who having long struggled with various Fortune, (as afterwards will be seen) gave place to his Son *Astyages*, Father to *Mandane* the Mother of *Cyrus*.

According to *Eusebius*.

(*z*) Eusseb. *in Chronico.*

(*a*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9, 7, 98, *&c.*

Deioces how he got the Kingdom.

Phraortes.

Cyaxares.

Astyages.

15. *Belesis* obtained *Babylon*, as was said; but how long he held it, or who succeeded him immediately, is not known. About 71 years after, *Nabonassar*, or *Nabonassar*, obtained the Kingdom there; from the beginning of whose reign, that famous *Æra*, or *Epoche*, known by the name of *Æra Nabonassari*, is derived. It is counted from the first day of that *Egyptian* month *Thoth* (*Febr.* 26.) which fell out 746 *Julian* years, and 310 dayes, before the *Æra* of Christ, as *Cappellus* and others reckon; 424 years before the death of *Alexander* the Great, according to *Ptolomy* (*b*) the Prince of Mathematicians, in the 8th *Olympiad*. This Author hath preserved the names of such as succeeded *Nabonassar*, in his Catalogue of Kings. He reigned 14 years, after him *Nadius* 2, then *Chezirus* or *Porus* 5, *Jugæus*, or *Iluæus* 5, and then *Mardocempadus* 26. In his time happened the (*c*) three most antient Eclipses of the Moon, observed by the *Babylonians*. The first of them in the first of his reign, and the 28th of the month *Thoth*, the 27th year of *Nabonassar*. The second in his 2nd year, on the 18th of *Thoth*. And 176 dayes, 20 hours and an halfe after this, the third Eclipse fell out, on the 15th day of the month *Phamenoth*. *Scaliger* and others, think this *Mardokempad* to be the same with him, who in the (*d*) Scripture is called *Merodach-Baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*. But *Cappellus* conjectureth there were two *Merodach's*, Sons of *Baladan* and Nephews of *Nabonassar*, whereof the one was called *Merodac-Kempad*, and the other *Merodac-Baladan*.

Belesis his successors.

Nabonassar.

Ptolomie's Catalogue of Kings.

(*b*) *Magn. Syntax.* lib. 3. *c.* 8.

(*c*) *Idem Lib.* 4. *cap.* 6, 7.

(*d*) 2 Kings. 20. 12.

16. *Mardokempadus*, having reigned 12 years, was succeded by *Arki-*

arus, who ruled 5. Then followed an *Inter-regnum* for two years, after which *Bilibus* obtained the Kingdom for 3, then *Apronadius* 6, *Rigibelus* one, *Mesessimordak*, 4; after whom another *Inter-regnum* insued for 8 years, he being also written *Mesessi carduc*. Now the Royall Race seemeth to (e) one, to have failed, and *Esarchaddon* the King of *Assyria* to have again subjected the *Babylonians* to his Kingdom; and his reason is, for that he who followed at the end of this *Inter-regnum* is by *Ptolomy* called *Asaradinus*, which he thinketh to differ onely from *Esarchaddon* in the sound of severall Languages. If so, this is he, who brought out of the East Country, Strangers to inhabite *Samaria*, whence *Salmanesser* had, 40 or more years before, transported the *Ephramites*. He is also, by the posterity of this new Colonie, called the great and noble *Asnapper*. But how this *Assyrian* Kingdom had sprung up again, during these two Principalities of the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, is to be considered.

(e) Usserius in Annal. Vet. Testament. ad A. M. 3323.

The arising anew of the Assyrian Kingdom. How, when, and by whom.

17. It is not probable that the vast Empire of *Sardanapalus* was all (nor perhaps the greatest part) subject to *Media* and *Babylon*; but that, although *Arbaces* left not the *Medes* to their liberty, yet severall people he did, for want of power to keep them under: Hence in some time the people beyond *Euphrates*, wearie of that anarchie and confusion, under which they laboured, might be willing to admit of a Prince again, though not of the old stock of *Belus*; whose successors having far excelled in power and dominion, the *Greeks* accounted *Sardanapalus* the last King of the *Assyrians*. Who this new Prince should be, remaineth very obscure. One (f) thinketh him that same *Phul*, who made an incursion into the Land of *Israel*, in the time of *Menachem*, fixing the beginning of his reign, in the 4th *Olympiad*, 17 years before that of *Nabonassar*. Another (g) will have *Tiglath-Pileser* (or *Thilgath-Pilneser*, or *Theglath-Phalassar*) to be the man (in *Ælian*, he saith, called *Thilgamus*) whom also he accounteth the same with *Ninus Junior*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (h) having assumed the name of the first founder of the *Assyrian* Empire. This *Tiglath-Pileser*, at the invitation of *Judah*, went up against *Rezen* (i) King of *Damascus*, and killing him transported his subjects into *Kir*, a place (as *Josephus* will have it) of upper *Media*. He died when he had reigned 19 years, and was succeeded by *Salmanassar*; to whom (k) *Hosea* King of *Israel* refused to pay tribute, entring into confederacie with *So* King of *Ægypt* against him: But *Salmanasser* besieged him in *Samaria*, and at the end of three years, taking the City, carried the *Israelites* into captivity into *Chelach*, *Cheber*, and *Nehar-gosan*, Cities of *Media*, where he, as well as his predecessor, might have power, if, (*Deioces*, as yet not having obtain'd the Kingdom) that Country was still subject to a popular Government, or rather in a confused Anarchie.

Phul.

Tiglath-Pileser.

Salmanasser.

(f) Jacobus Cappellus ad A. M. 3236.

(g) Usserius ad A. M. 3257. Hist. Asiæ, lib. 12. c. 21.

(h) In Chron. ex Cestove Rhodio.

(i) 2 Kings 15. 16.

(k) 17.

A. M. 3273.

18. After the subversion of the Kingdom of *Israel*, he overran all *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He sent an Army against the *Tyrians* at such time as *Elulæus* their King made War upon the *Citteans* which had rebelled; but a peace was presently made, and he drew back his Forces. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palætyrus*, and other Towns revolted from the *Tyrians* to him; so that they alone standing out, he returned, and having a supplie of 60 ships from the *Phœnicians*, ingaged with them in a Sea-fight; but they having but 12, yet overthrew his Fleet, and thereby obtained great credit. At his return, he set guards upon the River, and water-courses, and there kept them five years together, which constrained them to make a shift with Wells and Pits, as *Menander* (l) related out of the *Tyrian* Annals, translated into the *Greek* tongue, wherein the name of *Salmanasar* was recorded. *Salmanasar* dying *Senacherib* his Son succeeded him, called also *Sargon* in (m) Scripture, as some think. He infested all *Asia* and *Ægypt* with War; into the later of which, as he descended, in his retreat he sore (n) distressed *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, who making his application unto his God, obtained deliverance, to the confusion of the *Assyrian* and his Army. *Herodotus* telleth a story, How when he came to *Pelusium*, *Sethes* the Priest of *Vulcan* then King of *Ægypt*, by his prayer to his god, procured all the habilaments of War to be eaten

Senacherib. A. M. 3287.

(l) Apud. Iosephum Antiq. lib. 9. cap. 14.

(m) Isa. 20. 1. Berosus apud Iosephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.

(n) 2 Kings 18. (o) Lib. 2. c. 141.

eaten with Mice; so that being rendred unable to fight, he was forced to draw back his Army. But the Prophecies against *Egypt* ascertain us that this expedition proved very dysastrous to it, and that many Captives were thence led away, which the Priests, from whom *Herodotus* had his information, hid this, and all other things that tended to the dishonour of their Countrey. Esay 18.

19. Returning from *Ægypt* into *Palæstine*, he besieged (p) *Lachish*; and thence removed to *Libnah*, where he wrote a blasphemous Letter to *Hezekiah*. For hearing that *Tirhakah* King of *Æthiopia* (or *Arabia*) (by *Josephus* called *Tharsices*, by *Strabo*, *Tearkon*) was coming against him in behalf of the *Egyptians*, he removed for fear, and God sent his Angel into his Camp, who slew in one night 85000 men, which thing as a plague was also recorded by (q) *Berosus*. Then returned he (as God had promised *Hezekiah*) with great consternation into his own Land, where raging against the *Jews* that dwelt at *Nineveh* (if credit be to begiven to the book of *Tobit*) he was after 44 dayes slain in the Temple of his idol *Nisroch*, by his two sons *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, (who fled for it into the Land of *Ararat*, or *Armenia*) and *Esarchaddon* his son reigned in his stead.

(p) 2 Chron. 32. 1 Kings 19. Esay 37.

(q) Apud Josephum ut supra, cap. 2.

Esarchaddon the same with *Asaradinus*.

20. This *Esarchaddon* is thought (and that probably) to be the same with *Asaradinus* mentioned by *Ptolomy* in his Catalogue of Kings, and who subdued *Babylon*. It is also thought that (r) this is he, who when he brought a new Colony into *Samaria* from *Babylon*, *Cuthah*, *Ana*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, at the same time making an inroad into *Judæa*, (as 'tis very probable) took (s) *Menasseh* the King thereof in the Thorns, and carried him in Captivity into *Babylon*; for it appeareth from both these passages mentioned in Scripture, that at this time that Citie was subject to the King of *Assyria*. After *Esarchaddon* (or *Asaradinus*) had reigned thirteen years, *Saosduchinus* succeeded him according to *Ptolomy*; and not *Merodach* whom the general opinion will have, (being King of *Babylon*) to have killed him, and again overthrown the Empire of the *Assyrians*. For this succession is founded upon a feigned (t) Author imposed on the World, with several others of the same credit, and therefore deserveth to be rejected. The time of this *Saosduchinus* falling in with that of *Deioces* (who according to *Herodotus* built *Ecbatane* the Metropolis of *Media*) if any credit be to be given to the book of *Judith*, we may judge him to be that *Nabuchadonosor* mentioned there to have overthrown *Arphaxad*, King of the *Medes*, and builder of that Citie, in the great plains of *Ragau*. After he had taken him in the Mountains, he slew him; plundred *Ecbatane*, and then returned victoriously unto *Niniveh*, where he feasted his Army for 120 dayes. The year after, entring into Consultation how to subdue the several Nations about him; he ordained *Holophernes* his General, who straitly besieging *Bethsara*, a Town of *Judæa*; by the wisdom and courage of *Judith*, the Widdow of one *Manasses* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, was circumvented, and had his head cut off in his Tent.

(r) 2 Kings 17.

(s) 2 Chron. 33.

Saosduchinus.

(t) Pseudo-Metasthenes apud Annium vit. Eubensem. fol. 221. De cujus fictis Auctoribus vide Joh. Gorop. Bibliothe. Hispan. Tom. 2. pag. 356. Gaspar. Barthium, ibid. pag. 386. 407. 417. 431. Seth. Calvis. Isagog. Chronol. cap. 28. 29. & Chron. p. 171. A. Non est germanum opus Pamphili Tert. Apol. n. 287.

Chuniladanus.

21. *Saosduchinus*, (or *Saosduenus*) having reigned twenty years, *Chuniladanus* succeeded him, thought also to be the same with *Saracus*, mentioned by *Alexander Polyhistor*. Against him came (u) *Phraortes*, the son of *Deioces* in revenge of his father's death; after he had first of all others subdued the *Persians*, and the rest of *Asia*. But his good fortune here forsook him, and he perished with the greatest part of his Army, in the 22 year of his reign. His son *Cyaxares* succeeding is said to have been more puissant then his Ancestors, and the first that distinguished the people of *Asia* into several Provinces, and Souldiers into their several ranks of Pike-men, Horsmen, and those that used Darts. He fought with the *Lydians*; at which time so great an Eclipse of the Sun hapned, that the day seemed to be turned into night. Having brought to his obedience all *Asia*, beyond the River *Halys*, he gathered his forces together, and went against *Nineveh* with intentions to destroy the Citie. He overthrew the *Assyrians* in battel and besieged the place; but it hapned at this time that a great Army of *Scythians* having

(u) Herodotus lib. 1. 102. &c.

The Scythians having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, under conduct of *Madyes*, the son of *Protothya*, (called otherwise *Judathyrsus*) their King, still followed them, and from the Lake *Mæotis*, leaving the Mountain *Caucasus* on their right hand, pierced into *Media*.

obtain *Asia* 28 years.

22. *Cyaxares* hereby was constrained to raise his siege, went, and gave them battel; but was overthrown, and lost the Dominion of *Asia*, which the *Scythians* having obtained, marched straight for *Egypt*. *Psammetichus* the King met them on their way, when they had new entred *Palastine*, and by good words backed with money prevailed with them to go no further. They enjoyed the Dominion of *Asia* 28 years; after the expiration of which term, managing their affairs with as great neglect as formerly they had, used diligence in polling and rifling the Countrey; the greatest part of them being entertained by *Cyaxares*, were made drunken and slain, and the King recovered his Dominion. During these things (*x*) *Nabopolassar* a *Babylonian*, and General to the *Assyrian* King contracted affinity with *Astyages* the son of *Cyaxares*, and Governour of *Media*: *Nebucadnesar* the son of *Nabopolassar* marrying *Amytis* daughter to *Astyages*. The effect of this alliance was that they joynly set upon *Saracus*, or *Sonchynaladanus* in *Niniveh*, and taking the Citie slew him therein, after he had reigned 22 years. At this time the Prophecies against *Niniveh* seem to be fulfilled in its destruction. For in the latter end of the *Greek* book of *Tobit* it is written that *Nebuchadonosor* and *Assuerus* took *Niniveh*, *Tobias* being yet alive, who is said to have lived 127 years (or, as the *Latine* hath it, 99.) 95 having already passed from the taking of *Samaria*; at which time he was carried Captive with his father into *Assyria* by *Salmanasar*.

Loose it.

(*x*) Polyhistor *apud Cedrenum, vide* Usserium *in Annot. vet. Test. ad A.M.* 3378.

23. *Chynaladanus* being dead, *Nabopolassar* (or *Nabulassar*) obtained his Kingdom in the 123th year of *Nabonassar*, according to (*y*) *Ptolomy*, whose Canon of Kings also (as to the term of years collected from the particular reign of each) directly answereth to this account. (*z*) Against him came up *Pharaoh Necho*, and took *Carchemish*, a Citie situate upon *Euphrates*, killing *Josiah* the King of *Judah*, who attempted to stop his passage. He holding this Town, the (*a*) Governour of *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia* revolted from the *Babylonian*, who being now unable to undergo the trouble of War made his son *Nebuchadnesar* King with him in his 17th year, and sent him with an Army to subdue *Egypt* and *Syria*; with him joyned (*b*) *Asibares*, King of the *Medes*, whom some think to be *Cyaxares*, and others more probably *Astyages* his son. In this expedition he made *Jehojakin* King of *Judah*, his tributary and drew him from the obedience of *Egypt*; which *Necho* taking in disdain, came up against him and ingaging once more at *Carchemish* was overthrown and slain, as may be gathered out of Scripture. (*c*) Whilest *Nebuchadnesar* was prosecuting his victories, overrunning all from the River of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates*; in the mean (*d*) time his father being sick at *Babylon*, died. After he had reigned 21 years, as it is now in the Catalogue, for which some learned men think 29 is to be read. He understanding hereof disposed of the affairs of *Egypt* and other Countreys, and giving order for the conveyance of the *Judæan*, *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Egyptian* prisoners, he himself made haste through the desart, and took possession of the Government reserved for him by the *Caldæans*.

Nabopolassar.

(*y*) *Magn. Syntax. l.* 5. *c.* 14.

(*z*) 2 Kings 23. 2 Chron. 35.

(*a*) Berosus *apud Joseph. lib.* 1. *contra Apionem.*

(*b*) Alexand. *Polyst. apud Euseb. præp. Evang. lib.* 9.

(*c*) Jerem. 46.

(*d*) Berosus *apud Joseph. ut prius: & Antiqu. lib.* 10. *cap.* 11.

Nebuchadnesar.

A.M. 3410. *Olymp.* 46. *an.* 2. Romæ 159.

His great exploits and buildings.

24. He distributed the Captives into Colonies about *Babylon*, adorned the Temple of *Belus* (which *Semiramis* had built) with the spoyls; repaired and increased the buildings of the Citie, and fortified the Channel of the River, that the Enemy should not make use of it against the Town. He added a new Citie to the old, and compassed both with three Walls of brick. He raised divers remarkable ædifices, built a new Pallace, and about it a Garden, or Wilderness, so much celebrated by the *Græcians*. His wife being a *Mede*, and, according to the nature of her Countrey, delighting in Mountainous Woody prospects, brought him to imitate with Art what was wanting in the plains of *Babylon*. This Garden was made four-square, taking up in compasse sixteen Acres, in heighth equalling the Walls, set with tall

Vide Diodor. lib. 2. *p.* 70. B.

tall and beautifull Trees. It was born up by stone-Pillars; upon which a pavement of four-squared stones being laid, Earth was heaped up in great quantity, and Engines were made for the conveying of moisture out of *Euphrates* to water it. The Trees that grew upon it were (many of them) eight Cubits in compasse at the bole; and fifty foot high, bearing fruit as plentifully as in their Native soyl. *Jehojakim* the King of *Judah* rebelling against *Nebuchadnesar*, he came up against him, wasted the Countrey, and, taking him, cast him out unburied as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold. Four moneths after, he also carried away Captive, *Jechonias*, or *Jehojachins* his son, and made *Mattaniah* his Uncle King in his stead. This *Mattaniah*, whom he named *Zedekiah*, rebelled against him notwithstanding his solemne Oath of fealty taken at his institution, and therefore in the eleventh year of his reign he was also taken by the *Babylonian*, had his eyes put out, and was so carried to *Babylon*: the Temple and Citie were burnt with fire, and the people led into Captivity, as will appear in its proper place.

Curtium lib. 5.

2 Kings 23. &c. 2 Chron. 36. Jerem. 22.

His pride.

25. *Nebuchadnesar* returning home was exceeding proud, and puffed up at his successe. He erected a great Image of Gold; in the Dedication whereof all his chief Officers were commanded to fall down and worship which was obeyed by all except three Jews, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*, the companions of *Daniel*. For their punishment they were cast into a fiery Furnace, heated seven times hotter then usual, and so miraculously preserved from the fury of the flame, that not an hair of their heads was singd; though it killed those that cast them in. At this, the King astonished, by publick edict acknowledged Gods power, and forbad the blaspheming of him. Yet repented he not of his pride, and, notwithstanding a sufficient warning given him by God in a dream, exalted himself in the conceit of the greatnesse and splendour of *Babel*, *which he had built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of his power, and for the honour of his Majesty.* But *the same hour*, as he was answered by a voice from Heaven, *the Kingdom departed from him, he was driven from men, made to eat grasse as Oxen, and his body was wet with the Dew of Heaven, till his hairs were grown as Eagles feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws; and seven times passed over him, till he knew that the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.* And this time prefixed being expired (seven years as most suppose, though some reckon but three and an half, counting for times, *Winter* and *Summer*) *his reason returned to him, with the glory of his Kingdom, his Honour, and Brightnesse, his Councellors and his Lords sought unto him, he was established in his Kingdom, and excellent Majesty was added to him.* Therefore he shamed not by a publick writing to own the thing; *praised, honoured, and extolled the King of Heaven, all whose works* he confessed *to be truth, his wayes judgement, and that those that walk in pride he is able to abase.*

Daniel 3.

Punished.

What is found recorded of him by the Heathen.

26. Of these strange passages the Heathen were not utterly ignorant. (*e*) *Abydenus* wrote, that, being exceeding proud, and going up upon his Pallace, he was taken with a Divine fury. This he had out of the *Annals* of the *Caldæans*, who fancied him to have been seized on with a propherick spirit, and so to have vanished. (*f*) *Megasthenes* in his fourth book of *Judæa*, endeavoured to shew how this King in valiant exploits exceeded *Hercules* by far; that he subdued the chief Citie of *Africk*, and a good part of *Spain*. *Diocles*, in his second book of *Persia*, made mention of him, and *Philostratus* both in his Histories of *Phœnicia* and *India*; writing that he fought against *Tyre* thirteen years, which 'tis probable, at length he took by composition: and there placed *Baal* King in the room of *Ithobalus*. What he did against this Citie, God, taking as service done to himself, promised him the Land of *Egypt* for his wages, which we must accordingly believe to have been paid. At length, having foretold that *Babylon* should be lost to *Cyrus*, as *Abydenus* wrote; he died, after he had reigned 43 years, being in *Ptolomies* Catalogue of Kings, called *Nabocolassar*, which may be corruptly written for *Nabocodolassar*.

(*e*) *Apud Euseb. præp. Evang. lib.* 9.

(*f*) *Apud Josephum, ubi prius.*

Ezek. 29.

27. *Evil-*

Evilmerodach.

27. *Evilmerodach* his Son succeeded him, who lifted up the head of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, in the 37th year of his Captivity, spake kindly unto him, set his Throne above the Throne of the Kings that were with him in *Babylon* and changing his prison garments, allowed him a continuall diet all the dayes of his life. But for his wickednesse and debaucheries, he continued not long, being circumvented by *Nerigliſſor* his Sister's Husband, and slain when he had raigned but two years. *Nerigliſſor* after his death, reigned 4. After him came his Son *Laboroſardochus*, who being of an untowardly disposition, was made away by his Relations, after nine months, and they preferred to his place one *Nabonidus* a *Babylonian*, by *Ptolomy* called *Nabonadius*, by others *Nabannidochus* and *Labynitus*. [(*g*) Who reigned 17 years, for which some think 27 is to be read.] This succession we have from *Berosus* the *Caldæan*, attested by *Ptolomy*, who yet leaveth out *Laboroſardochus*, either for his small continuance, or because he reigned together with his Father. But learned Men do not agree in the manner of reconciling this History with what *Daniel* hath written of *Belſhazar*. Some will have *Labynitus* or *Nabonodus*, to be *Belſhazar*, *Nabonodus* being the last of the Kings, which *Belſhazar* also seemeth to be; at his death, *Babylon* being taken by *Cyrus*, as the interpretation of the writing on the wall hinteth: Peres, *thy Kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Persians. As for *Darius* the *Mede*, he seemeth to them to be no other then *Cyaxares* the Son of *Aſtyages* King of *Media*, and the Uncle of *Cyrus*, who of his own accord delivered *Babylon* to him: and they think this sufficient to prove that *Laboroſardochus* could not bee *Belſhazar*, because hee hath but nine months assigned him by *Berosus*, whereas we read in *Daniel* of the third year of *Belſhazar*.

Nerigliſſor.

Laboroſardochus.

Nabonidus.

Whether the same with *Belſhazar.*

A. M. 3440. *Olymp.* 53. *an.* 4. *Romæ condit.* 189.

(*g*) *Apud* Ioſephum *lib.* 1. *contr. Apionem.*

28. Others think they have ground enough to denie *Nabonidus* to be *Belſhazar*, who is called the *Son of Nebuchadneſar*; in regard no such relation is mentioned by *Berosus*, that can intitle him to so much as his grand-child, which *Laboroſardochus* was by his Daughter, being called *his Son* by a common *Hebraism*: For the *Latin* version of *Josephus* which maketh *Nabonodus* of the blood; it is in no case agreeable to the Originall which plainly relateth him to have been of the * conspiracy. For the 5th year of *Belſhazar* it well enough agreeth with *Laboroſardochus*, because he reigned 4 years, with his Father, and, after his Father's death, nine moneths by himself. Now the History of *Daniel* onely relateth *Belſhazar* to have been slain; not that *Babylon* was then besieged by *Cyrus*: it being improbable, say they, that a time of so great danger, the King and his Nobles should spend in feasting and jollity; but rather likely, that behaving himselfe too insolently in that drunken fit, he was knocked in the head by his Companions, as *Berosus* * hinteth, and the Scripture rather seemeth to approve than contradict. As for the interpretation of the Writing on the wall, it might note what was already determined, and within a little time was to be accomplished concerning *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, who being at that time known to the World, could not be hid from *Daniel*, who had met with his name long before in the Prophesie of *Isaiah*, and had his mind, without doubt, fixed upon the 70 years of Captivity foretold by *Jeremiah*, to which a period should shortly be put by that person. That *Darius Medus* was of *Median* descent appeareth, but that he was King of the *Medes* can no way be evinced; especially seeing that no antient *Greek* Historian maketh mention of *Cyaxares* the Son of *Aſtyages*, (whom we read to have had but one Daughter) except *Xenophon*; and he either one purpose seemeth to thwart *Herodotus*, or to have written his *Cyropædia*, rather (*b*) to shew what a Prince ought to be, than what *Cyrus* was indeed, and so to have taken some of that liberty of invention which others (*i*) have done of late upon the same and other Subjects. But though *Joseph Scaliger* may seem to shew more reason for this later assertion, yet *Pererius* truly affirmeth the thing to be obscure, perplexed, and difficult.

εἰς τὴς ἀρχὴς ἐπανάστασιν.

ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπεσφάγη.

(*b*) Cicero *ad quintum Fratrem. Ep.* 1.

(*i*) As the *Grand Cyrus* of *George de Scudery* Governor of *Noſtre Dame de la Garde*, a *Romance* of 10. Volumes.

29. If *Laboroſardochus* bee taken for *Belſhazar*, then *Nabonodus* must be the same with *Darius Medus*; whom further, some would have to

to be the *Brother* of *Aſtyages*, not his Son, and yet called *Cyaxares*. In him the Empire of the *Babylonians* ceased, and was derived upon the *Perſians* by *Cyrus*, whose first beginnings are to be viewed, with the progresse of his actions, which made way to that pitch of greatnesse whereat he arrived. Herein Historians do not relate the same things. That *Aſtyages* was his Grand-father is acknowledged by all, except *Ctesias*, who will have them nothing akin, and calleth him *Aſtyigas*: His Father's name is granted to be *Cambyſes*, his Country *Perſia*, but his condition is diversly reported of. *Herodotus* writeth how *Aſtyages* dreaming two dreams concerning his Daughter *Mandane*, (which by the Wizards were interpreted to portend the losse of his Kingdom, through the greatnesse of her issue) gave her in marriage to one *Cambyſes* a *Perſian* of obscure fortune; and not satisfied in this security, sent for her when she was with child, and as soon as the Boy was born, gave him to one *Harpagus* to be made away. *Harpagus* fearing he might afterwards be called to an account by the Mother, for violence offered to the Babe, delivered him to the King's Shepherd, to be exposed in the Woods unto the mercie of wild beasts. This being done, and the Shepherd's Wife lately brought to bed of a still-born child; she prevailed with her Husband to fetch him home; nursed and brought him up as her own Son amongst the Shepherds. At seven years of age being chosen King of the Boyes in their play, he executed the office with severity, towards such as were disobedient, and for this was complained of by their Parents to the King. Being sent for and accused of the crime, he would acknowledge none, alledging he had done like a King; and standing in his justification without the least change of countenance, *Aſtyages* was struck with admiration, and presently called to mind his dream. Upon examination of the Shepherd, he got out the whole matter; owned him for his Grand-son, because he thought the dream fulfilled in his boyish reign amongst the Shepherds; onely he thought it good to send him out of the way into *Perſia*.

Cyrus.

The sum of what *Herodotus* hath written concerning his Birth and Fortune.

30. But to punish *Harpagus* for his disobedience, he invited him to supper, and caused to be served up to the table his onely Son; of which, after he had eaten heartily, and approved the meat, he let him see his entertainment, by the head, hands, and feet, reserved in another platter. *Harpagus* for the present kept down his passion, seeming to acquiesce in the King's pleasure, untill *Cyrus* came to man's estate. Then, hearing of his activity and forwardnesse, he resolved by presents to make him his friend, meditating a convenient way of revenge by the means of this Youth, from whom he expected something answerable to his Grandfather's dream. Knowing *Aſtyages* his tyrannicall carriage towards the *Medes*, he insinuated himself into the chief of them by degrees, and secretly perswaded them, that it was convenient he should be removed from the Government; especially seeing they might with some plausibility place *Cyrus* in his Seat. Having thus made War, he wrote Letters to the young Man, into *Perſia*, (which, to prevent discovery, he sowed up in the belly of an Hare) wherein recalling to his memorie what he had suffered from his Grandfather upon his account, he sollicited him to draw the *Perſians* to revolt; then to come down with an Army into *Media*, where he might be sure of him or any other the Kings Generals, and so easily become Master of all.

31. *Cyrus* considering of a way how to accomplish this businesse, which now he made no lesse than a design, called the *Perſians* together; first gave out that he was chosen their *General* by *Aſtyages*, and then easily perswaded them, by laying open, how much Liberty was to be preferred before that Slavery they now underwent, to close with him and break out into open rebellion. The old Man hearing of this, sent a messenger for him; but he returned answer, he would come sooner than he should have cause to desire his company; whereupon he armed his Subjects of *Media*, and forgetting how he had formerly injured *Harpagus*, committed the Army to his conduct. *Harpagus* revolting, he lost thereby the first Battell; yet was not daunted, but threatened *Cyrus*, nailed to crosses the *Magicians*, who had perswaded him

him to dismisse him, and arming all both old and young that were in the City, led them out to a second engagement, wherein his successe was worse than before, he being taken prisoner. When *Harpagus*, boasting of his revenge, insulted over him, he taxed him of imprudence and injustice: of the one, for that having power to make himselfe King he should transfer the dignity to another; and of the other, because, for to revenge a private injury, he had enslived the whole Nation of the *Medes*, out of which he might rather have chosen one to the Kingdom, refusing it himselfe, than him who would now so order the matter, that the *Persians*, slaves before, should be Lords and Masters of all. Thus *Astyages* lost his Kingdom, after he had held it 35 years, enjoying all things else at his Grandson's hands, till his naturall death: And the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they had enjoyed the dominion of *Asia* beyond the River *Halys*, the space of 128 years, (except that space wherein the *Scythians* kept them under) in the 2d year of the 55th *Olympiad*, of the World 3446.

Cyrus overthroweth *Astyages* his Grand father.

32. *Cyrus* having obtained the soveraignty of *Persia* and *Media*, was within a while provoked by *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, who at this time was grown eminent, having improved the inheritance which descended upon him from his Ancestors.

A. M. 3446. *Olymp.* 55. *an.* 2. *urbis conditæ* 195.

Provoked by *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*.

The *Lydian* Nation was of great antiquity, so named from *Lud* the Son of *Sem*, or rather descended of him who by *Moses* is so called; both he and they having obtained this name from that Country, which from the crookednesse and winding of the River *Mæander* took the appellation of *Lud*, in the *Phœnician* Language signifying *crooked* or *winding*: The *Greeks* say, that the *Lydians* were first called *Mæones*; and *Lydia Mæonia*, from *Mæon*, an antient King of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, who was thought to have been the Father of *Cybeles*, Mother of the gods, and that long after him reigned *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*, and Brother of *Tyrrhenus*, from whom they fancie the Country to have been named. Better is the opinion of *Stephanus*, who deriveth *Mæonia* from the River *Mæon* or *Mæander*. For, though the *Greeks* might call them *Lydians*, yet that their right name was *Ludians*, appeareth from the *Latin* words, *Ludus*, *Ludo*, *Ludio*, &c. thence derived; seeing it is granted, that the first Players came form (*l*) *Lydia* into *Hetruria*, so to *Rome*, as the *Lydians* (*m*) boasted themselves to have been inventors of those Games, which afterwards were common with them to the *Greeks*. Hence it appeareth, that though the Country might be called both *Lydia* and *Mæonia*, from the selfesame thing; yet most ancient was the name of *Lud*. After the Posterity of *Lydus*, reigned the *Heraclidæ* or those that were descended from *Hercules*, by his Son *Alcæus*. The first was *Argon*, saith *Herodotus*, the Son of *Ninus*, Grand-son of *Belus*, and great Grand-son of *Alcæus*; the last was *Candaules* the Son of *Myrsus*, by the *Greeks* called *Myrsilus*. *Candaules* (*n*) or *Candylos*, signified a certain kind of *Lydian* meat made of Flowre, Cheese, Honey, Bread, and Flesh; the *Lydians* being accounted the first (*o*) of all Nations, that busied themselves in Cookery, insomuch that they became a Proverb for it.

Lege Bochartum. *Phaleg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.

Lydia whence so called.

(*l*) Herodotus *lib.* 1. *c.* 7. Strabo *lib.* 13. *p.* 586. *c.* Plin. *l.* 5. *c.* 29. Diodorus. Halicar. *lib.* 1. Diodorus *l.* 3. *p.* 165. *B.*

(*l*) Tertull. *de Spectac. lib.* 5. Dionys. *Halic. lib.* 2.

(*m*) Herodotus *l.* 1. *c.* 95.

(*n*) Athen. *l.* 12. Plut. *Sym. l.* 4. Herodotus *lib.* 1. *c.* 49.

(*o*) *Ausidis xandrus.*

33. The Antiquity of the *Lydians* appeareth further out of the antient Fables; *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe* and *Arachne*, being of this Country: Their fruitfulnesse, from the Colonies they sent out into *Peloponnesus* and *Caria*, into *Etruria* also, as they say. Their valour and power is shewn to have been of great antiquity from their holding the dominion of the Sea 92 years, which they took from the *Cretians* about the time of *Jephthe*, and 1200 years before Christ, losing it again and recovering it afterwards. But *Candaules* with his Family being extinct, and the Kingdom devolved upon the *Mermnadæ* (of whom *Crœsus* descended) the power of the Nation grew greater also at Land. These *Heraclidæ*, held it the space of 505 years, through 22 Successors unto this *Candaules*, who so far being enamoured of his Wife as he esteemed her the most beautifull of all women, constrained his servant *Gyges* to see her naked. She espying *Gyges* whilst therein he onely satisfied his Masters will, offered him the choice of killing her husband, and marrying

Euseb. *in Chron.*

The Royall Families of *Lydia*.

Herodotus *l.* 1. *c.* 8, &c.

marrying her with the Kingdom, or of suffering death himselfe; one of their two lives being the least he could require in way of Justice. He, in so great a strait, preferring his own safety before his Master's life, slew him in his bed-chamber, the place where the fault was committed, and so enjoyed the Queen with the Kingdom; wherein he was confirmed by the Oracle of *Delphos*, to the sentence of which, he and his adversaries had agreed to stand.

34. *Gyges* reigned 38 years, in which space he made War upon *Miletus*, and *Smyrna*, and took the City *Colophon*. *Ardys* his Son and Successor subdued *Priene*, fought against *Miletus*; and in his time the *Cimmerians* being expelled their seats by the *Scythian Nomades*, passed into *Asia*, and took *Sardis*, all but the Castle. He reigned 49 years. His Son *Sadyattes* 12, who gave place to *Alyattes* his Son and Successor. *Alyattes* waged War with * *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, and expelled the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*, took *Smyrna*, and set upon *Clazomenæ*. In the 6th year of the War betwixt the *Median* and him, whilst they fought upon equall terms, the Sun was eclipsed, which *Thales*, one of the 7 wise men, had foretold to his *Milesians*. Both the armies seing the day beginning to be turned into night, left off fighting and then by the mediation of *Syennesis* the *Cilician*, and *Labynitus* the *Babylonian* a peace was concluded; *Ariena* the Daughter of *Halyattes* being marryed to *Astyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*. From the Tables of *Ptolomy* (or of *Hipparchus*) it appeareth that this Eclipse happened in the 4th year of the 44th *Olympiad*, the 147th of *Nabonassar*, the 4th day of the *Ægyptian* month *Pachon*, (which answereth to the 20th of *September*) 3 hours and 25 minutes before noone; 9 digits being eclipsed, and the duration almost 2 hours. *Halyattes* pursued also the War left him by his Father, against *Miletus*, the Inhabitants whereof received from him two great blows, for that none of the *Ionians* helped them, except the *Chians*, in way of requitall for the aide they had afforded them against the *Erythræans*. At length, having notice that he intended to send a messenger into the City, at the command of *Thrasybulus* their Prince, they brought all the provision they had into the market-place; which appearing to be much, and as such related to *Ayattes*, he thinking himselfe mistaken in his former belief of their distressed condition, made Peace with them; and died after he had reigned 57 years.

* *Vide supra* paragraph. 21.

35. *Crœsus* his Son succeeded him at the age of 35 years. He made War upon *Ephesus*, which when he besieged, the Towns-men for their security, give up the City to *Diana*, by a rope fastned from the wall to her Temple; but for all this he brought them under and subdued all the rest of the *Greek* Cities in the continent. He brought into his subjection all the people of *Asia* within the River *Halis*, as the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Bithynians*, *Paphlagonians*, the *Mariandyni*, *Chalibes*, *Thracians*, *Thyni*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Lycians*, and *Cilicians*. Being growne great, and flowing with wealth, and flourishing with glory, the choisest wits of *Greece* flocked to *Sardis*, and amongst the rest *Solon* the *Athenian*, who being now in his travells, had been with *Amasis* of *Ægypt*, and now came to visite *Crœsus*. He kindly entertained him, and, shewing him his treasures, out of a vain conceit of his own felicity, demanded of him, Whom he thought the happiest Man. He answered, he esteemed for such, one *Tellus* an *Athenian*, who having lived in good credit, and leaving divers Children and Nephews of honest and virtuous cariage, died in the War at *Eleusine*, after he had first helped to put to flight the enemy; for which he was honoured by his Citizens with a publick and stately funerall. *Crœsus* expecting, if not the first, yet the second place, asked him, Whom he accounted next to *Tellus*. He replied *Cleobis* and *Biton*, two brothers of *Argos*, who had sufficient to live on, and being very strong, had gotten the better in tryall of Masteries. On a time at the feast of *Juno*, their Mother being to be drawn in a Chariot to the Temple, and the Heiffers not at hand, they yoked themselves, and drew her thither. She being much affected with the piety of her Sons, praied the Goddesse that whatsoever was best for Man, might be bestowed on them, who sleeping that night in the Temple, were found dead in the morning, and honoured by

Herod. *ubi supra c.* 26, &c.

the *Argives* with two Statues, erected to their memory at *Delphos*.

36. The King was troubled that his felicity should be so little valued, as not comparable to that of private men. But *Solon* plainly told him, that all things were uncertain in this life, and no man ought to be accounted happy til his End; for which Philosophy, as strange to the Courtiers, he was dismissed with small reputation for learning. *Crœsus*, growing exceeding proud and irreligious; to humble him, had a dream, that the choisest of his two Sons, (whereof one was dumb) should be slain with the iron head of some weapon. Hereupon he removed all things of that nature out of the way, looked to him diligently, and marryed him out of hand. But at this time it hapned, that a certain wild Boar haunted about the Mountain *Olympus* in *Mysia*, which doing great harm to the Inhabitants, they were in no wise able to master; and therefore sent to *Crœsus*, desiring him to send his Son, accompanied with a sufficient train, to hunt and kill the Wild beast. He plainly denied, because of his dream, to let him stir from home; but the young Man, having a great desire to the exercise, thereby to approve himselfe for activity to his new married wife, obtained leave to be sent, saying, that no such thing would be used in the game as that of which he had dreamed. He committed him then to the care of one *Adrastus* the Son of *Gordius* (and he of *Midas*) King of *Phrygia*, who having at unawares killed his brother, had been banished by his his Father. When they came into the field, and had dislodged the Boar, *Adrastus* throwing a dart at him, chanced to hit the young Man, and so fulfilled the dream; for which, offering himselfe to be killed, upon *Crœsus* his refusall, as done without any intention, he yet slew himselfe. *Crœsus* took the accident very heavily, and kept himselfe in mourning two years.

37. This mourning was broken off by the prosperity of *Cyrus*, who having now overthrown the Kingdom of the *Medes*, advanced highly the affairs of *Persia*. Herein he found himselfe exceedingly concerned, so as to withstand, if possible, his successe, and make an addition thereby to his own Fortune. For encouragement in this design, he sent to enquire of the Oracles far and near; which answering with one consent, that he should *overturn a great Principality*, he was much incouraged, not doubting but that of the *Persians* was meant thereby; and much more after the Oracle at *Delphos*, had (in answer to his requiry, whether his Empire should long continue) bid him look to himselfe, when a Mule should have possession of the Soveraignty of *Media*; taking this in a literall sense, notwithstanding the constant ambiguity of such answers. Now (the Oracle giving way to it) he sent to make a League with the *Lacedemonians*, who being obliged to him, easily complied; though no supplies do we read of sent to him. For he, being in great haste, prevented the sending of any; and, with all the force he could make, invaded *Cappadocia*, to revenge, as he pretended, upon *Cyrus*, the injurie offered to *Astyages* his Brother in Law; but indeed to lay that fertile Country to his own Dominions. Having passed the River *Hayis*, he came into a place of *Cappadocia* called *Pteria*, the most safe of all the Country, near to the City *Sinope*, which was situated upon the *Euxine* Sea. Taking up his quarters here, he made incursions, took the City of the *Pterians*, with all the rest round about, and banished the *Syrians* (so were the *Cappadocians* called by the *Greeks*, till subjected to the *Persian* Empire) though they had nothing ill deserved at his hands.

Crœsus Halyn gressus, magnam pervertet opum vim.

Crœsus invadeth *Cappadocia.*

38. *Cyrus* coming against him sent to the *Ionians*, to draw them to his party; but they standing off, he proceeded, and pitcht his Camp against *Crœsus*. After some skirmishes the Armies ingaged, and a very hot dispute continued till night parted them, many falling on both sides. *Crœsus*, though neither party owned any defeat, was blamed by his Soldiers for ingaging with so numerous an Army; so that, *Cyrus* not stirring out against him the next day, he thought it best to retreat to *Sardis*, and sent out of hand for aide to *Amesis* King of *Ægypt*, and *Labynitus* of *Babylon*, whom he had by a League obliged to him: to the *Lacedæmonians* also to dispatch their Auxiliaries within 5. month, with which resting that winter, he would re-invade the

Retreateth to *Sardis.*

the *Persians* the following Spring. Accordingly he dismissed all his mercenaries standing then in no need of them, as he thought; which *Cyrus* hearing, resolved with all speed to follow him to *Sardis*, hoping he might utterly defeat him before he could recollect his Forces: and accordingly marching into *Lydia* he prevented any message of his coming. *Crœsus*, though exceedingly perplexed at so unexpected a thing, gathered his subjects together, as time would give leave, and provided for his defence; which the other perceiving, and fearing the power of his Horse (wherein the *Lydians* excelled all other people of *Asia*) took off the burthens from all the Camels, that followed the Camp, and setting Riders upon them, placed them in the front; the smell of which (when the Armies joyned) the Horses not enduring, turned aside. Yet were not the Riders thereby deterred from fighting, but, dismounting, performed on Foot what couldbe expected, till over-powered rather with number then valour, they were put to flight, and besieged in the Citie.

Overthrown in battel.

And besieged.

39. *Crœsus* thinking he might possibly be able to hold out some considerable time, sent again to his confederates to hasten their succours. But *Cyrus* on the fourteenth day of the siege offering a great reward to him that should first mount the Wall, one *Hyræades*, a *Mardian*, having taken notice of a place, which because of its heighth and precipitancy was held impregnable, and therefore neglected by the besieged (where yet he had seen a Souldier come down to fetch his Helmet he had let fall) made means to climb up, and after him more and more followed, till the Citie was thereby surprized. All places being full of slaughters, a Souldier not knowing *Crœsus*, was about to kill him; which he neglected, as willing to dye with his Kingdom. But his dumb son, affrighted at the danger he saw him in, is said to have broken silence (or dumbnesse) with this expression; *Man, do not kill Crœsus*, and thenceforth to have enjoyed the use of his tongue. Thus *Crœsus overturned a great principality*, as the Oracle had foretold, after he had reigned fourteen years, and been besieged so many dayes. *Cyrus* adjudged him to death, and had burnt him alive, but that he, almost too late, remembred the words of the wise Law-giver of *Athens*, and cried out *Solon, Solon, Solon*! *Cyrus* commanded the Interpreters to demand of him whom he invocated (thinking it to be some God he mentioned); to which he answered, when compelled to speak, that he named one whom rather then any thing, he would have to speak with all Princes; and, being urged to explain himself, told the whole story concerning the discourse betwixt him and *Solon*. Herewith the Conquerour was so affected, that, considering the uncertainty of his own prosperous condition, though the pile was already kindled, yet commanded he the fire to be quenched, and receiving him into his most inward counsels, held him ever most dear, and in great esteem for his wisdom; wherein, after such manifold experience, he excelled. This hapned in the fourth year of the 58 *Olympiad*, the fifteenth year of the reign of *Cyrus*. A. M. 3460.

Sardis taken.

Vide Herod. lib. 1. c. 85. Aul. Gellium. l. 5. c. 9. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 4. Ext. Exam. 6. Solinum. c. 7.

Crœsus condemned.

His life spared.

A. M. 3460. Olymp. 58. an. 4. Cyri 15.

40. When the *Ionians* and *Æolians* heard that *Crœsus*, with so little a ado, was utterly subdued, they sent to *Cyrus*, offering to put themselves into his hands, on the same terms as the *Lydians* were received; but he returned them no satisfactory answer, because of their refusal formerly to joyn with him. All of them then, (except the *Milesians*, those having yielded themselves) made their application to the *Lacedæmonians*, who refused to grant any aide; but sent some to make discovery how matters went in *Asia*. The Messengers finding *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, according to order, acquainted him with the pleasure of that Republick, Not to suffer him to molest any of the *Greek* Cities. He enquiring what the *Lacedæmonians* were, presently sleighed them, and answered, That, if the Gods preserved him, they should have cause to bewail their own calamities, and not busie themselves with what concerned the *Ionians*. He committed *Sardis* to the custody of *Tabalus*, a *Persian*; to *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, the Treasure of *Crœsus* and others: and so set out for *Ecbatane*, making little account of the *Ionians* (against whom he intended

Herodotus. lib. 1. c. 141. &c.

tended to send some Lieutenant) in comparison of *Babylon*, the *Bactrians*, *Saca* and *Egyptians*, upon all which he had cast an hungry eye with purpose to invade them. After his departure *Paktyas* revolted, and drawing into Rebellion the Maritime Coasts, besieged *Tabacus*; whereat *Cyrus* being angry, as esteeming it a plot of the *Lydians*, *Cræsus* fearing worse things might come upon them, after an excuse of the generality, advised him to take from them the use of Arms, and enure them to effeminate courses whereby they would easily be kept under. *Cyrus*, according to his advise, dispatched away with an Army, one *Mazares* a *Mede*, who finding *Sardis* deserted by *Paktyas*, put in execution what *Cræsus* had advised. By this course was brought to passe, that the *Lydians*, to whom for valour no Nation in *Asia* could be compared, grew infamous for effeminateness and luxury; so that glutronous (o) and voluptuous persons, (p) such as made it their profession to afford incitements to debauchery, received Epithets from their name.

Paktyas revolteth.

(o) Αυδιστι τοισι ἐσθητι ἐνδυεσθαι Αυδοισι τοισι ἁβρηισι. voluptatibus deditus.

(p) Λ Doctrinæ unguentarius. Lege Athenæum. lib. 15. c. 12.

41. *Paktyas* having fled to *Cuma*, *Mazares* sent to demand him of the Citizens; but, they dismissing him, he fled to *Mytilene*, and thence to the *Chians*, who sold him to *Mazares*. He then reduced such as had revolted, and harrasing the Countrey of *Priene*, with that lying upon *Mæander* and *Magnesia*, fell sick and died. *Harpagus* the *Mede* succeeded him, and out of hand undertook an expedition against the *Ionians*. The *Phocæans* being first besieged obtained truce for a day, and then shipping themselves, left their ancient seat and passed over into the Island *Chius*, and thence (for that the *Chians* refused to sell them the Islands *Oenussæ*, lest they should thither carry the Traffick) to *Cyrnus*, where twenty years before, they had built a Citie called *Alalia*. Here playing the Pirates, they were after five years defeated in a Sea-fight by the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians*, and then those that remained passed over to *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they built a Citie named *Hyela*, in the Territories of *Oenotria*. The *Teians* also, after their example departed into *Thrace*; where they built up a Citie called *Abdera*, the foundations of it being formerly laid by one *Timesius* a *Clazomenian*, whom the *Thracians* thence expelled. The rest of the *Ionians* stood it out against *Harpagus*, who yet utterly subdued and forced them to undergo the yoake (one of the seven wise-men of *Greece*), who advised them to shun servitude by going to *Sardinia*, and there planting themselves in one great and common Citie; as they had formerly rejected the advice of *Thales* the *Milesian* (another of that number) to set up one common Court at *Teus* in the middle of *Ionia*. After the Conquest of the *Ionians*, *Harpagus* subdued the *Carians*, *Caunians*, and *Lycians*, and brought all the lower *Asia* under the Dominion and Soveraignty of *Cyrus*, who in the mean while not idle, did as much by the upper Provinces; leaving nothing in his way, but clearing all before him.

Taken.

The *Ionians* subdued.

42. Having Conquered the rest of the Continent he went against the *Assyrians*, who, being aware of him, had furnished themselves in *Babylon* for a long siege. Coming to the River *Gyndes* (which rising in the *Mantienean* Mountains, runneth through the Countrey of the *Dardaneans*, and emptieth it self in *Tigris*) he could find no foord to passe it, and a certain white Horse, sacred to the Sun, boldly taking the water, was overwhelmed in the Floods. Hereat being exceeding angry, he threatned to reduce it to such a condition, as it should not be knee-deep, and accordingly setting all his Army on work, derived it into 360 Rivolets, in which employment he spent all that Summer. The Spring following he marched for *Babylon*, the King whereof *Labinitus* opposed him: but, being defeated, retreated into the Citie, to which he then laid close siege. In vain for a long time did he attempt the taking of it. At length he divided his Army, and leaving the two stronger parts of it, the one at that side of the Town where the River entred, the other there where it came out; with the third he retired into the adjoyning Fens, and digging great ditches derived the River into them. Hereby he brought it to such an Ebb, that his Souldiers easily passing it, became

And the *Assyrians* or *Babylonians*.

came Masters of the Citie, and he of the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* Empire. This is the sum of what *Herodotus* hath written concerning the prosperous fortune of *Cyrus*.

The sum of *Xenophons Cyropædia*.

43. *Xenophon*, contrary to the former story, will have *Cambyses* his father no obscure man; but King of *Media*: nor a word from him of his Grand-father's dream, or exposing of the Infant. When he was twelve years old, he was sent for by *Astyages* into *Media*, where having tarried till almost a man, and being admired for understanding and abilities far above his age; he returned to his father, and entred into the * College of youth, where he was trained up in all strict Discipline according to the customs of *Persia*. *Astyages* dying, *Cyaxares* his son succeeded him, at what time the King of *Assyria* having subdued all the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Hyrcanians*, and had now fain upon the *Bactryans*, promised himself the absolute Empire of the East; if he could but bring under the *Medes* and *Persians*. He sent therefore to all his Neighbours; to *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, the King of *Cappadocia*, to both the *Phrygians*, *Casians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cilicians*, and *Indians*, accusing these two Nations of ambitious designs to enslave them all, and procured them to joyn with him in an offensive and defensive league against them. *Cyaxares* hearing this, desired of *Cambyses* his Brother-in-law to send down *Cyrus* to him with an Army; *Cyrus* being accordingly chosen General by the people, first subdued the *Armenians*, who because of this combination of the Princes, had denied to pay their accustomed tribute to *Cyaxares*, and then perswaded his Uncle to invade the *Assyrians*, to keep the War from his own doors.

* *Lege de institutione Persarum, Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. ad initium.*

44. Making then an inroade into *Assyria* the King thereof, *Cræsus* of *Lydia*, and divers other Confederates came against them, but in the first ingagement were worsted, and beaten back into their Camp, and amongst others the *Assyrian* himself (*Neriglissor*, if any) was slain. The night following all brake out of the Fortifications and fled; whereupon *Cyrus* prevailing with his Uncle to suffer him to pursue them, with as many of the *Medes* as would follow him of their own accord, in his way entred into confederacy with the *Hyrcanians* through the conduct of whom he overtook, and again defeated them: they also slew the Kings of *Cappadocia* and *Arabia*. After this, he invaded the Territories of the *Babylonians*, went up to the Citie it self, and challenged the King to a single Combat, who refusing it, he, after some few skirmishes thereabout, returned to *Cyaxares*, upon the Borders of *Media*, to deliberate about carrying on the War: He found him greatly discontented at his successe (out of apprehension that he had robbed him of all the glory) and much averse to the War; but at length he appeased him, and so wrought underhand upon the Officers of the Army, that they unanimously voted the War to be carried on. Some time being necessary then for preparation, he chose out a convenient place for the Army's Quarters; and not long after understood by certain Fugitives and Prisoners that the King of *Assyria* was gone towards *Lydia* with much Treasure.

45. *Cyrus*, supposing his design to be for raising men, prepared for the main chance by horsing his *Persians*, inventing new and more convenient Charriots, and, to get intelligence of the Enemie's purposes, sent one *Araspes* into *Lydia*, who, under colour of a revolt, should insinuate himself into their Counsels. This device taking, he disposed of his affairs according as he saw behoofefull, modelled his Army, and marched against the Confederates, whom without any great difficulty he overthrew, all but the *Ægyptians*. They put him to sore trouble, and endangered his life; but having fall'n in upon their Rear, and thereby diverted the Front, he so overpowered them both behind and before, as glad they were to deliver up their Arms, and upon promise of better entertainment, willing to change Masters and serve him. *Cræsus* now, who commanded in Chief, fled amain to *Sardis*, whither *Cyrus* pursued him, and getting the Castle into his hands, by the help of a *Persian*, who had been slave to an Officer in it, got possession both of the Citie and its King. He, coming to *Cyrus*, acquitted the Oracle of *Delphos* from

from all blame, and took the fault upon himself, in that he, overweening of his own condition, had fooled himself continually in a fond opinion of happiness. After this the *Carians* falling into two factions, both sent unto him: and he dispatched to them *Adusias* with some Forces, who overpowering both the one and the other, compounded their differences.

46. Then sent he *Hystaspes* into *Phrygia*, who subdued the Country, and took the King prisoner; at what time the *Greeks* of *Asia* submitted themselves, procuring by gifts, that they should not be constrained to receive any Garrison, but onely pay Tribute, and serve in the Wars. Afterward, in his march to *Babylon*, he brought under the greater *Phrygia*, subdued the *Cappadocians* and *Arabians*. He sate down before that City with a vast Army, the walls whereof after he had viewed, he concluded there was no storming of it, and resolved the best way was to pine them out. Understanding then, that they were provided within for a whole year, he divided his Army into twelve parts, assigning to each a moneth to lye in Leaguer, at which the besieged scoffed as utterly out of danger. But *Cyrus* taking notice how the River ran through the City, caused deep ditches to be made, which by dreining, rendered it fordable, and so taking advantage of a solemn Feast, entred by night, and surprized them all in their cups. The King was slain by *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who both, being formerly injured by him, had revolted to *Cyrus*. The Inhabitants, commanded upon pain of death to deliver up their Arms, instantly obeyed. And thus the *Babylonian Empire* being quite overthrown, *Cyrus* assumed to himselfe Royall Majesty, setling his Court with great wisdom, wherein *Xenophon*, in his most exquisite History, maketh him to have excelled, in all things, to admiration.

The sum of that wherein *Ctesias* dissenteth from other Historians, concerning *Cyrus*.

47. But *Ctesias* will have *Astyages* (whom he calleth *Astyigas*) nothing akin to *Cyrus*; tells us how he fled to *Ecbatane*, where he was hid by his Daughter *Amytis*, and her Husband *Spitama*: and how *Cyrus* coming upon them, put them both to the Rack, to make them confesse where he was, with their children *Spitaces* and *Magabemes*. *Astyigas*, rather than they should be tortured, discovered himself, and was first bound with fetters, but afterwards honoured as a Father by *Cyrus*, who at length married *Amytis*, having killed *Spitama*, because he had denied he knew where he was. After the marriage, the *Bactrians* gave up themselves to *Cyrus* and *Amytis*, though formerly they made great and effectuall resistance. He relateth also how *Cyrus* made War upon the *Saca*, whose King *Amorges* he took prisoner; but *Sperethra* the Queen gathered an Army of 300000 Men, and 200000 Women, and therewith overthrowing *Cyrus*, took him with other prisoners, and thereby redeemed her Husband. With the help then of *Amorges* he made War upon *Croesus*, and besieged *Sardis*, which City he took by a strategeme taught him by *Oebares*; making images of the *Persians*, and placing them upon the Walls, at which the defendants were affrighted. But, before this, *Croesus* deluded by a *Spectrum*, gave out his Son, an Hostage to *Cyrus*, and delaying to perform what he had promised, procured his death, which the Mother beholding from the wall, tumbled her self down headlong, and yet was not killed; but, the City being taken, fled to *Apollo*'s Temple and died there.

Ex Photii *Bibliotheca.*

Vide Julium Frontinum *Stratagem. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8.

48. *Croesus* being bound in the Temple, by an art he had of deceiving the sight, three times was loosed, though the place was secured, and committed to the care of *Oebares*; for which, they that were bound with him lost their heads. Then was he brought into the Palace and more strongly fetter'd, but was loosed again by Thunder and Lightning. Hereat *Cyrus* his anger abated, and giving him his liberty, he used him ever after with great respect, and bestowed on him a great City called *Barene*, near to *Ecbatane*. After this, *Cyrus* sent *Petisacas* his Eunuch to fetch *Astyigas* from the *Barcanians*, both he and his wife having a great desire to see him: But *Petisacas* through the instigation of *Oebares* left him in a desart place, where he was famished to death. The treachery was revealed by dreams, and *Petisacas* was given up into the hands of *Amytis*, who plucked out his eyes, his skin over his eares, and

and then crucified him: *Oebares* fearing the like punishment, though *Cyrus* promised him indemnity, killed himself. As for the body of *Astyigas* it was sumptuously buried, having been guarded by Lyons in the Wilderness till *Petisacas* fetched it away. These improbable things are related by *Ctesias*.

What *Berosus* and *Abydenus* wrote of him.

49. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* left recorded that, in the 17th year of *Nabonidus*, *Cyrus*, having subdued all *Asia*, with a great Army, turned against *Babylon*. That *Nabonidus* misering and ingaging with him in battell, was overthrown, and betook himself into a Town of the *Borsippians*. *Cyrus* besieging *Babylon*, and considering it was not to be taken in haste, returned to *Borsippus*, where *Nabonidus* not expecting a storm, yielded himself; and *Cyrus* using him kindly sent him from *Babylon* into *Caramania*, where he allotted him an habitation. *Abydenus* (*q*) further added, that *Cyrus* bestowed upon *Nabonidus*, now above 80 years old, the Government of *Caramania*. This is the summe of what the most antient Historians delivered concerning *Cyrus* his attainment of the Empire of the East; which hapned about the year of the World 3465, the first of the 60th *Olympiad*, 538 years before the *Æra* of Christ.

Apud Joseph. *cont. Apion. l.* 1.

A. M. Olymp. 6. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 214.

(*q*) *Apud* Euseb. *præpar. Evang. lib.* 9.

CHAP. III.

Of Sacred History.

Contemporaries with the Babylonian Empire.

SECT. I.

From the time of Phaleg, *and the division of the Earth; to the departure of the Israelites out of* Ægypt.

Phaleg. Reu. Sarug. Nahor. Terah. Abram.

1. *Phaleg* being 30 years old, begat *Reu*, otherwise called *Rehu* and *Ragau* by the 70: *Reu* 32 years old, begat *Sarug*. He at 30 years of age, had a Son named *Nachor*. And *Nachor*, one (when he was 29) called *Terah* or *Thare*. Gen. 11.

2. *Terah* being 70 years old begat *Abram*, *Nachor*, and *Haran*. Not that all these were born at the same time, or are to be accounted in age as we find them in order; priority in years not being constantly observed in Scripture; but rather that of piety and true worth. *Haran* is to be reckoned as the eldest; who died at *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, before his Father departed thence, and left 3 children, *viz.* one Son named *Lot*: and two Daughters, *Milcah* married to his Brother (and her Uncle) *Nahor*, and *Sarai* (or *Iscah*) to *Abram*. The second was *Nahor*, Father to *Chesed* (or *Chased*;) and so *Abram* the youngest; because he was born, not in the 70th as hath been thought; but 130 year of his Father. For *Terah* lived in all (*a*) 205 year, and died in *Charan*. *Abram*, when he came out of *Charran* (which (*b*) *Stephen* saith, was after his Father's death) was (*c*) 75 years old; which being deducted out of 205, 130 years will remain. But if he was born in the 70 year of his Father; then, at his death, was he 135 years old; and having *Isaac* born to him, when 100, in the Land of *Canaan*, he must with him have returned back to *Charran* (which seemeth very incredible); or else he left it not at his Father's death, as *Stephen* must make us believe he did. Vers. 26.

(*a*) Vers. 32. (*b*) Acts 7. v. 4. (*c*) Gen. 12. 4.

3. *Abram* therefore was born in the 130 year of his Father's life, and the 2008th of the World; as is clear from the ages of all his Progenitors, taken at the births of their Sons, and laid together. About the 70 year of his age, A. M. 2008.

What year of his Father he was born.

De iisdem lege Ludov. Cappellum. *Chronol. Sacra notis ad Tabulam* 5. Joh. Gerard. Vossii. *Isagog. Chronolog. Dissert.* 5. *c.* 6. Jacob. Cappell. *Hist. Sacra & Exotica ad A. M.* 2003, *& malos alios.*

God

SECT. I.

God commanded him to leave his Father's house, and come into the Land which he should shew him; promising to make of him a great Nation, to blesse him, and in him all the Families of the Earth. He, obeying this command, drew on his Father also with him, and so (together with *Lot* the Son of *Haran*, and *Sarai Abram*'s wife) they came from *Ur* of the *Chaldeans* to *Charran* and dwelt there. *Dwelling there* seemeth to intimate a longer stay than of one year; so that some probably think 5 *years* to have been there spent. For *Terah*, now very old, might detein them by his weaknesse; they being unwilling to leave him, till they saw him either recovered or dead: But after his death, mindfull of God's command, they left *Charran*, and came into the Land of *Canaan*. This journey from *Ur* to *Charran* was the beginning of the 430 years of his, and his posteritie's, sojourning in a strange Land; the promise also made to him being so many years before the promulgation of the Law in Mount *Sinai*, as the Apostle *Paul* hath observed.

Gen 11. 12. Acts 7.

He cometh from *Ur* to *Canaan*.

A. M. 2078.

Thence into *Canaan*.

4. The first place of *Canaan* in which *Abram* made any stay, was *Sichem*; where God again appeared to him, and renewed his Promise; another of giving that Land to his Seed being added to it; and in this place he built the first Altar to the Lord. Thence he removed towards the hilly Country, and the Eastern tract of *Luz*, (afterwards called *Bethel*) where he built another Altar; and so proceeded into the Southern Coasts, whence a Famine drove him into *Ægypt*. There he sojourned, and taught the *Ægyptians* Astrology, which *Josephus* saith, they were ignorant of, till he communicated to them the knowledge of it, and of Arithmetick. His wife being beautifull; for fear of his life, he counterfeited himself her Brother, so that *Pharaoh* begin to cast his affections on her, till, plagued by God, he was constrained to dismisse them both in peace. Out of *Ægypt* then he returned to that place, between *Hai* and *Bethel*, where he built the second Altar: Now was he and *Lot* grown so rich, that no longer could they conveniently live together. *Lot* being departed to the Plains of *Sodom*, God again renewed his promise to *Abram*, which he more largely explained, both as to the giving of the Land, and the propagation of his Posterity. After this, as he was commanded, he went and viewed the Land; then pitch't his Tents in the Plain of *Mamre* neer *Hebron*, where he built another Altar to the Lord.

Gen. 12.

Sojourneth in *Ægypt*.

Chap. 13.

5. At this time 4 Kings about the River *Euphrates*, viz. *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, (thought to be *Arabia*, because of a City upon the borders of that Country, called *Ellas*) *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* (afterwards *Persia*) and *Tidal* King of *Nations* (thought to be many petty Kingdoms, adjoyning to *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*) came and fought against the 5 Kings of the *Pentapolis*; viz. *Bera* of *Sodom*, *Birsha* of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* King of *Admah*, *Shemeber* of *Zebojim*, and the King of *Bela* (afterwards called *Zoar*); all who, had 12 years served *Chedorlaomer*; and in the 13th rebelled. They overthrew these five petty Princes, led away much pillage, and many Captives, amongst which was *Lot*, who then sojourned in *Sodom*. *Abram* hearing this, armed 318 servants; and, pursuing them, recovered *Lot*, and all the prey, which he restored to the owners. In his return, *Melchisedech* (whom some improbably make *Sem*) King of *Salem* (or *Jerusalem*,) Priest of the most high God, brought forth Bread and Wine, and blessed him; to whom he gave the Tithes of all. In this storie *Abram* is first called an *Hebrew* by *Moses* (*And there came one which had escaped and told* Abram *the* Hebrew) which word in Scripture, is not found applied to any other before him.

Chap. 14.

Sodom, &c. destroyed.

Recovereth *Lot* and the Booty from the 4 Kings.

6. Some (*d*) think he was so called from *Heber* the Son of *Salah*, and that this appellation onely was proper to his Family, because it kept the most antient or *Hebrew* tongue incorrupt. But (*e*) others finding the word to signifie one that *cometh from beyond the water*, or *a Stranger*; think it was given to *Abram* upon no other account, then because he came from beyond *Euphrates*. None of *Heber*'s Posterity being called so but onely he, and some of his; they think, addeth much to their reason. They conclude, that the

(*d*) *Vide* Bochartum Phaleg. *lib.* 2. *c.* 10.
(*e*) *Lege* Ludov. Cappell. *Chronol. Sacra. p.* 111, &c.

Why called an *Hebrew*.

SECT. I.

the *Hebrew* language was not appropriate to *Heber* as a reward of his piety, because those that descended of him used it not always; and to others, besides his posterity, it appeareth to have been natural. They instance that *Laban* spake *Syriack*, and the *Canaanites* and *Philistins* the *Hebrew* naturally; as the names of their *men*, *places*, *rivers*, &c. do shew. Therefore they judge it most probable that *Abram* speaking the *Chaldean* language before (which onely differeth in dialect from the *Hebrew*) got both the name and language, after his arrival in the Land of *Canaan*. The Heathen (*f*) Writers thought them to have been called *Hebrews* from *Abraham*, as corrupted from *Abrahæans*, out of ignorance of the language. *Augustine* also once inclined to this opinion, which he afterwards renounced.

(*f*) Artapanus *apud* Euseb. & Charax *apud* Stephanum.

7. *Abram*, after his victory over the Kings, received a more large promise from God, who ingaged to become to him *a shield*, and a *sufficient reward*; and (for that it troubled him to go childlesse) to give him issue, from which should proceed an innumerable posterity, that, inhabiting a strange Land four hundred years, was to return and possesse this of *Canaan*, when the iniquity of the *Amorites* would be full, in the fourth Generation. This League made betwixt *God* and *Abram* was confirmed by Sacrifice; yet, *Sarai*, seeing her self barren, perswaded her husband to go in unto *Hagar* her handmaid, of which he had a son born to him, and named *Ismael*, in the eleventh year after his coming into *Canaan*, the 86 of his Age and of the World, the 2094. In the 13th year after, God made another Covenant with him concerning the seed of *Isaack*, who was to be born the year following, and Circumcision was instituted as a seal thereof. Now, whereas his name before was *Abram*, or an *High-father*, it was changed into *Abraham*, or *Father of a great multitude*. And *Sarai*, which signifieth *My Princesse*, or *Lady*, (as of one family) was altered into *Sarah*, or a *Princesse absolute*; as of many Nations. Not long after, God made known to *Abraham* his purpose to destroy *Sodom*, and the other Cities for their abominable wickednesse. He interceded hard for them; but there being not so many as five righteous persons in *Sodom*, God having taken care for *Lot* and his family, rained fire and brimstone down upon the Cities, which together with the Plain were utterly destroyed; onely *Bela* was spared for *Lot*'s sake, who fled thither. Of the rest the *Dead Sea* (into which the ground was converted) remaineth a lasting Monument to this day. In this Sea (or Lake) no living Creature is bred, having nothing but a Sulphureous matter thence taken in great quantities. It is described to be 72 miles in length, and 19 in breadth. Nigh to it fair and pleasant Apples grow, which being touched, turn into a Sulphureous vapour: and a tradition remained amongst the Heathen of these Cities being destroyed * with Thunder and Lightning from Heaven. *Lot*'s wife, after she had got out of *Sodom*, looked back, and was turned into a Pillar of Salt. His two daughters, thinking all mankind to have perished, made their father drunk and lay with him; from which incestuous copulation came *Moab* and *Ammon*, fathers of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, two great and powerfull Nations.

Retract. *l.* 2. *c.* 16.

Gen. 15.

Chap. 16.

Ismael born.

Chap. 17.

A.M. 2094.

Abraham and Sarah.

Vide John. Bisselium *Jesuitam, de Villa-fribus vanis.*

* *Lege Tacitum Histor. l* 5.

8. A little after (in the same year) *Abraham* having continued in the Plain of *Mamre* about eighteen years, departed unto *Gerar* the *Metropolis* of the *Philistins*; where hapned the same thing concerning his wife, as formerly had done in *Ægypt*, *Abimelech* the King having taken her into his house, who therefore was plagued till he restored her with large gifts. The year being precisely finished, *Sarah* bare to him *Isaac* (so called because he laughed when God made mention of it to him) he being now an hundred years old, and she ninety; four hundred before the departure of his posterity out of *Ægypt*. At the weaning of *Isaack*, *Sarah* seeing *Ismael* mocking, procured him and his mother to be banished the house, God bidding *Abraham* fulfill her desire herein, and promising to make of him a great Nation. When *Isaack* was grown up (though of what Age is not expressed, some guessing thirty years; others (unprobably) ten, or twelve, because he must have been of sufficient strength to carry wood) God to try his father's faith, com-

Gen. 20.

A. M. 2108.

Isaak born.

Chap. 21.

Chap. 22.

SECT. I.

manded him to Offer him up for a burnt-offering on Mount *Moriah*, where afterwards the Temple of *Solomon* stood. He, out of obedience, went about to do it; but God accepting his will for a performance, renewed his promise to him.

Sarah dieth.

Sarah died aged 127 years, and after her death *Abraham* married another wife, called *Keturah*, by which he had other six sons. To those he gave gifts, and before his death sent them away from *Isaack*, the Heir of the promise. *Chap.* 23.

Isaac married.

9. When *Isaack* was fourty years old, his father * procured him to wife, *Rebecca* the daughter of *Bethuel*, who was son to *Nachor*, the brother of *Abraham*. She (married at fourteen years of Age, according to the tradition of the *Jews*) was barren twenty years; but then her husband beseeching God for her, she brought * forth twins (*Esau* and *Jacob*) which strugled in her womb; the elder being, as God foretold, to serve the younger. Fivereen years after *Abraham* died, being 175 years old, having sojourned in the Land of *Canaan* a hundred years; 22 after the death of *Sem*, four before that of *Heber*; in the dayes of *Inachus* King of the *Argives*, 1821 years before the Æra of *Christ*, in the 2183 year of the World. Of *Abraham* (besides *Artapanus* and *Charan* before mentioned) * *Berosus* the *Caldæan* had some knowledge, though he named him not. *Hecatæus* not onely made mention of him by the way, but wrote an History of him. *Nicolaus Damascenus* in the fourth book of his Histories, related that *Abraham*, a certain stranger, reigned at *Damascus*; having come from a Countrey about *Babylon*, said to be that of the *Chaldæans*. That he departed thence with his people into the Land of *Canaan*, afterwards called *Judæa*, where his posterity grew very numerous; concerning which he should speak in another place. In *Josephus* his time the name of *Abraham* was famous at *Damascenus*; where was shewn a certain Village, called *Abrahams dwelling*. *Chap.* 24. A.M. 2148. *Chap* 25. * A.M. 2168. *Abraham* dyeth. * *Apud* Joseph *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

10. After the death of *Abraham*, God blessed *Isaack*, and made the same Covenant with him. In a time of Famine, he also sojourned in *Gerar*, where dissembling concerning *Rebecca* his wife, the same thing happened to them as formerly to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, from another *Abimelech*, which name was common to all the Kings of the *Philistins*. Some years after, *Ismael* died, aged 137 years, 48 after his father, in the year of the World 2221. *Gen.* 26.

Ismael dieth.

His posterity.

From his eldest son *Nebaioth*, descended the *Nabathæans*, who (*g*) inhabited part of *Arabia*, from the River *Euphrates* to the *Red-sea*, called *Arabia Petræa*, from *Petra* the *Metropolis* of the Countrey; which, wanting fruits, abounded in Sheep and Cattel. (*h*) *Diodorus* describeth it to have lyen like a Wilderness untilled, as without inhabitants; without Rivers or Fountains. It was unlawfull with them to sow or plant, to drink wine or build houses, being extraordinary desirous of liberty, and judging these things but temptations, to such as were stronger, to inthral them. Some of them kept Camels, others Sheep: some used to convey Spices, brought out of *Arabia* the Happy, to the Sea. When they were invaded by an Enemy, they betook themselves into the Wilderness, which being vast, and without water, affoarded them sufficient protection. Another son of *Ismael*, named *Kedar*, gave name to a place of *Arabia* the *Desart*, often mentioned in Scripture. It is thought that, though the *Chuseans*, *Madianites*, and *Ismaelites* were of several Originals; yet they dwelt promiscuously together, and grew up into one Nation of the *Saracens*. (*g*) Strabo *l.* 16. *p.* 779. C. (*h*) *Lib.* 19. *p.* 722. A.

11. Fifteen years after this, *Isaack* being 138 years old and blind, sent his eldest son *Esau* to Hunt for Venison, that he might eat and blesse him before his death. But *Jacob*, by his mother's help, supplanted him, and got the blessing, having formerly bought his birthright for pottage. Hereat *Esau* intnged determined to kill him after his fathers death; which *Rebecca* knowing, sent him into *Mesopotamia* to her brother *Laban*, that he might thence also take a wife out of her own kindred, and not make his choice amongst the *Hittites*, of which *Esau* had married two wives. In his journey, God appeared to him in a dream and blessed him; for which cause he changed the name of the place from *Luz* into *Bethel*. Coming to *Laban*, after a moneths time, *Gen.* 27. *chap.* 28. 29. 30.

SECT. I.

Jacob flieth from his brother into *Mesopotamia*.

time, he Covenanted to serve him seven years for his youngest daughter *Rachel*; which being ended, *Leah*, the eldest was given to him in her stead, and presently after *Rachel*; for which he agreed to serve him other seven years. *Rachel*, most beloved, continued barren, and *Leah* because neglected, obtained favour of God to be fruitfull, which raised such emulation betwixt them, as *Rachel* first, and then *Leah*, gave her maid to his bed, accounting the Children begotten on them as their own. A.M. 2246.

His issue;

Within seven years he had by *Leah* seven sons, viz. *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Zabulon*, and a daughter named *Dinah*; by *Bilhah*, *Rachel's* maid, two sons, *Dan*, and *Naphtali*; by *Zilpah*, *Leahs* maid, also two sons, *Gad* and *Asher*. Lastly, by *Rachel* her self one son, named *Joseph*, and born the fourteen year of his service ending. Six years longer he served *Laban* for wages (being to have the Cattel of such and such a colour) which his hard master changed ten times; but could not withstand the providence of God in his growing rich.

His return.

12. Having served his father-in-law and Uncle twenty years, and observing what envy he had contracted from him and his sons, he stole away with all he had, and proceeded three dayes on his journey, ere his departure was known. Then *Laban* with his friends pursuing, overtook him after seven dayes in Mount *Gilead*, which from the event of this meeting had its name. After several expostulations, they made a Covenant (*Laban* being warned by God not to hurt him) and, in Testimony thereof, laid together an heap of stones, which *Jacob* called *Galead*; but *Laban*, in his *Syrian* tongue, *Jegar-Sahadutha*. *Jacob* then, continued his journey towards *Canaan*, wrestling with God's Angel in his way; from which he received a blessing, and the sirname of *Israel*. His brother *Esau* also met him, and lovingly received him contrary to his fears. The first place he stayed at was *Succoth*, so called because there he built an House, and made Booths for his Cattel. Thence he passed over *Jordan*, and came to *Sichem*, where he bought of *Hamor*, the father of *Sichem*, a Field, for a hundred Lambs, or so many pieces of money. How long he continued in either of these places is not expressed. *Demetrius* * and *Alexander Polyhistor* wrote that he abode ten years in *Socot*, saying nothing of *Sichem*; perhaps because he made little stay there. Indeed *Dinah* seemeth to have been ravished not long after their first coming thither; *Hamor* speaking to his Citizens concerning them, as persons lately come; and her curiosity to see the women of that Countrey, probably may be thought to have proceeded, from the strangeness of it. At the end of these ten years she was ravished, then sixteen years old; being born a little before *Joseph*, and perhaps the same year. To be revenged upon *Sichem*, who committed the rape, her two brothers *Simeon* and *Levi* slew him, and put the whole Citie to the sword, coming upon them when they were yet sore by Circumcision, which he had procured them to admit of, that he might obtain the maid for his wife. *Chap.* 31. 32. &c. A.M. 2266. *Apud* Euseb. *præparat. Evang. lib.* 9. *cap.* 21.

Dinah ravished.

13. *Jacob* much troubled hereat, was commanded by God to go to *Bethel*, having buried all the strange gods and the earings of his family under the Oake in *Sichem*. At *Bethel* he erected an Altar to the Lord, and here *Deborah* the Nurse of *Rebecca* died. Thence he removed to *Ephrath*, being 107 years old, and when they had almost reached the place, *Rachel* died in Travel of *Benjamin*, having (as *Demetrius* and *Alexander* wrote) lived with her husband 23 years. Eleven years after *Jacobs* return into *Canaan*, when he was now 109 years old, *Joseph* being hated of his brethren, because he had brought to their father their evil report, and for his dreams (which presaged his preheminence over them) they sold him to the *Ismaelites*; who carried him down into *Egypt*, where *Potiphar* Captain of the Kings Guard bought him, being now seventeen years old. Ten years he lived with him: till refusing to satisfie the wanton desires of his Mistresse, he was falsly accused by her of her own fault, and cast into prison. The year after, he interpreted the Dreams of the chief *Butler* and *Baker* of *Pharoh*, both which were in prison with him; and accordingly the *Baker* was hanged, but the *Butler* restored, who yet forgat *Joseph*. *Chap.* 38. A.M. 2277.

Rachel dieth.

Joseph sold.

SECT. I.

14. At this time his Grand-father *Isaac* died, aged 180 years, in the year of the World. He was buried in *Hebron*, by his two Sons *Esau* and *Jacob*; the former having (as some think they have ground in charity to believe) reconciled himselfe to his Brother, and joyned himselfe to the Church; not being estranged from the Grace of God, but onely from the speciall and particular Covenant, as to the promised Seed; which they have the same reason to think concerning *Ismael*: The Funerall past, and the Goods divided betwixt them, being both exceeding rich, and therefore requiring large room; *Esau* departed to his former possession of *Mount Seir*; Providence so ordaining it, that when the *Israelites* should afterwards come to inherit *Canaan*, his posterity might neither be destroyed, nor displaced. He was otherwise called *Edom*, and from him *Idumæa* took it's name, which seemeth from *Strabo* to have also included the Country of the *Nabatæans*. And likely enough it is, that he who married the Sister of *Nebaioth*, might joyn himself to them and preside over them. This is the famous *Heroe*, from whom not onely *Idumæa*, but also the adjoyning *Erithræan*, *Edomæan*, or *Red Sea*, (all signifying the same thing) was so called; being known to the *Greeks*, by the name of *Erythræ*, the same with *Edom*.

Isaac dieth. — A. M. 2288.

Edom.

Vide Fuller's *Miscell.* 4. c. 20.

15. But two years after *Joseph* had interpreted the Dreams of the servants of *Pharaoh*, he was called up out of prison, to explain the meaning of one, which the King himself had dreamed. This, betokening 7 years of great plenty to come, and after them as many of famine; and it being necessary, as he hinted to *Pharaoh*, to chuse out some wise Man, who being set over the Land, should gather and preserve the fruits of the Earth, against the time of want; *Pharaoh* made choice of him, being about 30 years old, for this purpose: he appointed him next to himself, and gave him in marriage *Asenath* the Daughter of *Potipherah*, Priest of *On* (or *Heliopolis*, where *Strabo* writeth, that the Priests of old time had their habitation) on which he begat *Ephraim* and * *Manasses*. According to his prædiction, 7 most plentiful years ensued, wherein he gathered into store-houses the Corn that abounded; and after them came 7 other of famine, which prævailed sore both in *Ægypt* and the neighbouring Countries of *Canaan* and *Arabia*. *Jacob* amongst others, wanting provisions, in the 2d year of the famine, sent his Sons down into *Ægypt* to buy Corn. *Joseph* knowing them, though undiscovered, accused them for coming as Spies, cast them into prison, and dismissed them not, till *Simeon* (the eldest of those which conspired against his life) was bound, and left as an Hostage, for their bringing down of *Benjamin*; that so their story might be confirmed, of their being one Man's Sons, and that their youngest Brother was left behind. The next year, being pressed with famine, they returned and *Benjamin* with them, whom their Father was constrained to let go. Now, after some further terrifying of them, he made himself known, and sent for his Father down into *Ægypt*. *Jacob* understanding of his Son's life and promotion (whom he had given over a long time, for dead) gladly went down, and with him 66 Souls, besides his Sons Wives; in the 3d year of the famine, of the World the 2298th, aged 130 years.

Gen. 41.

A. M. 2290.

Joseph advanced.

* A. M. 2297.

Chap. 42, 43, &c.

Jacob goeth into *Ægypt.*

A. M. 2298.

16. By *Pharaoh*'s consent, *Joseph* placed them in the Land of *Goshen*, and there nourished them during the famine. He sold to the *Egyptians* the Corn formerly treasured up, and therewith purchased for the King all their Money, Goods, and Lands, except the Lands of the Priests, which were not alienated. The grounds he afterwards granted to the former owners, paying the fifth part of the profit to *Pharaoh*'s use. After *Jacob* had lived in *Ægypt* 17 years, he adopted the two eldest Sons of *Joseph*; viz. *Manasses* and *Ephraim*, of whom the younger he preferred before the elder: He called his Sons together, blessed them, and told them apart what should befall them in their posterity. From *Reuben* his first born he took the prehemi-nence, because he had defiled his bed, and gave it to *Judah*. He prophe-sied of Christ's coming, commanded them to bury him in the Cave of *Machpelah*, in the Land of *Canaan*, with his Ancestors, and then died at the age of 147 years, in the year of the World 2315. *Joseph* caused his servants the

Chap. 47.

Chap. 48, 49.

A. M. 2315.

Dieth.

SECT. I.

the Physitians to embalme *Israel*, and a mourning of 70 dayes (or 72), was observed for him, which number in that Country was onely proper to Kings; Then, obtaining leave of *Pharaoh*, he and his Brethren, with a great company of Courtiers, carried him into the Land of *Canaan*, and buried him there, according to his will, where they also mourned for him 7 dayes.

Gen. 50.

17. Being returned into *Ægypt*, *Joseph* forgave his Brethren the fault they formerly had committed against him (which now they feared he would revenge, after their Father's death,) and as long as he lived, he nourished them and their children. This space of time was 54 years after his Father's death, at the end whereof, having exhorted them to Unity and Concord, foretelling them their departure out of *Ægypt*, and commanding them thence to carry his Bones, he dyed at the age of 110 years, when he had governed *Ægypt*; under severall Kings, the space of 80. *Trogus Pompeius* (as appeareth out of *Justin* * his Epitomizer) wrote many things concerning him, partly taken out of the Sacred History, partly mixed with such Fables as the Heathen were not wanting to invent concerning the Jews. *Abram*, *Moses*, and *Israel*, are made by him Kings of *Damascus*, which City took it's name from their Predecessor. *Israel* had ten Sons, to whom he committed the Kingdom, and commanded them to call themselves *Jews* from *Judah*, who died before the division, and whose portion was divided amongst them all. The youngest of the 10 Sons was *Joseph*, whose excellent wit his Brothers fearing, they sold him to some Marchants that carried him down into *Ægypt*. Here learning the Magick Arts, he became very dear to the King, having skill in working Wonders, and interpretation of Dreams: moreover, nothing either Divine or Humane was beyond his reach; insomuch, that he foretold the barrenness of the ground severall years before it hapned, and all *Ægypt* had perished with famine, but that the King, by his advice, caused Corn to be treasured up many years: finally, such was his knowledge, that his answers seemed rather the Oracles of a God, then the replies of a Man. Then followeth that *Moses* was his Son, who, being both wise and beautiful, became a leader to such *Ægyptians* as were infected with scab and itch, and so returned to *Damascus*, the Country of his Ancestors. Which lyes (with others hereafter to be mentioned) are to be attributed to the malice of the *Ægyptians*. With the life of *Joseph* endeth the first Book of *Moses* his history, called by the *Greeks*, *Genesis*, which containeth the account of 2369 years of the World. The next to it in order of time, the Book of *Job* is thought to be; of which *Moses* also is reputed Author, by the common consent and opinion of the *Hebrews*.

Joseph dieth. — A. M. 2370.

* *Lib.* 36. *c.* 2.

18. After the death of *Joseph*, and all that generation, the Children of *Israel* increased abundantly, and grew exceeding mighty; so that the Land was filled with their numbers. But a certain King arising, which knew not *Joseph*; to keep them down, he pressed them with sore Labour; and lest they should increase, gave order to the Midwives to drowne all the Male Children in the River. At this time (58 years after the death of *Joseph*, and 41 after that of *Levi*) *Amram*, the Son of *Caath*, and Grand-son of *Levi*, by *Jochabed* the Daughter of *Levi* (so called by an Hebraism, and not *Caath*'s own Sister as some have thought) was made Father of a Son, whom for his beauty they hid 3 moneths, not fearing the Kings command, and when he could no longer be concealed, put him in an Ark of Bul-rushes, daubed within and without with Pitch, and laid him on the brinck of the River. Hither the King's Daughter (by *Josephus* called *Thermutis*) coming down to wash her self, found the Babe; and moved with compassion, sent for a Nurse, which was *Jochabed* her self, through the procurement of *Miriam* her Daughter, which had watched what would become of the Child, and unknown, had offered her selfe for a messenger. Being nursed up, she educated him as her own Son, and called him *Moses*, because she had taken him out of the water. *Moy* in the *Ægyptian* tongue, as *Josephus* * saith, signifying *Water*, and *Yses taken out*, though *Mosche* in the *Hebrew* is no compounded word, signifying *drawn out*, *delivered*, or rather a *deliverer*; not without

Exod. 1.

The *Israelites* oppressed in *Ægypt.*

Chap. 2.

Vide Pererium *in* 2 Exodi.

Moses born. — A. M. 2428.

* *De nominibus Hebræis* Josepho *versus vid.* Iacob. Cappellum *Hist. Sacra & Exotica ad* A. M. 1719.

SECT. I.

without a mystery; he being a Type of that great Deliverer of Mankind. He was learned in all the Learning of the *Ægyptians*, and became mighty in words and in deeds.

19. But *Moses* being grown up, by Faith refused to be called the Son of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and despised the pleasure of his Court; having, according to *Josephus* his history, thrown down his Crown, sett upon his head when a Child, and trampled it under his feet; for which, as an ill omen, the Priest (who had foretold, that his Nativity would prove dysastrous to the *Ægyptians*) would have had him slain; but he was spared through the affection of *Thermutis*. Being forty years old, he visited his Brethren the *Israelites*; and looking upon their burdens, when he saw an *Ægyptian* smiting one of them, he killed him, and hid his bodie in the sand. But this coming to *Pharaoh*'s ear, he was forced to flye for his life, into the Land of *Midian*, where he kept the Sheep of *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, Priest of that Country, who A. M. 2468. give him *Zipporah* his Daughter to wife. Forty years he continued with him, till the burthens of the Children of *Israel* were grown so intolerable, after Exod. 3, & 4. above 80 years continuance, that God, being moved with their cries, called to him out of a burning Bush, as he was feeding Sheep, to send him on a message to *Pharaoh*, about their dismission. He laboured by all means to make excuse; but at length, confirmed by promise of Divine assistance by Miracles, and the company of his Brother *Aaron*, (3 years elder); he undertook the employment.

Sent to *Pharaoh*.

20. This message was ill resented by *Pharaoh*, and greater burthens imposed on the people; no Straw being now allowed them, for the making of Brick, in which servile worke they were imployed. Many signs and wonders were wrought by *Moses*, in the King's presence, which little availed; *Jannes* and *Jambres*, Magicians, doing the same with their Enchantments. Ten Plagues also by the Ministry of *Moses*, God inflicted upon the Land. 1. The waters were turned into blood. 2. Frogs swarmed in the Land. 3. Lice. 4. Flies and other Insects. 5. A Murrain followed amongst the Cattell. 6. Ulcers in Man and Beast. 7. Thunder and Rain mingled with Fire, and Hail, that destroyed the Corn with the Trees of the field. 8. Locusts covered the face of the Earth, and consumed the fruits thereof. 9. Ensued Darkness throughout the Land *Ægypt*, such as no *Ægyptian* could stir out of his house, yet the *Israelites* had light in their dwellings. 10. Last of all, the First-born were slain, from *Pharaoh* that sate upon the Throne, to the First-born of the Captive in the Dungeon, and the first-born of Cattell. *Chap.* 5, & 7. &c.

The ten Plagues of *Ægypt*.

The *Israelites* depart,

21. The Nine former Plagues *Pharaoh*'s heart was so hardened as to withstand; but the Tenth forced him to let the people go. Upon the death of the First-born, he and his Subjects thrust them out with haste, out of the Land, and fogot the Jewells of silver and Jewells of gold, which they had lent them. For the *Israelites* were commanded by God, to borrow these things; and, the night before their departure, to kill a Lamb; with the blood of which they were to sprinkle the lintels of their doors, that the Angel appointed to do this execution upon the First-born, might passe by their houses, at the sight thereof. And, in memoriall of the thing, this they were to do every yeer on the tenth day of that moneth (thenceforth commanded to begin the year, being called *Abib*) eating a Lamb in a travelling posture, with their loyns girt, and staves in their hands. Thus left they *Ægypt*, 430 years after the first promise made to *Abraham*, and his leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*, 400 after the birth of *Isaac*, 210 after *Jacob*'s descent into *Egypt*, in the 2508th year of the World. This their departure is also attested by *Heathen* Writers; but related to have been upon such grounds, as the *Ægyptians* themselves invented; who, as it seemeth, took occasion from the Plague of Ulcers, which they suffered in their own persons, to feign, that because of Leprosie they were forced out of the Land; as will largely appear in the History of *Ægypt*. Exod. 12. A. M. 2508.

SECT.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

From the departure of the Israelites *out of* Ægypt, *to the death of* Solomon, *and the Rent of the Kingdom.*

The number of the *Israelites* at their departure.

1. THE number of the Children of *Israel* may be esteemed by what is recorded concerning their men of War, of the Age of twenty years and upwards. Of these went out about 600000. besides Women and Children; so that if those of that Age be reckoned as two parts of five, of the whole multitude, (which is the usual account amongst all Nations, to reckon men for War, as 40 to 100. in respect of the whole body) then the totall number of all, both old and young, amounted to about 1500000. To these must be added a mixed multitude; which, having taken up their religion, went out with them, and is thought by some to have consisted of as many more; so that the whole sum of all together, at this rate, would arise to 3000000. As for the number of the *Israelites*, it need not seem incredible, that from about 70 persons in the space of 210 years, so many should proceed. For if but one man, in the thirtieth year of his Age should begin to be a father, and had but in all ten Children, who also with their posterity should beget at the same Age, that one man, before 200 years, would have descended from him, of the sixth Generation 1000000. of the fifth 100000. of the fourth 10000. of great Grand-Children 1000. of Grand-Children 100. and of Children 10. But that the *Israelites* began to be fathers before the Age of thirty is more then probable; nature * sometimes not requiring half that time, and there is ground sufficient to think that they often exceeded the number of ten Children. The Scripture relateth *Abdon* to have had fourty sons, *Abizara* thirty, and as many daughters, *Gideon* seventy sons, and *Ahab* as many. *Ægyptus*, *Danaus*, *Priamus*, and *Darius*, are reported to have had fifty Children; *Artaxerxes*, *Justin* relateth to have had 115. and *Hierotimus* 600. These things (to add no more) prove the great increase of the *Israelites* to have been possible in the course of Nature, although not without an especial providence. *Vide* Pererium in 12. cap. Exod.

Vide Jacob. Cappell. ad A.M. 2293.

* *Mea memoria, in civitate Lauretensi Novempopulaniæ, puer minor annorum duodecim genuit ex puella consobrina sua quæ nondum decimum annum expleverat. Rem notam narro & cujus memoria adhuc vecens est in Aquitania. Pater hoc ipse de se patri meo testatus est, quod alioqui tunc ne pueri quidem ignarabant.* Scaliger. *in Paræi* Deut. 1.

2. *Moses* had gathered the people together, as *Josephus* writeth, about *Rameses* the chief Citie of *Goshen*, that they might be in a readinesse, and thence they came to *Succoth* where was their second station. Here *Moses* propounded the command of God concerning the annual observation of the Passeover, and the Consecration of the first born. A ready way hence to the Land of *Canaan* would have been through that of the *Philistins*; but because the *Israelites* were born in slavery, and therefore had but low and poor spirits; to exercise them, to stir them up, and lest, for want of experience, they should be so terrified as to return, God lead them another and longer way. From *Succoth* therefore they came to *Etham* in the end of the Desart, in two dayes; whither God conducted them by a Pillar of a Cloud by day, and Pillar of fire by night, that never forsook them, till they came to the Borders of the promised Land. From *Etham* they journeyed to *Pihahiroth*, and thence to the *Red-sea*. Hither *Pharoh* pursued them with all his Forces, repenting he had let them go. They were there exceedingly struck with terrour, and murmured against *Moses*, for bringing them out of *Egypt*. In this extremity God divided the waters of the *Red-sea*, which being as a Wall on both sides to them, they passed over on dry ground. The *Egyptians* essayed also to pursue them in this place; but the Pillar then removed from before them, and placed it self between them, giving light to the *Israelites*, but causing great darkness to their Enemies. Hereupon ensued great consternation, and a pannick fear amongst the *Egyptians*, which causing great disturbance, the Lord also fought against them, and they fled. But then the waters returned to their place and overwhelmed them all, so that neither *Pharoh*, nor any one of his men escaped. This place of the *Red-sea* being

The Passeover annually to be observed.

The *Israelites* passe the *Red-Sea*.

Sect. I. ing here not at all fordable, the sole power of God procured their passage; though *Josephus*, to gain credit to the story from the incredulous Heathen, taketh off from the miracle by an unsutable comparing of it to *Alexander* the Great his passing the shoar of the *Pamphylian*-Sea, which at low water was ever bare, and at other times not very deep. *Vide* Strabonem. *l.* 14. *p.*666. D.

3. From the *Red-Sea* they journeyed three dayes through the Wilderness of *Etham*; (which, as it seemeth, stretcheth forth it self to both the sides of the Sea) where they found no water. Thence they came to *Marah*, where they found water, but bitter, and thence the place had its name; which bitterness was removed by the casting in of a certain Tree which God shewed to *Moses*. From *Marah* they came to their fifth station at *Elim*, where were twelve Fountains of water, and seventy Palm-Trees, and thence to the *Red-Sea*; which name seemeth to be applied to some Bay or Creek thereof. From the Sea they came into the desart of *Sin*, where they pitched their Tents on the fifteenth day of the second moneth after their departure. Here murmuring for flesh, Quails were rained down upon the Camp at evening, and in the morning was there found *Manna*, which continued every morning to fall, all the fourty years they abode in the Wilderness. This Wilderness of *Sin* being very large, and reaching as far as Mount *Sinai*, they had several stations in it. The ninth was at *Diphka*, the tenth at *Alush*, the eleventh at *Rephidim*, where the people again murmuring for water, the Rock being struck by *Moses* gushed out into streams. Whil'st they here continued, the *Amalekites* (descended from *Amalek*, who was the son of *Eliphaz*, and Grand son of *Esau*) fell in upon their rear, and made slaughter of the weaker sort. *Moses* against them sent *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, he himself in the mean time praying to God in the Mount. And as long as his hands were lifted up the *Israelites* overcame, but when he let them down the *Amalekites* prevailed; so that *Aaron* his brother, and *Hur* his sister *Miriam*'s husband, bore them up till the going down of the Sun.

Quails and Manna.

Exod. 17.

4. In the third moneth they removed, and took up their station in the desart of *Sinai*, over against the Mountain *Horeb* (which 'tis thought was some part of *Sinai*) and here they continued almost a year; to the 20th day of the second moneth of the next year. Upon this Mountain, God gave the Law of the ten Commandments in a terrible manner, on the 50th day after their coming out of *Egypt*, as * some of the Ancients apprehended. The day after, several other Laws were promulgated, as it were Commentaries upon the *Decalogue*, both Judicial and Ceremonial. Then *Moses* having Offered Sacrifice, read the book of the Law to the people, and made a Covenant betwixt God and them, and went up into the Mount where he remained fourty dayes: six in the lower and cloudy, and 34 in the highest and fiery part. In this space of time he received advice concerning the structure of the Tabernacle, the Ornaments and Consecration of Priests, *&c.* From this familiar Converse of God with *Moses*, the Heathen Law-givers took occasion to feign such a priviledge to themselves. As amongst the *Getes*, *Zamolxis* gave out he received two Laws from *Vesta*. *Zathraustes* amongst the *Arimaspians* from a good *Dæmon*. *Mneves*, amongst the *Egyptians*, from *Mercury*, *Minos* the *Cretian*, from *Jupiter*. *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* from *Apollo*, and *Numa* the *Roman* from the Goddesse *Egeria*. To this number * *Diodorus*, out of Ethnick ignorance, addeth *Moses* himself, writing that he counterfeited conference with the god *Janus*.

Chap. 19. 20.

The Decalogue.

* Hieronymus *ad Fabiolum & Leo Serm.* 8. *de Pentecoste.*

* *Biblioth. l.* 1. *p.*59. B. *in Margine Notat.*

5. But the people missing *Moses* so long a time, and not knowing what was become of him, raised a tumult, and caused *Aaron* to make them a god that might go before them. The *Hebrews* have a Tradition that *Hur*, opposing this, was slain; but *Aaron*, overcome with their furious importunity, made them a molten Calf of Gold, after the fashion of the *Egyptians*, who Worshipped two Heifers, *Apis* and *Mnevis*, which they accounted gods. Fourty dayes, and as many nights being ended, God gave *Moses* two Tables of stone, wherein was written the *Decalogue* by his own finger, and sent him down, telling him wherein his people were employed. *Moses* something ap-

The molten Calf.

Chap. 31. *&c.*

Sect. 2. appeasing Gods wrath came down from the Mount; but seeing them dance before the Calf, in a great rage cast the Tables out of his hands and brake them. He put the Calf into the fire, and grinding it to pouder threw it into the Brook, and made them to drink of the water: then commanded the *Levites* to take every man his sword, and slay his Neighbour; so that of the people fell that day about 3000 men. After this, going up into the Mount the second time, he interceded for the people, and at his return, removed the Tabernacle, or Tent, wherein he used to speak with God, out of the Camp, in token of the Lords displeasure. He hewed two new Tables of stone like to the former, and having given order for the making of an Ark of Wood, and all things about the Tabernacle, according to the pattern shewed him in the Mount, he went up the third time, and continued there fourty dayes and as many nights without eating any thing, as before. In this time God wrote anew the ten Commandments; and, being pacified, renewed the league conditionally, and proposed other Laws to the people. When *Moses* returned his face shone, so that he put thereon a vail when he spake to the multitude, to which he declared Gods commands, urged the observation of the Sabbath, and the offering for making of the Tabernacle; in the work whereof, the latter part of this year was spent by *Bezaleel*, and his Companions.

6. On the first day of the first moneth of the second year, was the Tabernacle reared, and in this moneth were these things done which are spoken of in the third book of *Moses*, called *Leviticus*. On the fourteenth day was the passeover celebrated in the Wilderness of *Sinai*. On the first of the second moneth God commanded *Moses* to number all the *Israelites*, except the Tribe of *Levi*, from twenty years old to sixty; the number of whom amounted to 603550. just so many as had been found seven moneths before, when the contribution was to be made for the Tabernacle. On the 20th of the same moneth, the Cloud which rested on the Tabernacle removed, and they following it in four Armies came from the Wilderness of *Sinai* to that of *Paran*, where they stayed 23 dayes in their 12th Mansion of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*. Here the people, weary of their Heavenly bread, lusted after the flesh of *Egypt*, and were punished with a sudden fire, which devoured many, and was at length quenched by the prayer of *Moses*. Here also *Moses* complaining to God of the great burthen which lay upon him; the *Sanhedrim* of the seventy Elders was instituted. In this place, moreover, God gave the people Quailes for a whole moneth on which they surfeited, so that a plague arose whil'st the flesh was yet betwixt their teeth, and many perished. Hence the place had its name of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, or the *Sepulchers of concupiscence*.

The Tabernacle reared.

Chap. 40.

Num. 19.

Num. 1.

Chap. 10.

Chap. 23.

Chap. 11.

The *Sanhedrim.*

7. From *Kibroth-Hattaavah* they removed to *Hazeroth*, where *Aaron* and *Miriam* spake against *Moses* about his wife; *Miriam* for that, was struck with Leprosie, and cast out of the Camp; till *Aaron*, confessing their fault, and interceding to *Moses* for her, he prayed to God, and she was healed. She being after seven dayes received again into the Camp, they removed, and came to *Rithma*, near unto *Cadesh-barnea*, in the same desart of *Paran*. In the fifth moneth of the second year, and the time of Vintage, *Caleb* the son of *Jephunne*, *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, and ten other principal men were hence sent to spy the Land of *Canaan*. After fourty dayes they returned, bringing with them of the fruit of the Land. *Caleb* and *Joshuah* incouraged the people, but the rest utterly disheartned them, causing them to dispair ever to possesse it, because of the strength of the walled Towns and the Gyants which there lived. This raised such a mutiny, that they not onely murmured against *Moses*, but spake of making them a Captain, and of returning into *Egypt*, threatning to stone *Caleb* and *Joshua*, who laboured to the contrary. This so highly provoked the Lord, that he threatned suddenly to destroy them, and being prevailed with by *Moses* to mitigate his wrath, denounced that none of twenty years and upwards should ever enter into the promised Land, but wander up and down till their Carkeises fell in the Wilderness; except *Caleb* and *Joshua*. And this sentence was presently executed upon the ten, which had caused the sedition.

Miriam struck with Leprosie.

Chap. 12.

The Spies search the Land.

Chap. 13.

Chap. 14.

SECT. 2.

The *Israelites* commanded to turn back.

8. When they had therefore now arrived at the borders of the promised Land, they were commanded to turn back again into the Wilderness towards the *Red Sea*. But to make some amends, as they thought, for their late fear and cowardise, they arose in the morning; and, against the expresse command of *Moses*, went up into the Mountain to fight, where the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* that there inhabited, smote and discomfited them even unto *Hormah*. At their return they wept before the Lord, but were not heard; and upon this occasion, and the death of those that fell daily in the Desart, *Moses*, as it's thought, composed the 90 *Psalm*, wherein complaining of Humane frailty, and shortnesse of life, he signifieth that Man's age was reduced to 70 or 80 years; and so now the third time was it, as it were, cut shorter by the halfe; the two former having been immediatly after the Flood; and again, in the time of *Phaleg*, at the division of the Earth.

Their Mansions for 37 years.

9. Thenceforth, from their departure from *Cades-Barnea*, are numbred 17 more stations in the Wildernesse of *Paran*, wherein they spent 38 years, wandring about, till all the rebellious ones were consumed. The things which hapned in those years, cannot certainly be fixed upon any particular one, *Moses* herein being silent. Yet it is thought, that the History of the Man that gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, and for it was stoned; of the rebellion of *Corah* and his Companions, of *Aaron's Rod* that *budded*, &c. are to be referred to the latter part of the second year; none of the forty, except the two former and the last of all, being taken notice of by *Moses*, who recordeth onely the 17 mansions which were taken up, during the 37 years that passed between. The 17th and the last of these (being the 32nd mansion reckoned from the beginning) was at *Ezion-gaber*, upon the *Red Sea* in the Country of the *Edomites*, whence they came to *Cades*, where they took up their 33 mansion. *Hierome* and others, account this *Cades* the same with *Cades-barnea* the 15th station, making the *Israelites* to have after so many windings and turnings, in so many years, returned to the same place. But, others finding *Cades-barnea* in the Southern confines of *Canaan*, will have this *Cades* or *Kadesh*, a place different from it, and near to *Ezion-gaber* upon the *Red Sea*, (whence they immediately passed to it) in the Desart of *Zin*. Whilst they remained in *Cades*, *Miriam* died at the age of 126 years, and was there buried. After this the people murmured, because the water which had hitherto followed them from the Rock *Rephidim*, here failed, being, as some think, swallowed up of the *Red Sea*. Hereupon *Moses* and *Aaron* were commanded onely to *speak* to a Rock in that place, to give out water; but *Moses*, wearied with the untowardnesse of the multitude, uttered some words of impatience and diffidence, and *struck* the Rock twice, so that the water gushed out in great abundance. Because they did not sanctifie God in the eyes of the people, he was angry with them, and excluded them both from entering into the Land of promise.

Numb. 33.

Miriam dieth.

Chap. 20.

Aaron dieth.

10. *Moses* afterwards sent to the King of *Edom*, desiring leave to passe quietly through his Country; but, he opposing, he led the people by the borders from *Kadesh* unto Mount *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, some 4 moneths after his Sister *Miriam*, at the age of 123; in the 40 year of their wandring in the Wildernesse; and *Eleazer* his Son succeeded him in the Office of High-Priest. In the 6th moneth of the 40 year, the King of *Arad*, who inhabited the southern parts of *Canaan*, came out against them and took many prisoners; whereupon, they vowed, if God would deliver his Country into their hands, to destroy his Cities. Hereunto God assenting, they went up, and prospering, gave to the Country the name of *Hormah*, which is the same with *Anathema*, or *Cursed*. Then journyed they from mount *Hor*, to compass about the Land of *Edom* (against which God had charged them not to fight, because of their Ancestors) and came to the 35th mansion of *Tsalmona*, which signifieth an *image*. For here the people murmuring against the Lord and *Moses*, because of the tediousnesse of the journy, and loathing Manna, were bitten by fiery Serpents sent by God (the *Greeks* call them *Dypsades*, and *Ælian* maketh them chiefly to breed in *Arabia*); so that many perished without

Chap. 21.

The King of *Arad* vanquished.

SECT. 2.

without remedie. At length, *Moses* by God's appointment erected on a pole a brazen Serpent, upon which as many as looked, were presently made whole.

Chap. 33, & 34.

11. From *Tsalmona* they came to *Punon*, thence to *Oboth*, and so to *Jie-Abarim*, on the borders of *Moab*, in the Desart thereof, towards the Sunrising. Here runneth the Brook *Zared*, towards which, when they passed, God commanded them not to make War upon the *Moabites*, who had formerly beaten hence Giants called *Emmim*, as their Brethren the *Ammonites* had also outed others, known by the name of *Zamzummim*. Thirty eight years after their removall from *Kades-barnea*, the *Israelites* passed *Zared*, all the carkeises of the rebellious being in that space fallen in the Wildernesse, and came to their 39th Mansion of *Dibon-Gad*. Thence they travelled to *Almon-Diblathaim*, still in the Desart of *Moab*, and being to touch upon the borders of the *Ammonites*, God forbad them to molest these also, because descended of just *Lot*. He commanded them to passe over the River *Arnon*; which having done, they removed to their 41 Mansion, in the Mountain of *Abarim*, over against *Nebo*.

Sihon King of *Heshbon*.

Deut. 11.

Numb. 21.

12. Out of the Wildernesse of *Kademoth*, *Moses* sent to *Sihon*, the *Amorite*, King of *Heshbon*, to desire leave peaceably to passe through his Borders; but he refused, and opposed them at *Jahaz*, where he was discomfited and slain. The *Israelites* thus became Masters of his Cities and Country, which (as *Josephus* writeth) lay like an Island between three Rivers; *Arnon* on the South, *Jabock* on the North, (which falling into *Jordan*, loseth it's name) and *Jordan* it self on the West; being on the East, bounded with the Mountains of *Arabia*. As they proceeded by the way of *Basan*, *Og* King thereof, who remained of the Giants called *Rephidim*, opposing them, was also slain, and his Country wholly subdued, with the destruction of it's Inhabitants; and in like manner all *Argob* (afterwards called *Trachonitis*) wherein were Sixty Cities. After these Victories, they removed from the Mountains of *Abarim*, and came to their 42d and last Mansion (taken up by *Moses*) near *Jordan*, lying from *Jesimoth* unto *Shittim* or *Abel-Shittim*, in the plains of *Moab*, which was so called, because the *Moabites* formerly possessed them, till driven beyond *Arnon* by the *Amorites*. Here they continued till they were led thence by *Joshua*, to passe over *Jordan*;

Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 5.

Og King of *Basan*.

Numb. 22.

13. When *Balack* King of *Moab* had heard all that the *Israelites* did to the *Amorites*; left under pretence of passage, they might also seize upon his Kingdom, he consulted with the *Midianites*, and sent into *Mesopotamia* for *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, the Soothsayer, to come and curse them; intending afterwards, to fall upon them. *Balaam*, having the pleasure of God revealed to him, at first feared to come: and though he came at the second message, and laboured all he could to curse them; yet was he over-ruled, and his curse turned into a blessing. But although he had no power to curse, yet he advised the King to that which tended especially to their destruction; To send some of the most beautifull Women into the Camp, to draw them both to Carnall and Spirituall Fornication; the later of which was committed with *Baal-peor*, the Idoll of the *Moabites*. God being angry hereat, commanded the principall of the Idolaters to be hanged up before the Sun, and *Moses* gave order to the Judges, to slay every one his men: A Plague also brake out amongst them, whereby in one day fell 23000 Men; to which those that were hanged and fell by the Sword, being added, advance the number to 24000. *Phineas* the Son of *Eliazar* the Priest executing judgment upon *Zimri* an *Israelite*, and *Cozbi* a *Madianitish* Woman, in the act of Fornication; the Wrath of God was thereby appeased, and the Plague staied.

Balaam.

Numb. 22, 23, 24. *Chap.*

By his advice the people drawn to Idolatry.

1 Cor. 10. Numb. 26.

Moses numbereth the people.

14. A little after, God commanded *Moses* the third time to number the people. In this space of 40 years all the Men of War were perished, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, which amounted to the number of 603000. Yet was there by this time such a supply of young ones grown up, that they almost equallized the number of their Fathers; there being found 601730, from 20 years old

Sect. 2.

and upwards, besides 23000 Levites, reckoned from a moneth old. After this, *Moses*, by Gods command, sent *Phineas* with 12000 Men against the *Midianites*, who had conspired with the *Moabites* against them. He destroyed them, and amongst them *Balaam* the Soothsayer, who, as it appeareth, was not yet returned. The Women they brought away Captives; whereof the Married-ones they slew, and kept the Virgins for themselves. Now were the Lands of *Sihon* King of the *Ammorites*, and *Og* King of *Bashan*, divided amongst the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manasses*, on this condition, that they should accompany their brethren over the River *Jordan*, and assist them in the conquest of the Land of *Canaan*, so long as need should require.

Balaam slain. *Chap.* 31.

Chap. 32.

The land beyond *Jordan* divided.

15. The time now drew near, that *Moses* must dye, being not to passe over into the Land of *Canaan*. Therefore in the 11th moneth of the 40th year, he made a repetition of the Law to the people, related God's benefits bestowed on them, and exhorted them to obedience. The Law he wrote in a Book, and commanded it to be read every 7th year, at the Feast of Tabernacles. He also, at the command of God, wrote a Song concerning the future Idolatry, and afflictions of the *Israelites*. *Joshua* being then ordained Captain of the people in his stead, he ascended from the plains of *Moab* to Mount *Nebo*, part of the Mountains of *Abarim*, and whose top is called *Phasga* or *Pisgah*, looking towards *Jericho*. There God having shewn him the Land of *Canaan*, from the one side to the other, he died some 5 months after *Aaron*, being 120 years old (the third part of which time saving one moneth, he spent, as * *Josephus* writeth, in Government) in the 40 year ending, after he had brought the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, the year of the World 2548. God buried him in the Valley of *Moab* over against *Beth-Peor*, and no Man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day. Concerning his body, a contest hapned between *Michael* the Arch-Angel and the Devill; the reason of which is thought to be, because Satan would have had the place thereof known, that the people might be drawn to Idolatry out of reverence to so great a person. The *Israelites* mourned for him 20 dayes, and with his life endeth the *Pentateuch*, or his five Books. The Book of *Joshua* followeth, taking it's beginning from the 41th of the departure out of *Ægypt*, and the 2549th year of the World.

Deut. 1, &c.

Deut. *ult.*

Moses dieth. A. M. 2548.

* *Antiq.* l. 4.

16. Whilst the *Israelites* were still mourning for *Moses*, the two Spies were sent over *Jordan*, (as some think) to search the Land. The next morning after their return, the whole Host removed from *Shittim*, and came to *Jordan*, where they lodged that night, and the next day passed over the River. As soon as the feet of the Priests which bare the Ark touched the water, it fell off on both sides and made a way; so that they went over on dry ground, the floods not returning to their place, so long as the Ark remained in the channel. On the 10th day of the first moneth *Nisan*, they arrived in the Land of *Canaan*, and took up their first Mansion at *Gilgal*, not far from *Jericho*. Here, (it's thought the next day) God commanded that all the Males should be circumcised, this Sacrament being omitted ever since they left Mount *Sinai*; because they were in constant expectation of travell: upon which account neither had they kept the Passeover since that time. Three dayes they rested, and on the fourth they did eat the Passeover, and the day following unleavened bread of the Corn of the Land, at which time Manna ceased, after it had continued 40 years.

Josh. 1, 2, 3, 4, Chapters.

The *Israelites* passe over *Jordan* into the Land of *Canaan*.

A. M. 2549. *ineunte.*

Chap. 5.

17. The first place they fell upon with War, was the City of *Jericho*, which having compassed with the Ark seven dayes, on the seventh the walls fell down of their own accord, the City was taken, and all therein put to the Sword, except the Family of *Rahab* (she, having harboured the Spies, had security promised from them) whom *Salmon* of the Tribe of *Judah* married, to whom she bare *Boaz*. All the goods found therein were also accursed, nothing thereof to be made prey; which Law *Achan* transgressing, caused *Israel* to be discomfired at *Ai*, and for that was first stoned, and then burnt, with all that *belonged* to him. The Kings of *Canaan*, startled at *Josua's* successe,

Chap. 6.

Jericho destroyed.

Chap. 7, 8, 9.

Sect. 2.

successe, combined against him; but the *Gibeonites*, fearing the worst, counterfeited a Message to him as from a far Countrey, and procured safety to themselves and posterity; yet such, as slavery was joyned therewith. *Adonizedek* King of *Jerusalem*, and the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachish*, and *Debir*, enraged hereat, conspired against them and fell upon their Citie; to the relief whereof *Joshua* being called, raised the siege, and prosecuting his victory against the Kings, at his command the Sun stood still over *Gibeon*, and the Moon in the Valley of *Ajalon*. Upon which strange miraculous accident this is observed, that *Ajalon* being scarce a German mile Westward of *Gibeon*, the Moon, as 'tis probable, was then decreasing, or in the wane, and, these two Luminaries standing still and moving together, the Astronomical account was thereby nothing at all disturbed.

Chap. 10.

The Sun and Moon stand still.

Cedrenus.

18. *Joshua* drave the five Kings to that streight that they hid themselves in a Cave at *Makkeda*, where after he had utterly vanquished and destroyed their Armies, he took them, and killing them, hanged their Carcases on five Trees till Sun-set: then cast them into the Cave and laid a great heap of stones thereon. After their death he warred with many other petty Kings, as with the King of *Libnah*, *Lachish*, *Gezer*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and the rest: there was not one Citie that made peace with *Israel* save the *Hivites*, the inhabitants of *Gibeon*; all others they took in battel, and utterly destroyed, except such as it pleased God to reserve, for a lash and scourge, wherewith to reduce them in times of Rebellion and for their exercise to be as Thorns in their eyes, and Goads in their sides. The *Canaanites* being thus deprived of their ancient habitation by *Joshua* and the *Israelites*; Many of them, as is conjectured, removing to the *Mediterranean-Sea*, (where they were known afterwards by the name of *Phœnicians*) continued not all there, but spread themselves abroad, and sent Colonies far and wide into many places of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, concerning which that excellent book of *Bochartus*, called *Canaan*, is to be consulted. That is remarkable, which * *Procopius* mentioneth concerning Pillars erected in the Province of *Africk*, called *Tingitana*, with a *Phœnician*-inscription to this purpose: *We are they who fled from the face of* Joshua *the Robber, the son of Nave.* How long this War continued till the division of the Land, is not expressed in Scripture; yet is thence to be gathered. For *Caleb* being fourty years old when with others he was sent by *Moses* to search the Land, was at the time of the Division, as he saith, 45 years older. Now the Spies were sent out in the fifth moneth of the second year, after their departure out of *Egypt*, or sooner; so that from that time to the entrance into *Canaan*, followed almost 39 years; (the *Israelites* being fourty years in the Wilderness) which being deducted out of the said forty five, six years and some few remain, during which the War in *Canaan* must have continued.

Joshua vanquisheth the Kings.

Chap. 11, &c.

In *Vandalitia.*

19. The *Clerouchia* then, or division of the Land, fell out in the beginning of the seventh year from their entrance into *Canaan*, and in the year of the World 2555 also beginning. It continued about one year, as some gather from the story. First of all, an inheritance was given to two Tribes and an half, *viz.* the Tribes of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasses*. Then met the *Israelites* together in *Shiloh*, because seven other Tribes yet remained undisposed of. Therefore certain men were sent from that place to bring a Survey of all the Land, which could not be done in a few dayes; and then after their return the division was perfected; for all which no lesse then the space of a year seemeth necessary. So, from the beginning of the World to the end of this Division, 2555 years, containing just so many weeks of years as there are natural dayes in a year, *viz.* 365. Or if we make a great year consisting of so many years as the solar year consisteth of dayes; then have we six (or seven) such great years. It is further observable, that from the beginning of the World, to the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan* may be reckoned so many Jubilies of years (viz. 52.) as are dayes in the seventh part of a Solar year, one onely excepted. The War having endured six years, they rested on the seventh, wherein the Division was made, as in the Sabatical year.

The *Clerouchia* or division of the Land.

* A.M. 2555.

Chap. 14, 15, &c.

Vide Ludov. Capellum *in Chronol. Sacr.*

20. The

SECT. 2.

The rise of Sabbatical years and Jubilies.

20. The rise therefore, and beginning of the *Sabbatical*-year, and of *Jubilies*, some chuse rather to fetch from the first entrance into *Canaan*, then from the division of the Land. For though they began not to sow the Land on this side *Jordan* till after the division; yet before this had they taken possession of the Countrey lying beyond the River, which was divided betwixt the two Tribes and the half; whereof, though it must be granted that those which were fit for War, accompanied their brethren over *Jordan*, according to the charge laid upon them by *Moses*, yet is it to be supposed that those which stayed behind were nourished by the fruits of that soyl. For Manna had already ceased, and the Corn which the other reaped of the Enemies sowing being but gotten by degrees, according as they Conquered the Countrey, could scarce maintain them without sending for supplies to those that stayed beyond the River. When they had ended the division, the Children of *Israel* give for an inheritance to *Joshua* that which he asked, even *Timneth Serah* in Mount *Ephraim*, where he built a Citie, and dwelt therein. The Tabernacle of the Congregation was set up at *Shiloh* by the whole Assembly. As for the *Levites* they had no inheritance assigned them, but (the Lord being their inheritance) they were to live of Tythes & Offerings. Onely 48 Cities on both sides of *Jordan* were set apart for them to dwell in, which were also to be Cities of refuge, whither those that were guilty of casual homicide might fly from the avenger of bloud, and there remain in security till the death of the High-Priest. *Joshua* being very old at the division, is by the Jews said to have lived, past the first Sabbatical year, but to have died before the next arrived. Some give to his government twenty years, and some above; but others think he died, not long after the division. There is no certainty thereof from Scripture; but that he lived a hundred and ten years is expresly recorded.

Josh. 18.

Chap. 20.

Joshua dieth.

Chap. 24. v. 29.

Judge 11. 8.

The *Israelites* fall to idolatry.

21. After *Joshua* and that generation were dead, which had seen the wonders of the Lord, another arose after them that knew not the Lord, nor the works he had done; so that the Children of *Israel* followed other gods, serving *Baal* and *Ashtaroth*. For this cause the anger of the Lord was hot against *Israel*, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers which spoiled them. He sold them into the hands of their Enemies round about, insomuch that they could not stand before them; but whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as he had said and sworn. Nevertheless he raised them up Judges to deliver them out of the hands of those that spoiled them; and yet they would not hearken to their Judges, but went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them. Hereupon the Lord resolved not to drive out thenceforth any Nations before them, which *Joshua* left when he died, that by them he might prove *Israel* whether they would keep his way and to teach them War. There were left five Lords of the *Philistins* with all the *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians* and *Hivites* that dwelt in Mount *Lebanon*, from Mount *Baal Hermon*, unto the entring of *Hamath*. The Children of *Israel* dwelt amongst the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Ammorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites*: they took their daughters to be their wives, gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods.

Chap. 3.

Cushan oppresseth them.

22. For this, the anger of the Lord was hot against *Israel*, and he sold them to the hand of *Cushan-rishathaim* King of *Mesopotamia*. How long this was after the division, the Scripture expresseth not. We read that he oppressed them eight years, but some think it should be read in the eighth year, *viz.* after the division, or eighth years, because this servitude ended in the eight. But that it began not immediatly after the division, neither after the death of *Joshua*, seemeth evident; because the *Israelites* served the Lord as long as that Generation lasted, which had seen his wonders; which cannot be conceived extinct at the same time with him. Others think a longer time then seven years to have passed betwixt the division and this oppression, assigning fourteen years to the government of *Joshua* after the division, then ten more to the government of the Elders after his death, who might very well live longer then so; none that were twenty years old when they came out of *Egypt*

Vers. 8.

Lud. Cappellus.

Jacobus Cappellus.

Egypt having entred *Canaan* except *Joshua* and *Caleb*. After that, as many years they attribute to an Anarchy, in the sixth year of which they will have the Civil War to have broken out betwixt *Benjamin* and the rest of the Tribes, wherein all the *Benjaminites* except 600 were slain. Four years after this War, and at the end of the 10th. *Cushan* the King of *Mesopotamia* afflicted *Israel* for its idolatry eight years. But concerning this there is no certainty.

SECT. 2.

Judg. 20.

Othniel delivereth them.

23. At the end of the eight years, God stirred up for a deliverer, *Othniel* of the Tribe of *Judah*, Nephew to *Caleb* by his younger brother *Kenaz*, and his son-in-law. Into his hands the Lord delivered *Cushan*, and the Land had rest fourty years. After his death (which is set to the end of these fourty years) *Israel* turned again to idolatry, and the Lord delivered them up to *Eglon*, King of *Moab* for eighteen years. At the end of this term he stirred up *Ehud* a left-handed man of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, who under colour of a message stabbed *Eglon* into the belly, and gathering the *Israelites* together on Mount *Ephraim*, slew 10000 of the *Moabites*, all men of War. After this, the Land is said to have rested 80 years, the words being taken literally; but then some think none of the years of the Tyrants, or Oppressors, are to be counted severally, and by themselves, but to be included herein as other years after mentioned; else the account will swell much larger then the whole number of years, which the Scripture seemeth to allow of. If we take-in all the years ascribed to the Tyrants, then they will have it an Enallage (frequent in all Languages) and instead of 80. *Ehud* governed, or the Land rested under him onely eight years; but others think they have as much reason to take them literally.

Judg. Chap. 3.

Eglon oppresseth them.

Delivered by *Ehud*.

Shamgar judgeth *Israel*.

24. After *Ehud*, *Shamgar* the son of *Aneth* judged *Israel*, but no mention is made of any time. It followeth, when *Ehud* was dead the Children of *Israel* did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and he sold them into the hand of *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, whose General was *Sisera*, and who had 900 Chariots of iron: he mightily oppressed them twenty years. It is most probable that in this time the Government of *Shamgar* was included, (he slew with an Oxe-goad 600 of the *Philistins*, who at this time might also afflict *Israel*) or else it being but short might fall betwixt *Ehud*'s death, and the oppression of *Jabin*; there being probability enough that some time passed after his death, before the *Israelites* so highly provoked the Lord as to be given up into *Jabins* hands. At the end of these twenty years *Deborah*, the wife of *Lapidoth* (judging *Israel* at this time in Mount *Ephraim*) moved by God sent for *Barak*, the son of *Abinoam* from *Kadesh-Naphtali*, and made him Captain. He, with 10000 men of *Zebulon* and *Naphtali*, overthrew *Sisera*, who flying on his feet to the Tent of *Heber* the *Kenite* (descended of *Jethro*, father-in-law to *Moses*) *Jael* his wife killed him by a Nail driven into his Temples as he lay asleep. So the Land rested under *Deborah* fourty years as we read it, *another interpreting it *in the* 40th *year*, viz. after the rest restored to it by *Ehud*.

Chap. 4.

Jabin oppresseth them.

And the Philistins.

Deborah and *Barach* deliver them.

*Usher.

Jud. 6.

25. This time expired, and the *Israelites* relapsing to idolatry, God gave them up into the hands of the *Midianites*, and other people of the East, which afflicted them seven years, destroying their Corn, driving away their Cattel, and making havock of all things. This made them cry to the Lord, who first reproved them by a Prophet; and afterwards, by an Angel stirred up *Gideon*, the son of *Joash*, of the Tribe of *Manasses*, to deliver them. He having pulled down the Altar of *Baal*, and burnt his grove, out of 23000 men chose 300. with which number marching against the *Midianites*, he so affrighted them by a stratagem of *Lamps* and *Pitchers*, that he routed their whole Army. The *Ephraimites* took *Oreb* and *Zeeb*: *Gideon* following the Chace beyond *Jordan* wholly discomfited them, and took, and slew two Kings of the *Midianites*; *Zeba* and *Zalmanna*. After so great a victory the *Israelites* offered him the Kingdom; but he refused it, and asked onely the earings of the prey, wherewith he made an Ephod which afterwards gave occasion to idolatry (all *Israel* going a whoring after it) and became a snare to him and his

The *Midianites* oppresse them.

Gideon delivereth them.

Chap. 7.

Chap. 8.

SECT. 2.

his house. But thus *Midian* being subdued, the Country was in quietnesse under *Gideon* 40 years, as most read it; but, as others, was quiet in the 40th year; *viz.* after quietnesse restored to it by *Deborah* and *Barach*.

Abimelech his Son maketh himself King.

26. Though *Gideon* refused the Soveraignty, yet *Abimelech* his base Son thinking such a thing was not to be neglected, dealt with the *Sichemites*, of whose City his Mother was native, to make him King: and by their help he seized on the Kingdom, having slain his Seventy Brethren upon one stone; *Jotham* the youngest onely escaping. The *Israelites*, after *Gideon's* death, had again turned after Idols, and therefore God not onely subjected them to the Dominion of this most wicked of all parricides, but to intestine dissentions, by reason of him. For after he had tyrannized three years, *Gaal* with the *Sichemites* conspired against him, which having timely discovered, he destroyed them and their City (sowing it with Salt) and burnt the house of their god *Berith*, with a thousand Men and Women which had fled to it. Then went he against *Thebez*, and took it, the Inhabitants whereof retired for defence into a strong Tower. Here, as he was about to set fire to the door, a Woman cast down a piece of a Mil-stone upon his head, and so brake his skull, that he caused his Armour-bearer to kill him, lest it should be said, that he died by the hands of a Woman. After his death, *Tolah*, the Son of *Puah*, the Son of *Dodo*, a Man of *Issachar*, that dwelt at *Samir* in Mount *Ephraim*, arose to defend *Israel*, and judged it 23 years. After him *Jair* a *Gileadite* 22 years, thought to be descended of that *Jair*, who took the Towns of *Argob*, and called them after himself *Havoth-Jair*; as his thirty Sons in like manner, after that example, named so many Cities, which they possessed in the Land of *Gilead*.

Chap. 9.

Tolah judgeth *Israel.*

Chap. 10.

Jair.

27. *Jair* being dead, the *Israelites* returned to their evil courses, serving *Balaam*, *Ashtaroth*, the gods of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the *Philistims*; for which God sold them into the hands of the *Philistins* and *Ammonites*. It is written, *And that year they oppressed the Children of* Israel, 18 *years all that were on the other side* Jordan, *in the Land of the* Amorites, *which is in* Gilead. *Moreover, the* Ammonites *passed over* Jordan, *to fight also against* Judah *and* Benjamin, *and the house of* Ephraim; *so that all* Israel *was sore distressed.* Some will have this oppression but to begin at the death of *Jair*; others think, they had oppressed *Israel* 18 years before, and now passed over the River, to afflict the other Tribes. The *Israelites* cried to God, and being reproved, put away their Idolls: hereupon, the *Ammonites* being got together in *Gilead*, and the *Israelites* assembled in *Mizpah* in the same Country, *Jephthah* the Son of *Gilead*, begotten on an Harlot, was sent for by the *Gileadites* and made Captain, being a mighty Man of valour: He first sent to expostulate with the King of *Ammon*, and to demand the cause of the War. He answered, it was because *Israel* took away his Land, when they came out of *Ægypt*, from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and unto *Jordan*; of which he required restitution. *Jephthah* replyed, that in their journey from *Ægypt*, they sent to the Kings of *Edom* and *Moab*, to desire passage through their Coasts; but this being denied, they turned aside through the Wildernesse, and compassed about the Lands of *Edom* and *Moab*, not coming within the borders of *Moab*, and so at length came and pitched on the other side of *Arnon*, which was the limit of *Moab's* Coasts; Then, that *Sihon* King of the *Ammorites* denying them passage, and fighting against them, the Lord God of *Israel* delivered him into their hands: and they possessed the Land of the *Amorites* from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and from the Wildernesse unto *Jordan*.

Judg. 10. ver. 8, 9.

The *Philistins* & *Ammonites* oppresse *Israel.*

Chap. 11.

28. Seeing the *God of Israel* had dispossessed the *Amorites*, he demanded a reason, why *he* should possesse that Country; and whether he was any thing better then *Balack* the Son of *Zippor*, King of *Moab*, who never strove nor fought against *Israel*. Lastly, he asked him, why he recovered not the Land all the 300 years which the Children of *Israel* had enjoyed it, and appealed to God for righteous judgement betwixt them. These 300 years, if they be reckoned exactly; the years of the oppressions, and of the Judges, must all along

SECT. 2.

along be counted in length, without including the one in the other; but if this be done, still many more than 300 will be found, and 100 years more will arise in the account of time, from the coming out of *Ægypt* to the building of the Temple, than the Scripture in another place alloweth of. Some say, if so many years really passed, betwixt the last year of *Moses*, save one, and this time of *Jephthah*, as those successions do make; 400 years was rather to have been mentioned, seeing the number exceeded that of 300; and therefore accounting the other way short of 300, they allegde, that it is usuall, when a full or round number is chosen, rather to make use of that which most favoureth their cause; and therefore *Jephthah* meant by 300, about, or almost so many. On the contrary, others believe, that the Scripture doth not suffer them to omit the years of Servitude, and contain them under those of the Judges, which they suppose clearly appeareth out of those *words before mentioned, which in generall describe the condition of the *Israelites*, as *successively* guilty of Idolatry, then punished, and delivered; after which, falling into an Anarchy at the death of their deliverer, they again relapsed into the same sin. They will have all to the particular accounts of these things in Scripture, by their order and distinction, to hold out no lesse unto us.

* Judg. 11. 18.

Jeptha overthroweth the *Ammonites.*

29. But the King of the *Ammonites* not hearkening to *Jephthah*, was overthrown with a very great slaughter. *Jephthah* at his going forth, vowed, if the Lord would deliver the enemie into his hands, that whatsoever came first out of his house to meet him at his return, should surely be the Lord's, and he would offer it for a burnt offering. It happened that his onely Daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances; and after she had bewailed her Virginity, he is said to have *done to her according to his vow*. Some observe that for *And* in the place may be read *Or*, as if, he would offer the thing, if it were to be offered, or, however to consecrate it to the Lord. And their opinion seemeth most probable, who hold she was not offered up as a burnt-offering, but consecrated to God by perpetuall virginity and austerity of life, being altogether separated from Humane society, except four dayes in a year, for a little refreshment; it being said, that he executed his Vow upon her, for that he did not redeem her with money, according to the Law mentioned in * *Exodus* but left her consecrated to God in an unmarried state, lest she should seem to be another's and not the Lord's. *Jephthah*, after this, warred against the *Ephraimites*, who spake against, and threatned him and his house. He cut off 42000 Men, all being slain in their passage over *Jordan*, that could not pronounce *Shiboleth*. Having judged *Israel* six years he died, and was buried in *Gilead*.

Chap. ult.

* Judg. 12.

Abzon.
Elon.
Abdon Judges.

30. After *Jephthah* arose *Ibsan* of *Bethlehem*, and judged *Israel* seven years, then *Elon* a *Zebulonite* 10, and *Abdon* the Son of *Hillel* a *Pirathonite*, after him eight years. Now the *Philistins* again vexed *Israel* 40 years. Seeing neither of these three are said to have delivered the Land, some think those 40 years, to have included some of their Government. There are that fetch the beginning of them from the 4th year of *Ibzan*, and end them at the death of *Sampson*, whom they will have the immediate Successor of *Abdon*. Of those that are for the lengthning out of the time, some think they are to be reckoned from the death of *Abdon*, and end at the beginning of *Samson's* Government, which others again inferr, by good arguments, to be included in them, or else 20 of them must fall in with the time of *Eli*; the Seventy Interpreters accordingly, giving to *Eli* not 40 years as the *Hebrew* Copies, but onely 20. Still there are not wanting, who think *Eli* to have succeeded *Abdon*, and *Sampson's* 20 years (who was yet unborn) to have been included in his 40. They fetch the rise of the 40 years of the oppression from 17 years before the beginning of *Eli*, and end them so many after his death. *Sampson* was a *Nazarite* from his Mothers womb, no Razor coming on his head, and keeping himself from wine and strong drink all his time. Hence, as his admirable strength is said to have layn in his hair, so others have ascribed it to his abstinency, as if it had not proceeded from the especiall

The *Philistins* vexe *Israel.*

Sampson.

Usher.

SECT. 2. P.ovidence and Power of God. He was the *Hercules* of the *Israelites*, really performing such things as the *Greeks* would scarce attribute to their's, on whom yet they heaped those things that were done by many. He afflicted the *Philistins* much in his life, but much more at his death, by throwing down the house of *Dagon* upon the chief of them, being therein assembled to make themselves sport with so great an Adversary, whom having got into their power, they had deprived of his sight.

Eli. 31. Had *Eli* præced.d *Sampson*, he would have been reckoned amongst his predecessors; according to generall apprehension. The High-Priesthood which hitherto had continued in the Family of *Eliazar* for five Generations, (*viz.* in himself, *Phineas*, *Abisua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*, according to *Josephus*) was in *Eli* translated to that of *Ithamar* another of *Aaron's* Sons. The Sons of *Eli* being very leud, grievously abused their power, and he used not his authority in correcting them, whereby he so far incurred God's displeasure, that he threatened to destroy his house, as it came to passe. The *Israelites*, towards the end of his 40 years, fought with the *Philistins*; but were worsted, and lost 4000 Men. To better their successe, they then sent for the Ark of God from *Shiloh*, promising to themselves victory in it's presence; but of the next Battell the issue was the same. *Hophni* and *Phineas* the Sons of *Eli* were slain, and the Ark taken. This news being brought to *Eli*, upon mention of the captivity of the Ark, he fell backward from a seat, and being 98 years old his neck brake. The *Philistins* placed the Ark in the house of their god *Dagon*, which Idol fell down twice before it; and the multitude was so plagued with the Hæmorrhoids, that they were glad to return it back with presents. 1 Sam. 2, 3, 4. Chap.

The Ark taken.

Returned.

Samuel. 32. To *Eli* succeeded *Samuel*, both a Levite and a Propher, to whose Government, from the division of the Land, passed 450 years, according to St. *Paul*, as the text of (*a*) *Luke* now hath it. But to this place another in the first Book of the (*b*) *Kings*, expresly seemeth to contradict, which maketh the foundation of the Temple to be laid in the 480th year after the *Israelites* departure out of *Ægypt*. This later number exceedeth the other but by 30. although in it must be comprehended, besides what is in the former, the 40 years of their stay in the Wilderneſse, the six years which passed before the division, the time of *Samuel's* Government, the reigns of *Saul* and *David*, with the three years of *Solomon*, that passed before the building of the Temple; all which make up the number of 129; so that the litterall senses of these two cannot stand together: Some go about to reconcile them by drawing down the beginning of the 480 years, lower than the Text will bear; and by removing that of the 450, higher than is convenient: to whom others joyn, in attempting the reconciliation both of those numbers, and clearing up the matter concerning the 300 years ascribed by *Jephtah*, to the possession of the Land of the *Amorites* before mentioned. But there are, who find a necessity of confessing a mistake, either in the one or other Copie of these places. These are divided in their opinions, one party thinking they have better reason to stick to the place of the *Kings*, which is not so liable to any corruption (through the great care of the *Jews*) as the *Greek* text, hith that, by reason of the similitude of words, might well be changed from * one to another, through the ignorance of transcribers. Another will have the 440 years to belong to the division of the Land, and not to the Judges: all which have been mistaken through the wrong reading of the words.

Τετρακοσιοστο.

(*a*) Acts 13. 20.

(*b*) Chap. 6. 1.

*From τριακοσιας to τετρακοσιοστο.

33. Others, both of antient and modern times, are very confident, that, all considered, the fault must fall upon that place of the *Kings*, which giveth but 480 years, to all that time that passed from the departure out of *Ægypt* to the founding of the Temple; and that, instead of 480, 580 was most antiently written. For when any one place disagreeth with the whole series of History, clearly held out elsewhere, it is rather to be corrected in its number (which may easily be altered by a mistake of one word) than many places wrested to a compliance with it. Now all the times of the *Anarchies, liberty, War, and servitude, of the* Israelites *laid together, without confusion of years* (for

Usserius *Chronologiæ Sacræ. cap.* 12.

(for which there is no ground at all), clearly hold out a hundred years more than this place of the *Kings*; and so exactly from the several particulars make it up, that it seemeth to take away all doubt. From the departure out of *Egypt* to *Moses* his death, intervened fourty years; thence to the beginning of *Othniel* 34. whereof 26 are given to the Government of *Joshua* and the Elders, and eight to the servitude under *Cushan*. Then *Othniel* governed fourty years, the oppression of the *Moabites* followed for eighteen. *Ahud* ruled 80. The *Canaanites* Tyrannized 20. *Deborah* and *Barak* governed 40. the *Madianites* oppressed the *Israelites* 7. thence *Gideon* judged *Israel* 40. *Abimelech* reigned 3. *Tolah* 23. *Jair* 22. and then the *Ammonites* oppressed *Israel* 18. all which numbers amount to 385 years. After this *Jephthah* judged *Israel* 6 years, *Ibzan* 7. *Elon* 10. *Abdon* 8. the *Philistins* vexed *Israel* 40. and *Heli* ruled 40. which make up the summe of 111 years. Then *Samuel* and *Saul* governed 40 years (as will be seen), *David* also 40. and *Solomon* 3. before the foundation of the Temple was laid, which make up 83 years. Now all these numbers laid together amount exactly to 579 years, to which if the fourth year of *Solomon* be added wherein the Temple was founded, there ariseth the full number of 580. They perceive therefore it was not without reason that so many of the Ancients dissented from that place of the *Kings*, which might also be lyable enough to the carelesnesse of Scribes. According to this account, Students in History and Chronology are to take notice that a hundred years are to be added to the more ordinary *Æra* of the World. SECT. 2.

Vide Gerard. Joh. Vossii *Isag. Chronol. Dissert.* 6.

34. In the dayes of *Samuel*, the *Philistins* grievously afflicted *Israel*, till such time as by his means, the people being turned to the Lord cast off their idols, and solemnly repented at *Mizpah*: Hereat God was pleased to spare them, and thundring upon the *Philistins*, when they were ready to joyn battel, discomfitted them utterly, & so terrified them that they forsook the Cities formerly seized on, leaving onely one Garrison in the Countrey; and no more afflicted the Children of *Israel* so long as *Samuel* had the chief power in his hands. When he grew old he made his sons Judges over the Land; who perverting Justice by bribery, the people thence gladly took occasion to desire a King, that in government they might be conformable to other Nations. Their most urgent reasons were, for that the *Philistins* yet kept an Hold in their Countrey, and *Nahash* the King of the *Ammonites* threatned them with War; at which they were so affrighted that neither trusting in God's providence (who hitherto had been their King, and avenger) nor to the Justice and prudence of *Samuel*, would they be satisfied, or put off without a King. God therefore gave unto them *Saul* the son of *Kish* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. 1 Sam. 7.

The *Philistins* overthrown.

The *Israelites* desire a King.

Saul is King.

Chap. 8.

Chap. 11.

Hosea 13.

35. In the book of *Samuel* no certain years are either given to his own government, or to that of *Saul*, but it seemeth probable from Scripture that he governed about twenty years alone, from the death of *Eli* to the election of *Saul*. For it is said, that the Ark of God abode in *Kiriath-jearim* twenty years; and that, the time being long, all the house of *Israel* lamented before the Lord at *Mizpeh*; which passages are joyned unto the serious exhortation of *Samuel* to move them to repentance. So then the end of twenty years, the exhortation, their repentance hereupon, and their moving for a King, with good reason seem to have been about the same time; so that 20. or 21 years and an half are to be given to his government, which began at *Eli's* death. Now *Heli* died when the Ark was taken; which staying seven moneths in the Land of the *Philistins* was then sent away and came to *Bethshemesh*, where the inhabitants losing 50610 of their number, for their curiosity of looking into it, sent Messengers to those of *Kiriath-jearim* to fetch it unto them, with whom it remained twenty years; and these years the *Israelites* counted long. 1 Sam. 7. 2.

36. *Saul* was first by *Samuel* privately anointed, and afterwards publickly declared King at *Mizpah*. Not long after (a moneth it's thought) *Jabesh-Gilead* was besieged by *Nahash*, who refused to grant peace to the inhabi- Chap. 10. Chap. 11.

SECT. 2.

tants upon any other terms than to put out all their right eyes, and lay this for a reproach upon *Iſrael*. They deſired truce but for ſeven dayes; in which ſpace, if no relief came they promiſed to come out to him. But *Saul*, hearing of their diſtreſſe, got together an Army of 300000 of *Iſrael*, and 30000 of *Judah*, with which he eaſily overthrew the *Ammonites*, and raiſed the ſiege. Hereupon, at the procurement of *Samuel*, the people again met at *Gilgall*, where the Kingdom was eſtabliſhed, and confirmed unto *Saul*: at which time *Samuel*, upbraiding them with their unthankfulneſſe to God, and him, terrified them with Thunder and rain in Wheat Harveſt; and again comforted them in the mercy of God. *Saul* having reigned two years, the *Philiſtins* again afflicted the Land, with whom he had ſore War all the dayes of his life. He fought againſt his Enemies round about; againſt *Moab*, the Children of *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the Kings of *Zobah*: he ſmote the *Amalekites*, and delivered his people out of the hands of them that ſpoyled them. Yet, his heart not being upright before the Lord, God choſe him out a man after his own heart, and rejected him and his family. This man was *David*, the youngeſt ſon of *Jeſſe*, of *Bethlehem-Judah*, whom *Samuel* was ſent to anoynt ſome years before his own death, and more before that of *Saul*. In this ſpace, *Saul* perſecuted him from place to place; yet ſuch ardent affection was there betwixt *Jonathan* his ſon and *David*, that the love of a Kingdom it ſelf, joyned with the deep diſpleaſure of a father, was nothing able to interrupt it.

Raiſeth the ſiege at *Jabeſh-Gilead*.

David anointed.

Chap. 13. &c.

37. The Apoſtle *Paul* declareth; that, *after God had deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by Lot, he gave unto them Judges for the ſpace of* 450 *years, untill* Samuel *the Prophet. And afterward, they deſired a King, and God gave them* Saul, *the ſon of* Kis, *a man of the Tribe of* Benjamin, *by the ſpace of fourty years.* Some take the words as giving ſo many years to his reign alone; but by general conſent the government of *Samuel* is to be included in them. *Samuel* ſeemeth to have died not long before *Saul* (two years it's ſuppoſed), at ſuch time as *David* was provoked by the churliſhneſſe of *Nabal*; and is ſaid to have judged *Iſrael* all the dayes of his life. Hence is it certain that *Saul* reigned not alone all thoſe fourty years, and probable that *Samuel* having governed alone for one half of them, had ſtill an hand in the publick affairs of the Nation. At length *Saul* was overthrown in battel by the *Philiſtins*, and loſt his three ſons, *Jonathan*, *Abinadab*, and *Melchiſua*. And he himſelf being ſore wounded, after he could not prevail with his Armour-bearer to kill him, fell upon his own ſword and died. His ſon *Iſhboſheth*, by the means of *Abner* Captain of his Hoſt, ſucceeded him at the Age of fourty years; but the Tribe of *Judah* anointed *David*, King over them in *Hebron*, who had formerly been conſecrated to this Office by *Samuel*: and he reigned over that Tribe alone, ſeven years and ſix moneths. *Iſhboſheth* is ſaid to have *reigned over* Iſrael *two years*; which is to be interpreted, *peaceably*, and *not diſturbed by War*; as his father is ſaid to have reigned one year, viz. *unmoleſted by the* Philiſtins.

Acts 13. 21.

1 *Sam.* 25.

Verſ. 55.

Chap. 31. and 1 *Chron.* 10.

Saul's three ſons ſlain, and he killeth himſelf.

2 *Sam.* 2. 3. &c.

Iſhboſheth ſucceedeth him.

A.M. 2944.

1 *Sam.* 13. 1.

38. For, after theſe two years were expired, a long War inſued betwixt *David* and him; his ſide growing weaker and weaker, as *David*'s grew ſtronger and ſtronger: *David* to ſtrengthen himſelf married *Maacha*, the daughter of *Talmai*, King of *Geſhur*, on which he begat *Abſolom* and *Tamar*. At length *Abner* conceiving a diſpleaſure againſt *Iſhboſheth*, becauſe he had reproved him for medling with his father's Concubine, revolted to *David*, and laboured to tranſfer the Kingdom to him; but coming to viſite himabout this affair, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Joab*, *David*'s General, and Nephew by his ſiſter *Zerviah*. All being out of order now in *Iſrael*; *Baanah* and *Recab* two *Benjamites*, the ſervants of *Iſhboſheth*, ſlew their Lord as he ſlept in his Chamber, and brought his head unto *David*. He rewarded them with death, and was by the Captains, and all the Elders of the Tribes, anointed the third time King at *Hebron*, over all *Iſrael*; which government he held 33 years. A little after this inſtallment he took *Jeruſalem* from the *Jebuſites*, and made it the ſeat

2 *Sam.* 2. 3. &c.

Iſhboſheth ſlain after ſeven years.

1 *Chron.* 12.

2 *Sam.* 5. 6, 7. &c.

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ſeat of his Kingdom; himſelf building and fortifying the Citie of *Sion*, and *Joab* repairing the reſt. Then twice he overthrew the *Philiſtins* in *Rephaim*, who came up againſt him after they heard he was made King. The Ark of God he removed from *Kiriath-Jearim*, to the houſe of *Obed Edom* the *Gittite*, and thence after three moneths into *Sion*. He purpoſed to build God an houſe, but was forbidden (becauſe a man of bloud) that work, which was to be reſerved for *Solomon*. For beſides his Wars in his younger time; all the ſpace, betwixt this and the birth of *Solomon*, ſeemeth imployed in Wars; wherein he overcame the *Philiſtins*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and *Syrians*. The Borders of his Empire he very much inlarged, not onely from *Shihor* of *Egypt* to the entring in of *Hamath*, but alſo as far as *Euphrates*, the utmoſt limits promiſed by God unto *Abraham*; and onely poſſeſſed by him, and his ſon and Succeſſor *Salomon*.

1 *Chron.* 12. &c.

David's adultery and murder.

39. *Salomon* was the ſecond ſon begotten on *Bathſheba*, the wife of *Uriah* the *Hittite*; with which woman *David* firſt committed Adultery, and then for a cover added to it the Murder of her husband. After he had been reproved by *Nathan* the Prophet he repented, and wrote the 51 Pſalm upon this occaſion. Yet the Infant conceived in Adultery, died as ſoon as it was born; and, though *Salomon* was born the next year (at it's thought), yet this ſin eſcaped not without a further puniſhment. For, within awhile, his eldeſt ſon *Amnon* raviſhed his half-ſiſter *Tamar*, and for that was killed by *Abſalom*. Some years after, *Abſalom* by the advice and policy of *Achitophel* ſeized upon the Kingdom. *David* hereupon fled to God as his Rock of refuge, and compoſed the 3d. and the 55th Pſalms: then oppoſing force to force, overthrew *Abſolom* in the Wood of *Ephraim* by *Joab* his General, who thruſt the young man through with a Dart as he hung in an Oak, contrary to *David*'s order, who had charged all the Captains to deal gently with him for his ſake. This Rebellion was followed by a new ſedition raiſed amongſt the *Iſraelites*, by one *Sheba* upon this occaſion; becauſe they had not the chief hand above the Tribe of *Judah*, in bringing back the King to his houſe; but this was happily ſuppreſſed, after *Joab* had procured the inhabitants of *Abel* to cut off *Sheba*'s head.

Puniſhed.

A.M. 2957.

Amnon raviſheth *Tamar*.

Davidis 14.

Abſolom rebelleth.

Chap. 15. 16, 17, 18.

The conſpiracy of *Sheba*.

Chap. 19. 20.

40. After theſe things, ſeveral battels inſued with the *Philiſtins*, in one of which (the laſt wherein he was preſent) *David* hardly eſcaped the hands of *Iſhbi-benob*, one of the ſons of the Gyant; being reſcued by *Abiſhai* his Nephew, who ſlew the *Philiſtin*. Not (*c*) long after, tempted by Satan and his own ambition, he numbred the people: for which God being angry propoſed to him three ſorts of puniſhments, viz. *Famine*, *Sword*, or *Peſtilence*; as to which, he choſe rather to fall into the hands of God then of man. Then God ſent a Plague, whereby periſhed in one day 70000 men; but, as the Angel was alſo about to deſtroy *Jeruſalem* he was commanded to deſiſt. *David* at length having arrived at ſeventy years of Age, was ſo decayed and ſpent by his many labours and troubles, that he could not receive any heat from Cloaths, and therefore a young maid, one *Abiſag*, a *Shunamite* was choſen out, to lye in his boſom. *Adoniah* his ſon taking advantage at this infirmity, by the aſſiſtance of *Joab* the General, and *Abiathar* the Prieſt, ſeized upon the Kingdom. When he had notice thereof, according to the prediction of God, and his promiſe unto *Bathſheba*, he eſtabliſhed *Solomon* in his Throne, and having given him a charge, died about ſix moneths after, when he had reigned over *Judah* alone in *Hebron* ſeven years and ſix moneths, and in *Jeruſalem* over all *Iſrael* and *Judah* 33 years; in the year of the World (according to the vulgar way of reckoning without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the Hiſtory of the Judges) 2985.

2 *Sam.* 21. 1 *Chron.* 20.

(*c*) 2 *Sam.* 24.

David numbreth the people.

1 *Chron.* 20. 7.

1 *Kings* 1.

1 *Chron.* 28. 29.

Maketh *Solomon* King.

Dieth.

A.M. 2985.

41. *David* being dead and *Solomon* eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, *Adonijah* asked *Abiſag* the *Shunamite* to wife, and for that was put to death, as affecting the Soveraignty. *Abiathar* was removed from the Prieſthood, and *Zadok*, of the Poſterity of *Phinehas*, placed in his room, as had been foretold by God, againſt the houſe of *Eli*, from which the Prieſthood now returned;

1 *Kings* 2.

Solomon putteth *Adoniah* and others to death.

SECT. 2.

ned; *Joab* for fear fled to the horns of the Altar, and there was slain by *Benaiah*, who was made Generall in his stead. *Simei*, who had cursed *David* when he fled from *Absalon*, was commanded to build him an house in *Jerusalem*, and not to stir thence beyond the Brook *Kidron* upon pain of death; which he after two years suffered, having broken the order. *Solomon* within a year after his Father's death, married the Daughter of *Pharaoh*; after which, offering 1000 burnt-offerings at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle then rested, God appeared to him in a dream, and offered him whatsoever he would ask. He asked onely wisdom to govern his people, and neither riches nor honour; with which God was so well pleased, that he made him to excell therein all meer men, and accumulated also the other upon him.

chap. 3.

42. Having all things in a readinesse for building an house to the Lord, (for which *David* his Father had made large provisions) *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt* supplying him with 80000 Men, and *Hiram* King of *Tyre* with as many, besides an Architect named *Hypero* (whose Mother was an *Israelitish* Woman, of the Tribe of *Judah*); he laid the foundation of the Temple in the 4th year of his reign, and the second day of the second moneth *Zif*.

chap. 6. Clemens *Stromat. lib.* 4.

The building of the Temple.

The Structure being in building 7 years, the work began (according to their computation, who by reckoning the years of the Judges, and the oppressions severally, add 100 years to the *Æra* of the World) in the 3089th year from the Creation entering, was dedicated in the 3095th ending, and in the 587th year after the departure out of *Ægypt*, also ending; from which if we substract those 40 they lived in the Wilderness, then 547 years will be found to have passed from the Originall of Jubilies to the Dedication of the Temple, which make up eleven Jubilies, and eight years. So the service therein began in the eighth year of the twelfth Jubilie, or in the first year of the second week of the twelfth, which seemeth agreeable to the Ceremoniall Law, wherein most things consist in the number of 7, and are reckoned by Sabbaticall years and Jubilies. And if we divide 3095 by 7, we shall find the Temple dedicated in the first year of the 442d week from the Creation, almost twelve intire Jubilies after the Service thereof had been first appointed on Mount *Sinai*.

Ludov. Cappellus.

Solomon's Navy.

43. About the same time *Solomon* built a Navie at *Esion-gaber*, on the shoar of the *Red Sea*, in the Land of *Edom*. This furnishing with his own Subjects and the *Tyrians* (then, by reason of the situation of their Countrey, the best Sailors in the World) sent to him by *Hiram*, he dispatched to *Ophir*, once in three yeers, for gold and other marchandise, whence they brought him 420 talents. The Country of *Edom*, *David* had formerly subdued, and thence *Solomon* his Son had the priviledge of building his Ships there. *Æleth* or *Eloth*, called by other Writers *Ælana* and *Ælanum*, was then a famous City, seated upon the *Arabian Gulf*, to part whereof, lying about it, it gave appellation. As *Esion-gaber* was the *Arcenall* for building the Navie; so this City seemeth to have been the *Emporium* or *Martown*: and, as long as the *Edomites* continued under the obedience of the Kingdom of *Judah*, it is probable, that thence Marchandise was transported to *Petra*, the chief City of *Arabia*, and so to *Jerusalem*. But when the *Edomites* revolted (which happened after the death of *Jehosaphat*) the course was altered from *Jerusalem* to *Rhino colura*, a City in *Phœnicia* upon *Ægypt*; and there continued long, till such time as the *Ptolomie's* with much adoe, brought down the trade to *Alexandria*. To effect this, they made two Ports upon the borders, whereof the one bare the name of *Berenice*, and is mistaken by *Josephus* for *Esion-gaber*, that lying at a great distance both from this and *Elath*, which seemeth to be the same place, mentioned in (*d*) *Strabo*, by the name of * *Albus Pagus*.

1 Kings. 1.

(*d*) Strabonem *lege lib.* 16. *p.* 780, *D. &* 781, *A. B. &c. Vide* Fullerum *in miscellaneis.*

* Λευκὴ κώμη.

44. As this Navigation of the *Tyrians* gave a beginning to their Fame in that Art; so from it (as is probably conceived) came the name of the *Red Sea*, or that of *Edom*, first to be famous in other Countries. Their Traffick increasing, they might well send out Colonies into other parts; and hence, as *Herodotus* writeth, the Sea-coast of *Arabia* might be inhabited by them; but as for their coming from these parts to inhabit *Phœnicia* (which opinion seemeth to have taken it's originall, from the journey of the *Israelites* out of these Coasts) it is a meer Fable. Sailing out of the *Arabian* into the *Persian* Gulf, the name of *Red Sea* might upon this occasion be given by them to both (which is usually to be expounded of both in antient Writers) the word *Edom*, being changed into others of the same signification in severall Languages. As for *Ophir*, if we think this Country denominated from the Son of *Sem*, (or him from it) either immediately by his habitation therein, or rather mediately by the *Tyrians* imposing that name upon it, which properly belonged to a place in *Arabia*; then need wee not seek for it in *America*, and feign strange circuits to have been made, from the *Red Sea* round about *Africk*, to sail thither; as those, who place it in that part of the World, are forced to do.

SECT. 3.

His buildings.

45. *Solomon* after the dedication of the Temple, fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazzor*, the antient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*; so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistins*: he built *Bethoron*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo*, or munition of *Jerusalem*. He also built *Megiddo* in *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, *Balah* in *Dan*, and *Thadmor*; which may be either *Thameron*, in the Desart of *Judæa*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, or *Palmyra*, as *Josephus* thinketh, situate in the Desart of *Syria*, on the borders of his Dominions; which being many Ages after rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, was named after him *Adrianopolis*. He built for himself in thirteen years time a Palace, and an house for his Wife the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. After this, he offered twenty Towns, bordering upon the Tribe of *Asher*, to *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, as a reward for the assistance he afforded him in his buildings; but he refusing them, he placed Colonies therein. And from his refusall the Country came to be called *Cabul*.

His incontinency and idolatry.

46. In the later part of his reign, he fell into great incontinency, and thence became accessory to abhominable Idolatry. He loved many strange Women, as (together with the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) Women of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Sidonians*, and *Hittites*: of the Nations, wherewith the Children of *Israel* were forbidden to marry. He had 700 Wives, and 300 Concubines, which turned his heart after other gods, so that he went after *Ashtaroth* the goddesse of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the abhomination of the *Amorites*: he built an high-place for *Chemosh* the abhomination of *Moab*, in the hill before *Jerusalem*, for *Molech* the abhomination of the Children of *Ammon*; and so did he for all his strange Wives, which burnt incense, and sacrificed to their gods. This provoked the God of *Israel*, who had twice appeared to him; insomuch, that for his horrible ingratitude, he determined evil concerning his Kingdom, to be fulfilled in his Son. Yet have we ground to judge well of his eternall condition, seeing he made a recantation of his former errors, and was used as a Pen-man of Scripture by the Holy Ghost. He dyed after he had reigned 40 years, being without parallel for *Wisdom*, *Magnificence*, and *Humane Frailty*. A.M. 3025.

1 Kings 11.

His death.

A. M. 3025.

SECT. III.

From the death of Solomon *and the rent of the Kingdom, to the destruction of the Kingdom of* Judah.

1. SOLOMON being dead, *Rehoboam* his Son, by *Naama* an *Ammonitish* Woman, reigned in his stead. The Tribes, when they met at *Sichem* to make him King, petitioned for a relaxation of their burthens imposed by his Father; to which he answered so churlishly (despising the counsel of the antient and grave Men), that ten Tribes revolted from him, and made King over them *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who had fled into *Ægypt* for fear of *Solomon*, after that God's intentions came to be known

1 Kings 12.

Ten Tribes fall off from *Rehoboam.*

2 Chron. 11. *Ver.* 13, 14.

of

SECT. 3. of giving him part of the Kingdom. With *Rehoboam* yet remained the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the greatest part of the *Levites*, who left their possessions and setled themselves in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, because *Jeroboam* and his Sons had cast them off from executing the Priest's Office. With the Tribe of *Judah* is also to be reckoned that of *Simeon*, whose possessions were within the Inheritance of *Judah*, for which that part of the division that fell to it was too much. Part also of the *Danites* had it's seat within that of *Judah*; for it appeareth that they had some Towns in the division of the Land, which formerly had been assigned to the Children of *Judah*, who (as hath been observed) had so large a Country at first assigned to them, rather to protect and defend, than solely to possesse it. All these still remained the Subjects of *Rehoboam*, though ten Tribes are said to have revolted, the Tribe of *Dan* being attributed to *Jeroboam*, for that *Dan* the chief City, was within his dominions; and because the Tribe of *Manasseh* being separated and divided into two parts, might be reckoned for two Tribes. The Kingdom thus divided, the Northern parts fell off; but the Southern continued in obedience to the Son of *Solomon*, whose successors henceforth are called *Kings of Judah*, as those of *Jeroboam*, *Kings of Israel*; and yet this distinction is not alwaies observed, *Jehosaphat* being called *King of Israel*, and also *Ahaz*; though we know they were both Kings of *Judah*; of that division onely.

2 Chron. 11. v. 13, 14.

Josh. 19. 9.

2 Chron. 31. 2. & 28. 19.

2. *Rehoboam* purposed to make War upon the Tribes, but, admonished by God, gave over the enterprize of invading them with 180000 Men; although there was continuall War betwixt the two Kings all their dayes. The Priests and Levites that were driven into *Judah*, retained it in the true religion three years; but when *Rehoboam* had established himself, he forsook the Law of the Lord, and all *Israel* with him, committing sins above all that their Fathers had done. They built them high-places, images, and groves on every high hill, and under every green tree: there were *Sodomites* in the Land, and they did according to the abhomination of those Nations, which the Lord cast out before the Children of *Israel*. Because of this, the fifth year of his reign, *Shishak* King of *Ægypt* (perhaps invited by *Jeroboam*, who had lived with him in exile) came up against him with 1200 Chariots, 60000 Horse-men, and innumerous people, out of *Ægypt*: the *Lubims*, *Sukkiims* and *Æthiopians*, with which he took garrisons in *Judah*, and pierced as far as *Jerusalem*. *Rehoboam*, and his Princes humbling themselves at the preaching of *Shemaiah*, thereby obtained deliverance: which yet, was to be bought at an high rate. For *Shishak* took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the Kings house, with all the golden shields which *Solomon* had made, in the room of which *Rehoboam* put others of brasse. He died after he had reigned seventeen years.

1 King. 12. 14.

He and his Subjects rebel against God.

Afflicted, they humble themselves, and are delivered.

Abiah. A. M. 3043.

3. *Abiah* his Son succeeded him, whose Mother is in one place (*a*) named *Maachah* the Daughter of *Absalom*, and in another (*b*) *Micajah* Daughter to *Uriel* of *Gibeah*. Some think she was the Daughter of *Tamer*, which might be married to this *Uriel*, and adopted by *Absalom*, who seemeth to have left no issue. He imitated the impiety of his Father; his heart not being perfect before the Lord his God, and yet God remembring the Covenant made with *David*, brought him by a fatherly correction into order, and acknowledgement of his Soveraignty. He also warred with *Jeroboam* all his dayes, who coming up against him with 800000 Men, he joyned battell with him having but half so many, and yet trusting in God, obtained Victory, and killed 500000 *Israelites*, the greatest number we read to have fallen in one battel. He took from him *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephraim*, with their Towns; neither did *Jeroboam* recover his strength in his time. *Abijah* waxed mighty, married fourteen Wives, begat two and twenty Sons and fifteen Daughters. Yet he reigned but three years.

(*a*) 2 Chron. 11. 20.

(*b*) *Chap.* 13. 2.

1 Kings 15.

Asa. A. M. 3046.

4. *Asa* his Son succeeded him in the 20th year of *Jeroboam* ending, and did that which was righteous in the sight of the Lord. He reformed what was amisse, commanding his Subjects to seek the God of their Fathers: in his time

1 Kings 15. & 2 Chron. 14. 15, 16. Chap.

time the Land had rest ten years. In his 11th year, according to *Josephus*, came *Zerach* the *Æthiopian* against him, with 1000000 Men, of *Cushæans* (inhabiting *Arabia*, where also *Zerach* his *Æthiopia* is onely to be found) and *Lubæans*, besides 300 Chariots. To those he opposed himself with 300000 of *Judah*, and 280000 of *Benjamin*; and, calling upon his God, obtained the Victory, which he prosecuted and got much bootie. Returning to *Jerusalem*, he was so wrought upon by the words of *Azariah* the Prophet, the Son of *Oded*, as together with his own Subjects and others, (that fell to him in abundance out of *Israel*) he sacrificed to, and made a Covenant with, God. Then proceeding in the reformation of his Kingdom, he removed *Maaca* his Grand-mother from her dignity, because she was the patroness of Idolatry. *Baasa* now who reigned in *Israel*, provoked with the revolt of his Subjects, and jealous of the growing power of *Asa*, came up against him, and built *Rama*, in the 36th year from the division, lest any should go in or out to him. *Asa* to divert him, hired *Benhadad* the King of *Syria* to invade *Israel*. This *Ben-hadad* was the Son of *Tabrimmon*, and Grand-son to *Hezrin*, or *Rezin*, the first King of *Damascus*, and from him the Sirname of *Hadad* descended upon his Posterity. He smote *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Bethmaach*, all *Civeroth*, with the Land of *Naphtali*, and constrained *Baasa* to leave off building *Ramah*. *Asa* then destroyed *Ramah*, and with the stones thereof built *Seba* and *Mizpah*; but was checked by God for not trusting in him, but putting his confidence in the King of *Syria*; and War for this was denounced to be upon him all his dayes. Hereat he grew angry with the Seer that brought the message; and oppressed some of his people: and for this was punished with the Gout in his later dayes, for a remedy to which, he had recourse to the Physitians, and not to God. So he died, in the 41 year of his reign.

SECT. 3.

Jehosaphat.

5. *Jehosaphat* succeeded him, to a good Father a better Son. In his third year he sent the *Levites* throughout the Cities to teach the people, having removed the *Sodomites* out of the Land. He married his Son *Jehoram* to *Athaliah* the Daughter of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and in his 18th year made him Vice-King. This affinity drew him down with *Ahab* to fight against *Ramoth-Gilead*, where *Ahab* received his death's wound, and he escaped narrowly with his life. For joyning himself with this wicked King, he was sorely chidden by *Jehu* the Prophet, the Son of *Hanani*; which so affected him, as he reformed his Subjects, travelling himself from *Beersheba* unto Mount *Ephraim* to accomplish it: he also constituted Judges, to whom he gave a pious and strict charge. After this the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and a great multitude of others invaded him; against which he first strove by Prayer to God, and thereby obtained Victory, his Enemies being so stricken with madness, that they fell upon, and slaughtered one another. Afterwards intending to send Ships for gold to *Ophir*; because he joyned with wicked *Ahaziah* King of *Israel*, the Lord spoiled the works, and the Ships were broken at *Esion-geber*. Some think he made his Son Partner in the Kingdom it self, having formerly been but his Vicegerent, a year or two before he died. He reigned 25 years, or rather 24, with some odd months.

1 Kings 22. A. M. 3087.

2 Chron. 19, 20, 21. chap.

Joram.

6. To *Jehosaphat* succeeded *Joram* being 32 years old, to the best Father the worst Son, who being established in his Seat, made away all his Brethren, and some of the Princes. In his dayes the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, who hitherto, from the time of *David*, had been in subjection to the Kings of *Judah*, revolted. They had heretofore been governed by a Vice-Roy, chosen either out of themselves or the Jews; but now they made themselves a King; the Prophecie of *Isaac*, the common Progenitor of both Nations, being now fulfilled, that though *Esau* should serve his younger Brother *Jacob*, yet the time should come, when he should break the yoak from off his neck. At the same time *Libnah* (a City of the Priest's in the Tribe of *Judah*) revolted, because he had forsaken the God of his Fathers; for having married *Ahab*'s Daughter, he followed the example of his house, making high-places in the Mountains of *Iudah*, and causing his Subjects to commit Idolatry therein.

2 Chron. 21. A. M. 3109.

Gen. 27. 40.

SECT. 3.

therein. Because of this, there came a Writing to him from the Prophet *Elijah*, rebuking him for his sin, and foretelling his punishment. *Elijah* being before this taken up to Heaven, the *Jews* have believed that this Letter was sent down thence. Some think, there was another Prophet of this name; but most are inclined to believe, that foreseeing, before his assumption, the Idolatry of this man, he left this Letter with his Schollers to be delivered to him in due time. According to the threatnings therein contained, God first stirred up against him the *Philistins* and *Arabians*, who making an invasion took away all his goods, his wives, and sons, except *Jehoahaz* the youngest, otherwise called *Ahaziah* and *Azariah*. Afterwards God struck him with an incurable disease in his bowels, which after two years came out of his body; so that he miserably died, having reigned eight years; three whereof are to be reckoned in conjunction with his father. He was buried without honour at *Jerusalem*, not in the Sepulcher of Kings; not desired, missed, nor lamented. *2 Chron.21. vers. 12.*

Ahaziah. *A.M.3116.*

7. *Ahaziah* his son succeeded him who followed the steps of his Grandfather, *Ahab*'s wicked family, and became a Patron of Idolaters. But having scarce reigned one year, he went down to *Jezreel* to visite his Uncle *Joram*, King of *Israel*, where they were both killed by *Jehu*; *Joram* being slain outright, and *Ahaziah* dying shortly after of his wound, at *Megiddo*. *2 Kings 8. & 2 Chron.22.* *2 Kings 9.*

Athaliah usurpeth.

Athaliah his mother seized upon the Kingdom, wherein to establish her self, she destroyed all the Royal seed. Onely *Jehosheba* the daughter of *Joram*, and wife to *Jehojada* the High-Priest, withdrew *Joash* an infant, her brother's son, and hid him six years in the house of God. At the end of these years, *Jehojada* brought him out to the people, then seven years old, and anointing him King, slew *Athaliah*, restored the worship of God, and destroyed the house of *Baal*, whose Priest *Matthan* he slew before the Altar. *Chap.11.* *2 Chron.24.*

Joas.

8. *Joas* then succeeded his father after six years, who did what was good and just as long as *Jehojada* the Priest lived, and through his advice took care to repair the Temple, which now had stood 155 years. But *Jehojada* being dead (who lived 130 years; the Jews observing that he, the repairer of the Temple, was born the same year, that the builder thereof died) Idolatry brake out afresh through his connivance. The Prophets exclaimed against it in vain, especially *Zacharias*, the son and successor of *Jehojada*, against whom *Joas* was so far transported beyond the bounds of piety, & gratitude to his father's memory, that he commanded him to be stoned, and that in the Court of the house of the Lord. Whilst as he died, he said, *The Lord look upon it and require it.* So he did; for after a years time, the forces of *Hazael*, King of *Syria*, though but small, invaded *Judah*, destroyed all the Princes of the people, and sent the spoyl to their King. *Joas* himself they left very sick of great diseases, but when they were departed from him, his own servants conspired against him for the bloud of the sons of *Jehojada* the Priest, and slew him on his bed, in the 40th year of his reign. *A. M.3160.* *2 Kings 12.* *A.M.3122.*

Chap.14.

9. *Amaziah* his son succeeded him, who also seemeth to have reigned with him the three last years; seeing he is said to have begun his reign in the second year of *Joas*, King of *Israel*. When he was confirmed in his seat, he put those to death that slew his father, sparing their Children according to the Law of *Moses*. In his 12th year, he undertook an expedition against the *Edomites* with 300000 of his own Subjects, and 100000 *Israelites*, which he hired for 100 Talents of silver. But as he was about to begin his march a Prophet deterred him from joyning to himself the Idolatrous *Israelites*, so that he dismissed them, and they returned home in great discontent. He prospered against the *Idumæans*, but the Souldiers (dismissed) fell upon his Cities, and smiting 300 of them, took much spoyl. Yet he at his return, to amend the matter, having brought home the gods of the *Edomites*, set them up to be his gods, bowed down before them, and burnt incense to them. The Lord being sore angry for this, sent first a Prophet to him whom he rejected. But burning with a desire to be revenged upon the *Israelites* he sent and defied *Joas* *2 Chron.25.* A.M.3160.

Joas their King, who admonished him to be well advised, but this being in vain, they met, and joyned battel, wherein *Amaziah* was taken, and led back to *Jerusalem*; the Wall of which Citie, *Joas* demolished 400 Cubits, and plundering the house of the Lord with the Kings house then departed. Fifteen years after, *Amaziah* lived; but then, having turned away from following the Lord, a conspiracy was made against him in *Jerusalem*; whence he fled to *Lachish*, and there was slain by the pursuers, after he had reigned 29 years. SECT. 3.

Uzziah.

10. He left a son named *Uzziah* and *Azariah*, who succeeded him; but being said to have begun his reign in the 27th year of *Jeroboam*, King of *Israel*, an *Inter-regnum* of twelve years must needs have passed betwixt his father's death and his beginning; the Kingdom all this time having, perhaps, been governed by a Lieutenant, or the High-Priest. When he came to the Age of 16. all the people of *Judah* took him, and made him King in the room of his father, and under him the State of *Judah* much flourished. He fought prosperously against the *Philistins* and *Arabians* that dwelt in *Gur-Baal*, and *Mehunims*, or *Minæans*, dwelling in *Arabia* the *Happie* upon the *Red-Sea*: the *Ammonites* fought to him with presents, and his name was great in those parts. About his 35th year was celebrated in *Greece* the first *Olympiad*, that great help to our understanding in the distinction of times. He invaded the Priests Office in Offering Sacrifice, and for that was stricken with Leprosie, which continued upon him till his death, living in an house by himself, and *Iotham* his son ordering the affairs of the Kingdom. He reigned 52 years. *2 Kings 15.* *2 Chron.26.* A.M. 3201.

Jotham.

11. *Iotham* his son succeeded him, who prevailed against the *Ammonites*, and forced them to pay Tribute two years. He became mighty, because he prepared his wayes before the Lord his God; he built the High-Gate of the Temple much on the Wall of *Ophal*; Moreover, Cities in the Mountains of *Judah*, and in the Forrests thereof Castles and Towers. Under him, his Predecessor, and his two Successors, prophesied *Isaiah* and *Hosea*: *Micah* began in his time; and *Nahum* also, according to *Iosephus*, prophesied the destruction of *Nineveh*, which was fulfilled 115 years after; though others think the beginning of these years should rather be placed in the time of his son. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by *Ahaz* his son, whose reign if it be compared with that of *Pechah* and *Hosea*, Kings of *Israel*, it will appear that he reigned seven, or eight years with his father. He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, walking in the wayes of the Kings of *Israel*: he made molten Images for *Baalam*, burnt Incense in the Valley of the son of *Hinnom*, burnt his Children in the fire, Sacrificed and burnt Incense in the high places, on the Hills, and under every green Tree. Because of this, God stirred up *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, and *Rezin* the son of *Remaliah*, King of *Syria* against him, who invaded his Kingdom, and did much hurt: *Rezin* got *Elath*, which *Uzzias* had recovered and built; the King of *Israel* gave him a grievous overthrow; the *Edomites* also afflicted him and the *Philistins*, whom *Uzziah* had brought under, made inroads upon him. Suspecting his Estate because of these things, he sent to *Tiglath-Pileser*, King of *Assyria* for help, presenting him with the Silver and Gold, which was found in the Temple. *2 Chron.27.* A.M. 3253. *Olymp.5.an.4.*

Ahaz.

12. *Tiglath-Pileser* accordingly came up, and taking *Damascus*, killed *Rezin*, in whom fell this Kingdom: which having continued ten Generations, and begun in a *Rezin*, ended in one of that name. Then turned he his Forces upon *Pekah*, transporting into *Assyria* the Inhabitants of *Gilead* and *Naphthali*, as formerly he had done those of *Damascus*. But *Achaz*, to procure those things, having made himself his Vassal, was yet never the better, remained in great fear of him, and still continued in his wickedness. He made his son *Hezekiah* for his three last years partner with him in the Kingdom, and at the end thereof died, having reigned together with his father, and by himself, 16 years. *Hezekiah* succeeding, opened the Temple which his father had shut, and reformed the abuses in Religion. He brake in pieces the brazen A.M.3269. *Olymp.9.an.2.* *2 Kings 16.* *2 Chron.28.* *Nicol. Damascenus apud Iosephum Antiq. l.7. c.6.*

Hezekiah.

A.M.3276. *Olymp.12.an.3.*

SECT. 3. Serpent, because the Superstitious multitude fancying some Divine vertue therein, gave it suitable Worship. He shook off the yoak of the King of *Assyria*, refusing to pay Tribute; for which cause in his fourteenth year, *Senacherib*, being to make War upon *Egypt*, led part of his Forces into *Judea*. Besieging *Lachish*, *Hezekiah* bargained with him to depart; but he brake his promise, and sent *Rabshakes* with others to *Jerusalem*, who blaspheming God, and reproaching the King, laboured to draw the people from their obedience. This being to no purpose, *Rabshakes* returned to him, who had now departed from *Lachish*, and besieged *Libnah*, a strong Citie of *Judah*; removing still nearer *Jerusalem*, that he might seem to pursue what he had given in charge to *Rabshakes* to denounce against *Hezekiah*. *2 Kings* 18. *2 Chron.* 29. &c.

13. But lying before *Libnah*, news came that *Tirhakah*, King of *Æthiopia* (who, as it seemeth, had entred into conspiracy with the *Egyptian* against him) was moving towards him; at which he was so terrified, that he brake up his siege, and departed homewards. Yet having a greedy mind towards *Judea*, he sent a blasphemous Letter full of threats to *Hezekiah*; but he lost in one night by the stroak of an Angel 180000 men (as some think being on his way towards *Jerusalem*) and confounded hereat, returned to *Nineveh*, where he was slain by his two sons, *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, as he was worshipping in the house of *Misroch* his God. In the time of these dangers, *Hezekiah* fell sick unto death, the sentence of which he received from *Isaiah* the Propher. But by his prayers and tears he obtained a prolongation of life for fifteen years, and, in confirmation of the promise, the shadow of the degrees which was gone down in the Sun-dyal of *Ahaz* was brought ten degrees backward; and it followeth, *So the Sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down.* As for this Sun-dyal it's thought that in those ancient times the knowledge of *Dyals* was scarce amongst the *Hebrews*. Yet is it possible that *Achaz* might have something of that nature, though imperfect, from the *Babylonians*, who were of old much given to Astrology, he being otherwise too curious an admirer of forrein things as appeareth, in that he must needs have such an Altar made, and erected at *Jerusalem* as he had seen at *Damascus*. That the Sun went back, hath been generally believed: but one of late hath gone about to prove that the shadow was lyable to reduction, without retrocession of the great Luminary. *Esay* 38. 8. The Sun returneth ten degrees backward. Gregory, *of* Oxford. *2 Chron.* 32. 31.

14. The knowledge of this miracle coming to the *Babylonians* (who by reason of their continual observation of the Heavenly bodies might have more occasion to take notice of it) *Merodach-Baladan* their King sent to *Hezekiah* to congratulate his recovery, desirous, it's likely, of his friendship whom he had understood to be so much in the favour of God; especially bearing no goodwill to the *Assyrians*. He in a vain ostentation of his Wealth shew'd the Ambassadours all his Treasures, and whatsoever was in his house; for which, *Isaiah* the Prophet denounced the carrying away of all these things to *Babylon*. For the pride of his heart there was wrath upon him and *Judah*; yet he humbled himself, both he and the inhabitants of *Judah*, so that the wrath of the Lord came not upon them in his dayes. He flourished in abundance of riches and honour, stopped the upper water-course of *Gihon*, and brought it streight down to the West-side of the Citie of *David*. He reigned 29 years (3 whereof were together with his father:) being dead, they buried him in the chiefest Sepulchers of the sons of *David*, and all *Judah*, with the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, did him honour at his death.

Manasses. 15. *Manasses* his son succeeded him at the Age of twelve years, and therefore was begotten by him after his recovery. He did evil in the sight of the Lord above those Nations, which the Lord had cast out before *Israel*, being more Idolatrous then any of his Predecessors; he was also given to Witchcraft and Divinations, built Altars for all the Host of heaven, which he served in the two Courts of the house of the Lord, wherein he also set up an Image of the Grove which he had made. He filled *Jerusalem* with innocent bloud; amongst other Martyrs *Isaiah* the Prophet (as it's said) being sawn asunder with a wooden saw, because he was free with him in reproving his ungodly *2 Kings* 21. *2 Chron.* 33. A.M. 3304. *Olymp.* 19. *an.* 4.

ungodly life; although he was of the bloud royal as the son of *Amos*, the brother of King *Amaziah*, according to the tradition of the Jews, who also have related him to have been father-in-law, nay (as some) Grand-father by the Mothers side, to *Manasses* himself. In such wickednesse continued he for several years, till such time as God sent upon him the Captains of the King of *Assyria* (*Esarchaddon* some think) who took him lying hid amongst the thorns, and carried him bound with fetters unto *Babylon*, which City (as it appeareth from this place) was now again under the King of *Assyria*. Here having leisure and occasion to bethink himself, in his affliction he repented, was humbled greatly, and besought the Lord, who heard his Prayer, and restored him to his Kingdom. After this, he knew that the Lord was God; and purged his Realm of Idolatry; which Reformation the Jews make to have been in the 33th year before his death. He reigned 55 years. SECT. 3.

Amon. 16. *Amon* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom, and Idolatry, but not in his Repentance, worshipping and sacrificing to all the carved Images which his Father had made, and going on to trespasse more and more. After two years, his servants conspired against him and slew him in his own house, all whom the people of the Land put to death, and made *Iosiah* his Son (a child of eight years old) King in his stead. He in the eighth year of his reign began to seek after the God of his Fathers, and in his twelfth to cleanse his Kingdom, and all the Land of *Israel*, from Idolatry; although the greatest part of the later, was now subject to the King of *Assyria*. In the 18th year of his reign and of his age the 26th, he commanded the Temple to be repaired, and the Worship of God therein restored: where also finding a Book of the Law, he renewed the Covenant between God and the people, and celebrated such a solemn Passeover, as had not been kept in *Israel* since the time of the Judges. Now if the time of the Judges, and the Oppressions, be not confounded, but taken at their full length; then this year being the 930th ending, or the 931th beginning, from the entering into *Canaan*, was the 7th of the 133 week, or the last of the 19th Jubilie. *Iosiah* in his 31th year ending, disguised himself that he might fight with *Necho* King of *Ægypt* (who was going up against the *Assyrian*) and would not hearken to his words from the mouth of God, labouring with him to refuse fighting against the Lord, who had sent him, and commanded him to make haste. Therefore joyning battell with him in the Valley of *Megiddo*, he was sore wounded, and being carried to *Jerusalem*, died there; all *Iudah* and *Ierusalem*, mourning and making great lamentation for him. A.M. 3359. *Olymp.* 33. *an.* 4. *Chap.* 34. *Iosiah.* 2 Kings 23. 2 Chron. 35. A.M 3368. *Olymp.* 35. *an.* 4.

Jehoahaz. 17. Whilst *Pharaoh* was busie in his affairs against the *Assyrians*, the people made *Jehoahaz* the younger Son of *Iosia*, King, who continued but three moneths in the dignity. For *Pharaoh* having finished his work at *Euphrates*, and in *Cœlesyria*, came to *Jerusalem*, whence he led away into *Ægypt* this young King, and left his elder Brother *Eliakim* in his place, whose name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, imposing a taxe of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold upon the Land. Though *Jeoahaz* be said to have reigned three moneths, yet some will have a year to have passed betwixt the 31 year of *Iosias*, and the first of *Jehoiakim*; partly for that *Iosias* seemeth to have reigned something more than 31 years, and some space would be taken up in so solemn a mourning for him, before the instalment of *Jehoahaz*; and also to consult about this thing, seeing it was against right and custom to give this honour to the younger Brother: lastly some time (perhaps some moneths) was requisite for setling the affairs of *Judea*, about the instilment of *Jehoiakim*, and the tribute. *Ludovicus Cappellus* moreover, giveth a whole year to *Jehoahaz* and *Jehoiakim* (though the Scripture speaketh but of three moneths a piece) that the last year of *Zedekiah* might fall into the 390th year from the rent of the Kingdom; of which more, when we arrive at that time. 2 Chron. 36. A.M. 3392. *Olymp.* 41. *an.* 4.

Jehoiakim. 18. *Jehoiakim* thus advanced by *Pharaoh Necho*, was 25 years old when he began to reign; which if so, he was born in the fifteenth year of his Father's age; as, if *Jehoahaz* was 23 when he began his reign, he must also have

SECT. 3. have been born in the sixteenth of *Josiah*. This maketh *Josiah* to have applied himself to procreation of children at least in the fourteenth year of his life; which seeming too early, and not agreeable to the Piety of that Prince, there are that suspect for 25, ought to be read 15, and 13 for 23; so that the one might be born in the 24 and the other in the 25 year of his Father: But there is no necessity for such a reading of the Text. The *fourth* year of *Jehoiakim* fell in with the *first* of *Nebuchadnezar* King of *Babylon*, and was the 23th from the 13th of the reign of *Josias*, wherein *Jeremiah* the Prophet first began to prophesy; and hence it also appeareth, that *Josias* reigned at least full 31 years, and that one passed between his death and the beginning of *Jehoiakim*, else 23 onely had passed betwixt the 13th of the one, and the 4th of the other. In this year *Pharaoh Necho* fell upon the *Babylonians* with War, because, as it seemeth, they had sollicited *Jehoiakim* his Tributary to revolt, and fought against *Nebuchadnezar* at *Carchemish* near *Euphrates*, (by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers called *Circesium*); in which battell he was overthrown and slain.

Pharaoh Necho slain.

Jerem. 25 11 & 3.

Chap. 8.

A. M. 3396. *Olymp. 42. an. 4.*

19. After this Victory, came *Nebuchadnezar* to *Jerusalem*, where he either took *Jehoiakim* captive to lead him to *Babylon*, or at least made him his tributary Vassall. Some account this year, as the beginning of the reign of *Nebuchadnezar*, so of the Captivity of *Judah*, and the desolation of that Country, because that *Jeremiah*, having spoken first of the 13 years, in which he and the other Prophets had warned the people to no purpose, afterwards addeth, that God would send *Nebuchadnezar* his Servant against the Land, which should be a desolation and an astonishment, and that these Nations should serve the King of *Babylon* 70 years. But the Prophecy of *Daniel* beginneth thus: *In the third year of the reign of* Jehoiakim *King of* Judah, *came* Nebuchadnezar *King of* Babylon *to* Jerusalem, *and besieged it: and the Lord gave* Jehoiakim *King of* Judah *into his hand, with part of the Vessels of the House of God, which he caried into the Land of* Shinar, *to the house of his God.* This place seeming to contradict the other; some have chosen to close with the literall sense of it, and to hold, that in the third year of *Jehoiakim*, began the Captivity of the Jews. Others see more reason to stick to the other place, and, to take away all difference, interpret this third year of the third of the *Sabbaticall year*, or the week of years, and thus would read it, *In the third year*, Jehoiakim *the King of* Judah *reigning, came* Nebuchadnezar *King of* Babylon *unto* Jerusalem, *&c.* But the Jews with some modern Writers understand by this third year, the *third of the rebellion of* Jehoiakim, against whom *Nebuchadnezar* coming, about the end of the fifth year of his reign, made him his Tributary, and so he continued three years; *viz.* the 6, 7, and 8th of his reign. Afterwards, changing his mind, he rebelled in the beginning of his 9th year, and so continued for three years in rebellion, which being expired, in the end of his 11th, *Nebuchadnezar* took *Jerusalem*, and caried him Captive to *Babylon*, with part of the holy Vessels, and others of the Royall and Princely Race, amongst whom was *Daniel*; and so the Captivity of Seventy years began not till this year.

Chap. 25. 9. & 11.

The beginning of the Seventy years of Captivity, which is variously assigned.

20. That this *third year* cannot be understood of the third of *Jehoiakim*'s reign, is clear from *Jeremiah*, who joyneth his fourth with the first of *Nebuchadnezar*; and because elsewhere is made mention of his fifth: whence is apparent, that he could not be led Captive in his third year. The second opinion indeed is not amisse; for this was really the third year of the week or the third from the Sabbaticall year. For, the 18th of *Josiah*, in which the Passeover was celebrated, being the last year of the 19th Jubilie, and so the Sabbaticall year; from that to the 11th ending of *Jehoiakim*, or the 12th beginning, are counted 31 years: *viz.* four weeks and three odd years; this being usuall with the Pen-men of holy Story, to count their times by Sabbaticall years or Jubilies. *Iacobus Cappellus* * would have *Nebuchadnezar*, at the command of *Nabopolasser* his Father, to have come into *Judea* in the second year of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, who then sware fealty to him; but in the third year rebelled: whence *Nebuchadnezar* came down again in his fifth year,

* *Ad.* A.M. 3391 & 3394.

year, and took him Captive. Then will he have him to have set *Shallum* over the Kingdom, till *Jeconias* his Son, an Infant of a year old, should come to age; but *Jehoiakim* himself there lived miserably in Captivity, till the 11th year, reckoned from his first being made King by *Necho*. He being then dead, and news of it brought to *Jerusalem*, they there made his Son *Jehoiakim* King in his stead. And he beginneth the Seventy years of the Captivity in his fifth year, when he will have him caried to *Babylon*.

SECT. 3.

21. But *Ludovicus Cappellus* his Brother replyeth, that in no place is there any mention made of *Nebuchadnezar*'s coming up against him in the second year of his reign, the (*d*) place thought to make for the purpose, having as much respect to the fifth as the second year. And as little mention is there any where made of *Jehoiakim*'s six years of Captivity, who if he had died at *Babylon*, the Scripture would never have attributed to him the reign of eleven years, but onely so many as he really reigned, *viz.* 5. The rest, it would either have given to *Shallum* the pretended Viceroy, or to *Jehoiakim* his Son; it being a thing improbable, that the name should be preserved for *Jehoiakim*, whilst *Sallum* indeed reigned: Besides, the *Babylonian* King observed no such matter afterward in *Jehoiakim*, whom taking away he really made King *Zedekiah*, without the title of Vice-Roy or Lieutenant. Nay, though *Jehoiakim* lived long at *Babylon*, and, after the death of *Nebuchadnezar*, being loosed out of bonds, was honoured and esteemed by *Evilmerodach* above any of his condition (and therein excelled *Jehoiakim*, if he lived there so long); yet is there no more time given to his reign, than that wherein he onely continued in his principality. As for the Regencie of *Shallum*, it is a meer invention, there being no other according to the Jews, then *Jehoahaz*, who was also called by that name. For in the * place thought to make this out, they are bidden not to weep for the dead (viz. *Iosias*) but for him that goeth away (*Jehoahaz* taken away by *Necho*) for he should return no more into his Native Country.

* 2 Kings 24 1.

Ierem. 22. 11. *Consule* Ludov. Cappellum *Chronol. Sacr. p.* 202.

22. *Jehoiakim* therefore being taken to be led away Captive, in the third year of his rebellion and the 11th of his reign, died ere he went (as we may suppose) and was cast out or buried, according to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, who had foretold he should be buried with the buriall of an Asse; being cast forth beyond the gates of *Jerusalem*, in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, which could be done by none, except the barbarous *Babylonians*. After his death, the Conquerour placed in his stead *Jehoiakim* his Son, called also *Conias* and *Jechonias*, who did evil in the sight of the Lord, as his Father before him, and *Nebuchadnezar*, it semeeth repenting of what he had done, lest he should be drawn from his obedience, by the example of his Father, and the perswasions of those about him, sent his Army before him, (about a year after his former expedition) to besiege *Jerusalem*. When he himself came to the Siege, *Jehoiachim* came out to him with his Mother and Servants, and yielded his person in the eighth year of *Nebuchadnezar* ending. Then the *Babylonian* entring *Jerusalem*, took away the Treasures found in the house of the Lord, and the Kings house, brake all the golden instruments which *Solomon* had made for the Temple, and so caried *Jehoiakim* with his Mother, Wives, and Servants unto *Babylon*. Besides those, he transported all the best sort of the people from *Jerusalem*, with the ablest and strongest for War from other places, in which number was (*e*) *Ezekiel* the Priest, the Son of *Buzi*. *Jehoiakim* in (*f*) one place is said to have been eighteen years old, when he began to reign, but in another (*g*) onely eight. A fault must needs be in the reading of one place of the two, which may best be laid upon the former. For if *Jehoiakim* his Father was 15 years old when he began to reign, (as some will have it) then was he born to him in the 18th year of his age, being otherwise (according to this tenent) absurdly made to have been begot in his 7 or 8th year.

Jehoiakim.

2 Chron. 36. 2 Kings 23. A. M. 3404. *Olymp.* 44. *an.* 4. *Nebuchad.* 8.

(*e*) Ezek. 1. 2. 3. (*f*) 2 Kings 24. 8. (*g*) 2 Chron. 36. 9.

23. *Nebuchadnezar* made King over the Jews that remained, *Mattaniah* the Son of *Josiah*, from whom he received an oath of homage, and thereupon changed his name into *Zedekiah*. He trode in the steps of his Brothers and Nephews,

Zedekiah.

SECT. 3. Nephews, the people also being with him incorrigible. He rebelled against *Nebuchadnezar*, taking part with the King of *Egypt*, whom maintained a quarrel with him, & therefore the *Babylonian* came up in the 9th year after his establishment, took all the Cities of *Judæa*, except *Ierusalem*, *Lachish*, and *Azeka*, which he also besieged. The year following *Pharaoh* came with an Army to his assistance, which *Nebuchadnezar* understanding went to meet him, and he thereupon afraid to ingage, retreated into his own Land. *Nebuchadnezar* then returning sate down again before *Ierusalem*, wherein famine at length prevailing, and *Zedekiah* still refusing to yield, though *Ieremiah* constantly advised him to do it, in the end of his 11th year, and the first day of the moneth it was broken into, by the *Caldæans*. *Zedekiah* flying, was overtaken, and brought to *Riblah*: where he first saw his Children and Friends slain; and then, having his eyes put out, was carried to *Babylon*, where he miserably ended his dayes.

2 Kings 25.

Zedekiah taken.

Jerem. 39.

24. On the seventh day of the fifth moneth, in the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezar* came *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard, and, having got all things ready in two dayes, set the King's House, with the Temple, and the rest of the buildings in the Citie on fire. The same moneth all the Walls were demolished; they that remained in the Citie, with those which before had revolted, and the rest of the people, together with the Treasures of the King and Princes, and the Utensils of the house of the Lord, did *Nabuzaradan* carry to *Babylon*. So went *Iudah* into Captivity in the 12th year after the death of *Iehoiakim*, 390 after the death of *Salomon* and the Rent of the Kingdom (which the Prophet * *Ezekiel* was commanded to represent by sleeping so many nights upon his left side, the iniquity of the Children of *Israel* having from that time abounded) to which the two years being added wherein the Captivity was compleated at the death of *Gedaliah*, and eight Jubilies are therein contained; 490 from the beginning of *Saul*; so that the Kingdom of *Iudah* continued 10 Jubilies, or 70 weeks of years, so many as are given by *Daniel* to the Commenwealth of the *Iews*, from its restitution to the *Messiah*: From the building of the Temple 420. which therefore stood eight Jubilies, with four weeks, or in all sixty weeks of years; from the entrance into *Canaan* 967. as *Ludovicus Cappellus* reckoneth, containing 138 weeks; from the departure out of *Egypt* 1007. during which time Satan was as it were bound, and Gods people were free: Lastly, from the beginning of the World 3515. which make 502 weeks, and 71 Jubilies with five weeks of years. The concurrence of all these Accounts do mightily confirm the Discoverer in his opinion of their realitie.

Jerusalem and the Temple burnt.

A. M. 3415. Olymp. 48. an. 4.

Nebuchad. 9.

* Ezek. 4. 5.

25. * *Jeremiah* the Prophet had leave, either to go to *Babylon*, there to live honourably, or to stay with the small remnant that were left in the Land. The later of those he accepted, and went to *Gedaliah*, who being appointed Governour kindly imbraced him, and gave encouragement to all the Jews left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient Subiects to the King of *Babylon*: But ere the year went about, one *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud, who during the War had kept himself out of the way with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, slew *Godaliah* whil'st he lovingly feasted him at *Maspha*, with others, both *Jews* and *Caldæans* in his Company. The residue then of the *Jews* being without a Governour, and fearing the revenge of their Lords and Masters, were minded to fly into *Egypt*, and caused the Prophet to inquire of the Lord for them. *Jeremiah* answered, that if they would remain in *Judæa*, God would mercifully provide for them; but if they offered to save themselves in *Egypt*, they should undoubtedly perish. They, notwithstanding this warning, went down and constrained him, with *Barach*, to accompany them, where, by the leave of *Pharoh*, they inhabited near *Tahpanes*. Here the Prophet often reprehending them for their Idolatry, and foretelling both their destruction, and the ruin of those that harboured them, was by their wretched and ingratefull hands * stoned to death; but is said to have been exceedingly honoured by the *Egyptians*, so that *Alexander* the Great translated his bones into *Alexandria*,

* Chap. 40.

Chap. 41.

Gedaliah, the Governour slain.

Chap. 42. 43. &c.

The *Jews* constrain *Jeremiah* to go down with them into *Ægypt*, where they stone him.

* *Xonaras Tomo* 1. Tertullian *in* Scorpiaco. *cap.* 10. *Jerom.*

andria. In the 23th year of *Nebuchadnesar* (who then besieged *Tyre*) *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard carried away the reliques of the *Jews* and *Israelites*, to the number of 745. which was the last deportation. And the Prophecies both of (*h*) *Jeremiah* and (*i*) *Ezekiel* confirm us in this belief, that the *Jews* in *Egypt*, after *Nebuchadnesar* had subdued that Countrey, were partly slain, and partly carried away Captive to their own Countreymen with the Natives, being nothing reformed by the former punishments inflicted either upon themselves, or their Nation.

SECT. 4.

Jerem. 52.

The last deportation.

(*h*) Chap. 43. 44. 46.

(*i*) Chap. 29. 30, 31.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of *Israel*

From the revolt of the Tribes, to their final Captivity under Salmanassar.

Jeroboam.

1. THE ten Tribes, falling off from *Rehoboam* upon his Churlish answer, chose *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim* to reign over them. He, being industrious in the work of Fortifications, had been made by *Salomon* Ruler over all the charge of the house of *Joseph*; but the Lord, after he was provoked by the Idolatry of *Salomon*, sent *Ahijah* the Prophet to him to promise him ten Tribes; which coming to the ears of the King he sought to slay him; whereupon *Jeroboam* fled for his life to *Shishak*, King of *Egypt*, with whom he sojourned till *Salomon's* death. Then he was sent for out of *Egypt*, and accompanied all *Israel* as their Speaker in their addresse made to *Rehoboam*; whom after they had rejected, they made him King, that the Lord might perform what he had promised by the Prophet.

1 Kings 11. 12. 13, 14. 2 Chron. 11. 13.

A.M 3016.

2. In the beginning of his reign he built up *Shechem*, which had lyen waste well nigh 260 years, from the time that *Abimelech* destroyed it. This place being situated in Mount *Ephraim* he first made his habitation, till he went over *Jordan*, and built *Penuel*, whence afterwards he also removed his seat to *Tirza*. He forsook the Lord, who promised him establishment, if he would keep his Statutes and Commandments, going about by carnal and wicked policy to secure his interest. For, lest his Subjects by going up to *Ierusalem* to Worship, should be turned again from their obedience to him, he set up two Golden Calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, having learnt Idolatry towards this sort of Cattel in *Egypt*. To that in *Bethel* he sacrificed, instituting a Feast like to that of Tabernacles: and though, rebuked by a Propher, he was stricken with Leprosie, and might have been convinced by other Miracles; yet neither these things nor the many judgements of God against him, and his Successors, could reclaim either him, or them. Rejecting the Priests of the sons of *Aaron*, and the Levites, he made of the loweſt of the people Priests for the high places: He had War with *Rehoboam* continually, and with *Abiah* his son, who overthrew him in a great battel, and slew 500000 of his men, although he added a stratagem to the force of his numbers (which doubled those of his Enemy) compassing in *Abiah's* Army whil'st he was speaking to it. Some years after, he died, having reigned 22.

Setteth up to Golden Calves.

Nadab.

Nadab his son succeeding him, walked in the wayes of his father, & in his sin wherewith he made *Israel* to sin; but in his second year, he and all *Israel* besieging *Gibbethon* of the *Philistins*, *Baasa* the son of *Ahijah*, of the house of *Issachar* conspired against him, and slew him there.

A.M. 3047. *Asa* 2. 1 Kings 15.

Baasa.

3. *Nadab* is said to have began his reign in the second year of *Asa*, and to have reigned two years: yet *Baasa* to have begun to reign in the third year of *Asa*. To this, either must be said, that *Ieroboam* made his son King whil'st he himself yet lived, or else not reigning 22 years compleat, but some part onely of the 22th year (so that the far greater part of the first year of *Nadab* must fall in with the greater part of the second of *Asa*) neither did *Nadab* reign two whole years, but one with a piece of another, and so the first year of *Baasa* will fall in with the greater part of the third of *Asa*.

SECT. 4

For in this comparing of the times of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, is to be taken notice; That, 1. A year onely begun is taken for a compleat one. 2. The fathers often yet living communicated the royal dignity to their sons. 3. Some were twice inaugurated, as *Joram* in the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Hoshea* in that of *Ephraim*. 4. That there were many vacancies, especially in the Kingdom of *Israel*.

Jeroboams posterity utterly destroyed.

Baasa cut off all the posterity of *Jeroboam*, not leaving one to pisse against the Wall, according as *Ahijah* had foretold; so that here *Jeroboam*'s policy failed him, the Golden Calves having pushed down his family. When *Baasa* saw that *Asa* had restored Religion, and for that cause many of his subjects revolted to him, he had War with him all his dayes, and in his fourteenth year built *Ramah* to restrain fugitives. *Asa* to divert him hired *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*, who breaking the league formerly made with *Israel* came up with his forces, and smote *Jion* (a Citie of the Tribe of *Asher*) *Dan* of the *Danites*, *Abel-beth-maach* of the *Manassites*, and all *Cinneroth* with the Land of *Naphtali*; which forced *Baasa* to leave off building *Ramah*, and return to *Tirza*. He reigned 24 years, *viz.* 23 with part of another.

2 Chron. 16.

1 Kings 16.

Elah slain by *Zimri*.

4. *Elah* his son succeeded him in the 26th year of *Asa*, and reigned two years; at the end whereof his servant *Zimri*, Captain of one half of his Chariots, slew him at *Tirzah* as he was drinking in the house of *Arza* his Steward, and the Prophesie of *Jehu*, the son of *Haneni* was fulfilled against the house of *Baasa*, that it should be made like to that of *Jeroboam*; all of it being destroyed in like manner by *Zimri*. But *Zimri* himself reigned onely seven dayes; for the people then besieging *Gibbethon*, and understanding how things had passed at *Tirzah*, made *Omri* the General of the Army, King. He presently led them against *Tirzah*, and took it; Whereupon *Zimri* withdrew himself into the Pallace, and setting it on fire perished therein, because he also walked in the steps of *Jeroboam*. A Schism now followed, for one half of the people chose *Tibni*, the son of *Gineth*, and four years (imperfect) as the *Jews* have it: this division continued, till at length *Tibni* dying, *Omri* reigned alone. He is also said to have began his reign in the 31th year of *Asa*, which must be understood of his reigning alone, having slain *Zimri* in the 28th year (beginning) of that King. After he had reigned six years at *Tirzah*, he transfered the seat of the Kingdom to *Samaria*, which Citie he had built on an Hill, bought of one *Shemer*, from whom it took the name. Having done worse then any that were before him, he died after he had reigned twelve years. Which if they be accounted from the death of *Zimri*, and so contain his whole reign, then reigned *Ahab* his son, and Successor but two years with him, his 11th year falling into the 38 of *Asa*; but if they be reckoned from the death of *Tibni*, then must *Ahab* have reigned about five years together with him.

A.M. 3071. *Asa* 26.

Omri.

Tibni.

A.M 3076. *Asa* 31.

Vide Lud. Cappellum Chron. Sacr. pag. 199.

Ahab marrieth *Jezebel.*

5. *Ahab* exceeded in wickedness all his predecessors, not onely living in the sins of *Jeroboam*, but marrying *Jezebel* the daughter of *Ethbaal*, King of *Sidon*, whose God *Baal* he served and worshipped. For this, through the prayer of the Propher *Elijah*, it rained not upon the Land for three years; but at the end thereof he prayed again, and the Heavens gave rain. He took occasion to shew the vanity of the Idoll *Baal*, and then slew his Priests; for which being threatned by *Jezebel*, he fled into the desart to Mount *Horeb*. Against *Ahab* came up twice *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*; once with 32 petty Kings, and both times with great forces, but still was overthrown, and at the latter time yielded himself. *Ahab* honourably received him, and, making a league with him, let him go in safety; for which he was sharply rebuked by a Prophet, and told that his life should go for the life of *Benhadad*, and his own people for his people; but there followed a peace betwixt *Israel* and *Syria* for three years. In this space *Ahab* fell sick for *Naboth*'s Vineyard, who being by *Jezebels* procurement accused of blasphemy, was stoned to death, and so *Ahab* injoyed the Vineyard by way of confiscation. For this so wicked a fact severe judgement was pronounced against him and *Jezebel*, by *Elijah*; the execution whereof by a temporary repentance they caused to be pro-

A.M. 3083. *Asa* 38.

1 Kings 18.

Chap. 19.

Chap. 20.

SECT. 4.

be prorogued. But the three years of the peace being expired, he renewed the War with *Syria*; for that *Benhadad* having ingaged to restore such Cities, as he had taken, refused to surrender *Ramoth-Gilead*. Four hundred false Prophets perswaded him to undertake the Expedition; onely *Micajah* sent from God dissuaded him from it. With him joyned *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*, whose Son *Jehoram* had maried *Athaliah* his daughter. But going down both together, *Ahab* received a wound by an arrow, and thereof died, that day, in the 22th year of his reign.

Ahaziah.

A. M. 3103. *Jehoshaphati.* 18.

6. *Ahaziah* his Son succeeded him, whom he had formerly made his Associate in the Kingdom, and reigned 2 years in all; being said to have begun his reign in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*, because his Father then dyed, having reigned 21 years, and some part of another. After *Ahab*'s death, *Moab* fell off from *Israel*, to which it had been subject ever since the dayes of *David*. *Ahaziah* falling sick, of a fall which he had through a lattise in his upper Chamber, sent to consult *Baal-zebub* the god of *Ekron* about his recovery; but the Lord commanded *Elijah* to meet the Messengers, and denounce death to him for this his sin. Hereat *Ahaziah* being angry, sent two Captains with their fifties, one after another, to fetch him to him; but he called for fire down from Heaven, which consumed them: then being intreated by the third, he went with him to the King, where denouncing the same to his face, *Ahaziah* accordingly died, not long after.

2 King. 1.

Joram.

Him his Brother *Joram* followed in the 18th year of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah* ending, who wrought evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like his Father and Brother; for he put away the Image of *Baal*, erected by his Father, yet cleaved to the sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who made *Israel* to sin, because of his carnall interest; all the Kings of *Israel* accounting it an especiall piece of policy, to busie the people in the worship of the golden Calves.

Chap. 3.

7. *Joram* made War upon the *Moabites* which had revolted, in conjunction with *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*, and the King of *Edom* his Tributary, *Elisha* the Propher miraculously providing the Armies of water, and promising them Victory. When the Sun arose and shone upon the Pits full of water, it appeared, to the *Moabites*, blood; so that they concluding their Enemies to have fallen one upon another, came out to take the plunder of the field; but finding other entertainment, were repelled with great consternation and losse. The *Israelites* then falling upon the Countrey, made havock of all things, and besieged *Mesha* King of the *Moabites*, in *Kir-hazereth*, who being streightened, attempted with 700 Men to break through to the King of *Edom*, but could not; whereupon taking his Son, (his own some think, others the King of *Edom*'s) which should have reigned in his stead, he offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. This spectacle seemed so horrible, as raised indignation against *Israel*, and such pity towards the Man driven by extreme necessity, (as *Josephus* telleth it), that being mindfull of the mutability of humane affairs, they raised the Siege and departed.

8. *Benhadad* King of *Syria* made severall attempts upon *Israel*, and besieging *Samaria*, reduced it unto extreme necessity by Famine. Him *Hazael* his Servant slew, and possessed himself of his Kingdom; but having received, together with it, the succession of the War, *Jehoram* went up against him, and was accompanied by *Ahaziah* King of *Judah* to *Ramoth-Gilead*. Here receiving a wound, he returned to *Jezreel*, to be cured; but the Army was left under severall Captains, amongst which was *Jehu* the Son of *Jehoshaphat*; to whom *Elisha* sent one of the Sons of the Prophets, to annoint him King. He was presently received as such by the Army, and returning to *Jezreel*, slew *Joram*, (and gave *Ahaziah* his death's wound) after he had reigned twelve years. He caused *Iesabel* to be thrown down out of a window, where of her carkeise was eaten by the Dogs; after which writing Letters to *Samaria*, he procured Seventy Sons of *Ahab* to be slain, and their heads sent to him. Then going thither, he slew 42 persons in his way, of the kindred of *Ahaziah*

Chap. 8.

Jehu annointed King.

Chap. 9.

A. M. 3117. *Athaliæ.* 1.

Destroyeth the family of *Ahab.*

Chap. 10.

SECT. 4. King of *Judah*, who were going to visite *Ieboram* and *Jesabel*: at *Samaria* he put to death all the Priests of *Baal*, and burnt the Temple with the Images. Yet took he no heed to walk in the Law of the Lord God of *Israel*, with all his heart, departing not from the sin of *Ieroboam*. For his executing of justice upon the house of *Ahab*, the Lord promised that his seed of the fourth generation should sit upon his Throne; Yet because of the rottennesse of his heart, he began to cut *Israel* short in his dayes, by the means of *Hazael*, who now subdued not onely the *Gileadites*, but also whatsoever the *Israelites* possessed beyond *Iordan*, raging with cruelty againg Man, Woman, and Child, as *Elisha* had foretold him. *Iehu* coming to the Kingdom at the same time as *Athaliah* began her usurpation in *Iudah*, reigned full 28 years, and then died.

Jehoahaz.

9. *Ieboahaz* his Son succeeded him, in the 23th year of *Ioash* the Son of *Ahaziah* King of *Iudah*, who did evil in the sight of the Lord, in the sin of *Ieroboam*; a grove being also in *Samaria*. *Hazael* mightily oppressed *Israel* also in his dayes, so that to him were left but 50 Horse-men, 10 Chariots, and 10000 Foot-men. Yet the Lord was intreated by him, and sent *Israel* a Deliverer; notwithstanding which, yet Prince and People remained incorrigible. After he had reigned seventeen years he died, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Ioash*, who also reigned with him about three years, for that he began his reign in the 37th year of *Ioash* King of *Iudah*, and is held by the Jews to be that Deliverer, mentioned to have been sent by God. He overcame the *Syrians* thrice, as dying-*Elisha* foretold him (whom he visited, and consulted about the affairs of his Kingdom); and thereby recovered the Cities lost to *Hazael* by his Father. Upon the occasion formerly mentioned, he took *Ierusalem*, with *Ahaziah* the King of *Iudah*, and, breaking down the wall of the City 400 cubits, plundred the House of the Lord and the Kings house. He also was guilty of *Ieroboam*'s sin, and died after he had reigned together with his Father, and by himself sixreen years.

chap. 13.

A. M. 3145. *Joash.* 23.

Joash.

Jeroboam the Second.

10. His Son came after him, *Ieroboam* by name, whom God made instrumental to preserve *Israel*; nay to raise it to the highest top of greatnesse it arrived at. For he recovered *Damascus* and *Hamath*, which had by right belonged to the Tribe of *Iudah*, with whatsoever the *Syrians* had taken from his Predecessors, from the antient border of the *entrance* of *Hamath*, to the *Sea of the Plains*, or the Lake *Asphaltites*, as *Ionas* the Prophet the Son of *Amitthai* had foretold, the same with him that prophecyed against *Ninive*, being of *Gath-Hepher*, a Town of the Tribe of (k) *Zebulon*, in (l) *Galile of the Gentiles*; out of which therefore arose a Prophet, though the learned Pharisees so earnestly urged the contrary to *Nicodemus*. In this King's dayes also prophecied *Hosea*, and *Amos*, called from the Herd in *Iudea*, to prophecy to the people of *Israel*. Notwithstanding all that God did for *Ieroboam*, he did evil also in his sight, accompanying his Ancestors in the sin of *Ieroboam* the son of *Nebat*. He reigned 41 years, and after his death the affairs of his Kingdom fell to decay; way being made for the ruine of his house, and an Anarchie insuing for 24 years. For so it must be, if *Zacharias* his Son began not his reign till the 38th of *Uzziah* King of *Iudah*, the last of *Ieroboam* falling in with the 14th of this King, seeing *Uzziah* is said to have begun his reign in the 27th of his, and he reigned 41 years. This may well seem strange in this Kingdom, where Princes were often made away by Usurpers; but God had promised *Iehu*, that his Children should reign to the fourth Generation; and this *Zacharias* might be a posthumus, or however very young, and therefore not admitted by the Nobility to govern, till he had attained to such ripenesse, as was convenient for so great a charge.

chap. 14.

A. M. 3175. *Amazia.* 16.

(k) Josh. 19. 13.

(l) Isa. 9. 1.

2 Kings 15.

Zachariah.

A. M. 3238. *Hazaria.* 38.

Shallum.

11. *Zacharias*, doing evil in the sight of the Lord, as did his Ancestors, reigned but six moneths, being then slain by *Shallum* the Son of *Iabesh* who reigned in his stead in the 29th year of *Azariah* King of *Iudah*. He enjoyed his usurped royaltie but a short space, being after two moneths served so himself by *Menahem* the Son of *Gadi*, who also reigned in his stead. *Menahem* smote *Tiphsah* and all that were therein, with the Coasts thereof from *Tirzah*,

Menahem.

Tirzah, because they opened not to him; and ripped up the Women with child. He did evil in the sight of the Lord, not departing from the sin of *Ieroboam* all his dayes; wherefore God stirred up the Spirit of *Pul* King of *Assyria*, who invaded the Land; but he gave him 1000 talents of Silver, which he wrested from the richest of his Subjects, to confirm the Kingdom in his hand. After he had held it ten years he died, and his Son *Pekahiah* reigned in his stead, in the 50th year of *Azariah*; so that *Menahem* having begun his reign in the 39th of that King, and reigning but ten years, here seemeth an *Inter-regnum* of a year or more to have happened after his death, except that be admitted, which some think, *viz.* that *Menahem* did not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom till about a year after *Shallum*'s death, purchasing it then of *Pul*; so that beginning his reign in the 39th of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, must be understood *peaceably*, and in that year ending. Then must *Pekahiah* have begun his reign in the very beginning of the 50th year, and so a few moneths being added to the ten years of *Menahem*, at the furthest, there will be no need of an *Inter-regnum*. *Pekahiah* treading in the wicked steps of his Prædecessors, reigned two years and then was slain by *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, one of his Captains, who possessed himself of his Seat.

SECT. 4.

Pul King of *Assyria* invadeth *Israel.*

Pekahiah.

A. M. 3250. *Hazaria* 50.

Pekah.

12. *Pekah* joyned with the King of *Syria* against *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, slew in *Judah* 120000 in one day, all valiant Men, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers. *Zichri* a mighty Man of *Ephraim*, slew *Maaseiah* the King's Son, *Azrikam* the Governour of the house, and *Elkanah* that was next the King. Two hundred thousand were also carried Captive, with much spoil, all which *Oded* the Propher, when they came to *Samaria*, procured to be sent back. This made *Ahab* purchase the help of *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, who first destroying the King and Kingdom of *Damascus*, caried the inhabitants thereof into Captivity; and then came against *Pekah* and transported the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manasses* into *Halah*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and to the River *Gozan*: then crossing *Jordan*, he set upon *Galilee* and caried away the Inhabitants thereof with all the *Naphthalites* (which remained of those that were left by *Benhadad*) into *Assyria*. *Pekah* doing evil in the sight of the Lord, after he had reigned twenty years, was slain by *Hosea* the Son of *Elah* who usurped the Kingdom.

2 Chron. 28.

1 Chron. 5. 26.

The Reubenites, Gadites, and the half Tribe of Manasses, carried Captives into Assyria.

13. *Hoshea* the 19th King of *Israel* began his reign in the 12th year of *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, who reigned seven or eight years with his Father *Jotham*, and began to reign by himself in the 17th year of *Pekah*; so that *Hosea* may truly be said to have began his reign in the 20th year from the inauguration of *Jotham*; which we must say except we allow of a kind of *Inter-regnum* for eight or nine years, during which time, *Hoshea* for the stirs that hapned could not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom; and then must we lenghthen out the time of this Kingdom longer by so many years. *Hoshea* did evil in the sight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of *Israel* which were before him. Against him came up *Salmanasser* King of *Assyria*, and made him his tributary Vassal, which he continued for some time, till weary of this bondage, he conspired with *So* King of *Egypt*, and refused to pay his tribute: Herupon, *Salmanasser* subdued first the *Moabites*, lest he should have an Enemy at his back, then invaded *Israel* and besieged *Samaria*, in the fourth year of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Hoshea*. At the end of three years (in the sixth of *Hezekiah*, and the ninth of *Hosea*) he took the City, and carried the *Israelites* Captive into *Assyria*, where he placed them in *Chalach*, *Chabor*, by the River of *Gosan*, and in the *Cities of Media*, because they had not obeyed the voice of the Lord, but transgressed the Covenant. In their Seat he placed certain *Persians* that inhabited by the River *Chuthus*, and afterwards, in distinction from the Jews, were called *Samaritans*. This hapned to *Israel*, for their abhominable Idolatry, 255 years after the rent of the Kingdom; so that this Schism lasted five Jubilies and ten years; in the 832 after the entrance into *Canaan*, according to *Ludovicus Cappellus*, and therefore in the end of the seventeenth Jubilie from that; in the

2 Kings 17. 18. A. M. 3272. *Achaz* 12.

Hoshea the nineteenth & last King of Israel.

A. M. 3280. *Ezechia* 6.

The Israelites carried away Captive.

The Samaritans placed in their room.

Sect. 3. the year of the World 3380. or 3381. and so in the end of the 69 Jubily from the Creation ; 134 before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Captivity of *Iudah*.

CHAP. IV.

The most ancient Kingdom of Egypt, *Contemporary with the Babylonian Empire.*

Cham the first inhabitant of *Egypt* after the Flood.

1. THis Countrey falling, at the Division of the Earth, to *Cham* and his Posterity, seemeth also to have been inhabited by himself. For, thence (*a*) *David* knew it by the name of the *Land* of *Ham*; (*b*) *Plutarch* found it was called *Chemia*; *Stephanus*, *Hermochymius*; the Inhabitants themselves calling it (*c*) *Kam*, who distinguished their *Nomi*, by this Allusion, into *Chemmis*, *Psochemmis*, *Psittachemmis*; the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Africk*, and the names of *Ammonis*, and *Ammonia*, given to that Countrey, challenge no other Original. It is not probable that these names should be onely given to it upon this account, that part of his Posterity here fixed themselves, for then the like might have been expected concerning many other places. *Misraim* his second son succeeded him; or he, to whom *Moses* giveth this name, as father of the Inhabitants of the Land of *Misraim*; it scarce being the name of a man, because not of the singular number. The Scripture calleth *Egypt* (*d*) often by the name of *Masor*, which seemeth the singular of *Misraim* contracted from *Mesoraim*, & signifieth a *fortified place*; no Countrey in the World being more fenced by its natural situation. The *Arabians* at this day know the Metropolis *Alcairo* by the name of *Mesre*, and the *Egyptians* anciently called their first moneth *Mesori*. The dual word *Misraim* seemeth to hint at the distinction of *Egypt* into (*e*) *Upper* and *Lower*; whereof the former, watered by the River *Nile*, running in one Channel, was divided into *Thebais* and *Heptanomus*. (*Thebais* being called the Land of *Pathros*, and distinguished from *Egypt* by *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*) and the lower part was by the *Greeks* called *Delta*, from the Triangular Figure thereof; the River being herein divided into many branches.

(*a*) Psal. 105. 23,27.
(*b*) *In* Iside.
(*c*) Diodorus & Hieronymus *in* Genesim, *vide cap.* 1. *Parag.* 22.

Misraim his son.

Lege Bochart. Phaleg. *l.* 4. *c.* 24.
(*d*) 2 Kings 19.24. Esaias 19. 6. Mich. 7. 12.

(*e*) Orosius *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

The same with *Osiris*.

2. This *Misraim* is thought to be the same with *Osiris*, so much spoken of by the *Egyptians*, and accounted the son of *Saturn*, the eldest of the gods, and also the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For *Osiris* being by the *Greeks* named *Dionysius*, * one telleth us that he had this appellation both from his *Father* and *Countrey*, the *former* part of the word noting the one, and the *later* the other, *viz.* *Nysa* a Citie of *Arabia Fœlix*, built by *Cham*, in which he seemeth to have been born. From the reign of *Osiris*, to the coming down of *Alexander* the *Great* into *Egypt*, the Priests reckoned, some above 10000 years, others little lesse then 23000. But several forms of years being used in several Nations we are to suppose theirs to have been measured rather by the course of the Moon through the Zodiack, than that of the Sun. *Jacobus Cappellus* therefore thinketh 1889 years to have passed from the reign of this *Osiris* to *Alexander* his going down into *Egypt*, the beginning whereof he fixeth at the 1778th year of the World; 100 and odd years after the Flood, about the same time that *Nimrod* his Nephew began his principality at *Babylon*. This *Osiris* is feigned by the *Egyptians* to have married his sister *Isis*, and they make them the true *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. Much they are both reported to have done for the benefit of mankind, by bringing it to civility; to him they ascribe the finding out of *Agriculture*, and to her the invention of *Corn* and *Laws*. He built *Thebes* the ancient seat of the Kings, with 100 Gates; travelled into the greatest part of the World to teach men civility with the use of Corn and Wine, taking *Pan* along with him, who being had in great reverence amongst the *Egyptians*, dedicated a Citie to

Diodorus Siculus *lib.* 1. *pag.* 1.

Osiris, and *Isis* their renowned acts.

to him by the name of *Chemmis*. In his time lived *Hermes*, or *Mercurius*; and *Hercules*, who being otherwise called *Gygon*, or *Gygnon*, is said to have helped the gods against the Gyants. *Osiris*, when he returned was killed by his wicked brother *Typhon*. Sect. 4.

Osiris killed by *Typhon*.

3. *Typhon*, seizing upon the Kingdom, was by *Isis*, through the help of her son *Orus*, dispossessed again of it, and his life; after which gathering together the 26 parts of her husbands body (into which he had mingled it) she instituted to him divine honours, ordering that the several Tribes of the Priests should dedicate some one of their living Creatures to him, and for him worship it as long as it lived; then at its death, seeking out another of the same kind, to do as much to it. Several things were consecrated in several places, yet by a general consent the Sacred Bull, called *Apis*, or *Mnevis*, was most valued, and chiefly adored, because of the special help that kind of Creature affordeth to Tillage. This Bull was black all over, having onely a square white spot in his forehead, saith *Herodotus*; on his right side saith *Pliny*, like to a Crescent, being also sacred to the Moon, as *Marcellinus* will have it. On the back he had the image of an Eagle, a knot on the tongue like to a Crab, and on his Tail double hairs. This kind of beast did the *Egyptians* worship as the greatest God with astonishing veneration, as *Macrobius* termeth it, till it had lived several years; but not being suffered to passe a certain term, it was then drowned by the Priests. Being dead, a great and solemn mourning there was untill another could be found with the same marks. Now some make this beast to be worshipped in honour of *Apis*, King of the *Argives*, who going down into *Egypt*, was there Deified after his death, and called *Serapis*. But there having been several Kings in divers places of that name, they are confounded one with another. Diodorus.

Typhon punished by *Isis*, and her son *Orus*.

The Sacred Bull *Apis*.

August. de Civit. Dei l. 18. *c.* 5.

4. Nothing, indeed, but uncertainties attend the most ancient History of that Nation; no two Authors agreeing betwixt themselves, concerning the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings. This is not onely to be attributed to the force of time, but the unfaithfulnesse of their Priests, who having it committed to their charge, to record the Memorables of their Countrey, foysted things of their own heads into the story, concealed from the Natives whatsoever made against their own profit, and from strangers all things that tended to the dishonour of their Countrey. Out of such a kind of design they related not the same things to such as travelled thither with a desire to be informed; so that from the corrupt Fountains of their records have proceeded the Histories of several, who pretending to have taken them out of the very Archives, are no lesse dissonant amongst themselves then from the truth. The Catalogues of their Kings are full of inextricable Labyrinths; *Manetho* being of no credit, because of his notable lying, and all those who professe to follow him, as *Josephus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, *Scaliger*, *Usher*, and others, not agreeing in their ranking, and ordering of them.

The *Dynasties* of the *Egyptian* Kings.

5. Several *Dynasties* are made to have preceded the time of *Abraham*, with whose birth (as it is placed in the 43th year of *Ninus*) the beginning of the 16th is joyned. Much labour is spent by some, in an endeavour to clear the order of these *Dynasties*, and to expound them. But, if they should be allowed of; little more then 200 years are to be assigned to the continuance of all the first 15. because the passage of *Cham*, and his posterity from the Mountains of *Ararat* into *Egypt*, and the establishment of a formal Government there, could scarce be performed within one Century after the Flood; time for the increase of mankind, and the unpassableness of the earth duely considered; except we cast the beginning of the first *Dynastie* back beyond the Flood. It hath been thought therefore that these were not several successions of Kings, which continued for so small a time, but rather certain Ranks and Orders of Governours under the Kings; who might be content to injoy their ease and quiet together with the Dignity (as the Kings did which *Joseph* served) whil'st the management of publick affairs was wholly committed to these Regents, or Lieutenants, of sundry linages or sorts of men, who by their actions might leave greater impressions upon posterity than the Kings them-

Euseb.

themselves, and so give occasion to the *Egyptians* of vaunting them for so many Soveraign Princes indeed: That *Eusebius* might accommodate the times and Orders of these Dynasties to the Histories of other parts of the World, he is not afraid to transpose them as he findeth them in several Authors. Upon this account *Jacobus Cappellus* thinketh it a vain thing to recite in his Chronicle the series of the Kings, seeing *Manetho*, by whom *Scaliger* would amend *Eusebius*, is most unworthy of credit. But it being requisite to give beginners some insight into the story; such things must be briefly related, as, out of such uncertainties carry the greatest shew of probability.

Orus the last of the *Egyptian* gods.

6. After *Typhons* death, *Isis*, as *Diodorus* writeth, for some time governed the Kingdom; but so joyntly with her son *Orus*, or *Horus*, that he is also said to have succeeded after the death of his father, and is moreover accounted the last of the gods. He institured a year consisting of three moneths, and thence a year was called after him *Horos*. The *Egyptian* year, properly so called, consisted of 365 dayes; but besides this, they had also monethly years of thirty dayes, and others of four moneths apiece, or 120 dayes, that by this various, and cunning account, as *Cappellus* thinketh, they might delude the *Greeks*. Of this later way few examples we meet with: but *Diodorus* maketh mention of it, assigning the cause to have been for that they divided their Solar year, not into four, but onely three parts; and *Cappellus* maketh this following account to consist of such kind of years. After the gods, came men to the Government, and *the Egyptians* boasted that they had Kings of their own Countrey and home-born, for the most part, during the term of 4700 years; after *Cambyses* strangers: as *Persians* and *Macedonians* having governed them. Now these 4700 years he guesseth to consist of four moneths apiece, and to contain 1544 *Julian* years, which being deducted out of the years of the World, at the period whereof *Cambyses* came down into *Egypt*, 1931 will remain; at what time *Osiris*, or *Orus* his son might perhaps die, who being the last of the gods, Kings began where they ended.

Lib. 1. *p.* 13. *&c.* *Censorinus. &c.*

Menes the first King.

7. The first King that reigned after these gods was *Menas*, or *Menes*, which name by some is thought to have been onely of Dignity, and that *Osiris* was so called. Others think *Mercurius Trismegistus* meant thereby, for that the *Hebrew* word *Meni* signifieth an *Arithmetician*, and that *Osiris* might well be termed *Trismegistus*, being a great *Conquerour*, *Philosopher*, and *Benefactor* to mankind, in giving good Laws, and teaching profitable arts. Another would have *Sesostris*, whom he supposeth to have succeeded *Osiris*, to be meant by *Menas*, as nothing inferiour to *Osiris* in prowesse and great undertakings. But *Sesostris* the Great reigned not till many years after, and nothing hindereth but *Menas* in the *Egyptian* language (to say nothing of the *Greek*) might be a proper name as well as a title of dignity. But, who succeeded him is not known; the Priests feigning 52 Princes to have followed him in order for the space of 1400 years unto *Bisiris*, multiplying Kings, years, lies (or fallacies) to make their story the more admirable. We must therefore in this unknown path, take the blind conduct of the *Dynasties* again, of which omitting the first seventeen, to which almost 4000 years are ascribed, the 18th is by *Cappellus* made to begin nine years before the time whereunto *Eusebius* sets it, *viz.* in the 107th year of the Patriarch *Jacob*, the first in order of it being *Amos*, or *Amosis*.

Herodotus & Diodorus.

Vide Cappellum *ad* A. M. 1931. & 1941.

A.M. 2274.

Amos, or *Amosis*.

8. To his reign are given 25 years; so that, according to this account, he it was who honoured *Joseph* and set him over the Land. He dying in the second year of the Famin, *Chebros* succeeded him, who reigned thirteen years, and him *Amenophis* who reigned 21, under whom *Jacob* died. To him succeeded *Mephres*, according to *Eusebius*, but *Manethon* after him placeth his Sister *Amesses*, or *Amerses*, to which he giveth 21 years and 9 moneths. After this reigned *Mephres* twelve years, *Mephramuthosis* 26, and *Thuthmosis* (or *Thmosis*) 9. After him followed *Amenophis* (otherwise called *Palmanothis* and *Phamenophis*) who reigned 31 years, and by some is accounted that *Memnon*, whose image of stone, at *Thebes* in *Ægypt*,

Euseb.

Chebros. *Amenophis.* *Mephres*, &c.

Ægypt, sounded like an Harp, when the Sun-beams, first in the morning, beat upon it; which is witnessed by many Authors of good credit. To him succeeded *Orus*, or *Horus*, who reigned 38 years, and to him *Acencheres*, who reigned 12. *Manetho* maketh *Acencheres* the Daughter of *Orus*, and giveth to her 12 years and one moneth; after her, he bringeth in *Rathos* her Brother, to whom he giveth 9 yeas. But after *Acencheres*, *Eusebius* placeth *Achoris*, and giveth to him but 7 years, to whom succeeded *Cenchres* the twelfth King: who, being more wicked than his Prædecessors, oppressed the *Israelites* most grievously, and continued eighteen years in his tyranny, till an end was put to it in the *Red Sea*.

A.M. 2508.

The *Israelites* afflicted in *Ægypt*.

9. Above Eighty years had they vexed the *Israelites* with insupportable burthens, notwithstanding which, they grew and increased exceedingly; nay although order was given to drown all the Male Children, left growing too numerous, they might in time of War joyn with their enemies; else get them out of the Land with an high hand; or because of a Prædiction mentioned by *Josephus*, that an *Hebrew* should be born, who was to afflict and overthrow the *Ægyptians*. That the *Jews* lived amongst them, is ever acknowledged by their Historians, accounting it an honour, as all Nations do, to have sent forth Colonies. But to take away disgrace, and to save the honour of their Country, (which to the Priests was ever most solemn) abhominable lyes have been made, and strange stories devised, concerning their first coming into *Ægypt*, and especially about their departure: which briefly to relate seemeth agreeable enough to the nature of our design.

Manetho his Lyes concerning the Originall of the *Jews*.

10. *Manetho*, an *Ægyptian* Priest and Historian, pretending to describe the Originall of the *Jews*, relateth that in the dayes of one of their Kings, *Timaus* by name, a certain ignorant people called *Hycsos*, (which signifieth *Royall Shepherds*, or *Captives* as he himself interpreteth it) from the Eastern parts, with great confidence invaded *Ægypt*, which easily obtaining without any force of Arms, they burnt the City and Temples, and raged against the Natives with Sword and Servitude. At length they made them a King of their own stock, named *Saltis*, who, coming down into the Country about *Memphis*, imposed a Tribute upon the upper and neather Province, and put Garrisons in convenient places. Especially he took care of the Eastern Coasts, being jealous of the Power of the *Assyrians*; so that in the Principality of *Sais*, Eastward from the River *Bubastis*, he built up a City called antiently *Anaris*, which fortifying with most strong walls, he therein placed a Garrison of 240000 Men. When he had reigned nineteen years, he gave place to *Baon*, who governed 44, after him *Apachnas* 36 with seven moneths, then *Apochis* 61, *Janias* 50 and one moneth, then *Assis* 49. Under those six first Kings, they sore oppressed, and endeavoured utterly to destroy *Ægypt*, and 511 years had they power over it. Afterwards the Kings of the Province of *Thebes*, and the remaining part of *Ægypt*, fell on them with a great and lasting War, and by a King named *Alisfragmuthosis*, were they overcome, and driven up into a place containing the quantity of 10000 Akers of ground, called *Auaris*. The Son of this King, *Themosis* by name, attempted the taking of this place, besieging it with 480000 Men; but, dispairing of successe, agreed with them, that leaving *Ægypt*, they should go whither else they pleased; so that departing with all their goods, to the number of 240000 persons, they travelled through the Desart into *Syria*, (for that they feared the *Assyrians*, who then obtained the Empire of *Asia*) and built them a City in the Country, afterwards called *Judæa*, which might suffice for so many thousands, and named it *Jerusalem*.

In 2°. *Ægyptiac. apud Josephum lib.* 1. *contr. Apionem.*

11. To this history taken out of the ancient records, *Manetho* addeth, as he confesseth, fabulous reports rife amongst the Vulgar, mixing with the *Israelites* a multitude of *Ægyptians* languishing with Leprosie and other diseases; which he relateth, as having forgotten, that the Shepherds left *Ægypt* 518 years before, as may be gathered from the series of the Kings, and the distance of time betwixt *Themusis*, who reigned when the Shepherds departed, and *Amenophis*, under whom the Lepers went out: the time of

whose reign neither dareth he to define; though he be exact, in the years of other Princes, as *Josephus* noteth. Now this *Amenophis*, forsooth, was told by a Priest of the same name, That he might see the gods, if he would cleanse his Kingdom from *Lepers*, and other unclean persons. He, being a very religious Man, gathered all the infirm out of the Land, to the number of 80000, whom he sent with others to cut stones on the East of the River *Nile*; there being amongst them also some of the learned Priests infected with Leprosie. Because favour was shewed towards them, the Priest who would have had them destroyed, feared much the displeasure of the gods, as well against himself as the King, and foreseeing they should have power over *Ægypt* for thirteen years, he durst not tell the King so much, but wrote a Book concerning the matter, and then killed himself; which cast the King (you must know) into a great melancholly.

12. But being still desired to do something for the security of the diseased people, he gave them *Avaris*, the City of the Shepherds, now not inhabited: whither being entred, and perceiving the place to be very advantagious for rebellion, they made choice of *Osarsiphus*, one of the Priests of *Heliopolis*, for their Captain, swearing to obey him in all things. He presently established for Law, that they should not worship the gods, nor abstain from such creatures as were most sacred to the *Ægyptians*; to marry with none but those that were tied to them by the same league, and commanding many other things (especially such as he knew contrary to *Ægyptian* customs) he prepared for War. Then sent he to the Shepherds at *Jerusalem*, formerly expelled by *Themusis*, to open their condition to them, and to invite them to give their assistance against *Egypt*. The Shepherds readily closed with the motion, and all, to the number of 200000, marched down to *Avaris*. *Amenophis* much startled hereat, especially because of the Prædiction of the Priest, committed his Son, but five years old, to a Friend; and, together with *Apis* and his other gods, went into *Æthiopia*, where he was received with all his multitudes of Subjects, and was kindly entertained by the King, who made provision for them for these thirteen years. The *Solymitans*, or Shepherds, with the unclean multitude, made now great havock of all things in *Ægypt*, burning Villages and Cities, and raging against the sacred Animals with their Priests, whom they compelled to be their Butchers, and drave away naked; the forementioned Priest still giving Laws, and framing their Policy; who being from *Osiris* the *Heliopolitan*-god called *Osarsiphus*, now changed his name into *Moses*. But at the end of the thirteen years, *Amenophis* returned with great power out of *Æthiopia*, and with the assistance of his Son *Rampses*, fell upon the Shepherds and unclean multitude, whereof killing many they pursued the rest as far as the borders of *Syria*.

Chæremon his ridiculous Lyes.

13. These ridiculous lyes are much more augmented by others. *Chæremon*, who professed to write the History of *Ægypt*, giveth the same name *Amenophis* to the King, and of *Rhamesses* to his Son; but addeth, that the Goddesse *Isis* appeared to the former, complaining that her Temple was destroyed by War. That *Phrisiphantes* a sacred Scribe, told the King, that if he would be freed from terrors in the night, he must purge *Ægypt* from polluted Men: he therefore gathering out 250000 diseased persons, cast them out of his borders: That the two Scribes *Moses* and *Joseph* (the *Ægyptian* name of the former being *Tisithes*, and of the later *Petesephis*) became their Leaders, and, coming to *Peluſium*, found there 380000, which *Amenophis* having left behind would not convey into *Ægypt*: with those they struck up a league, and undertook an Expedition against the Land. *Amenophis* not expecting the issue of their attempt, fled into *Æthiopia*, leaving his wife big with child, which lying hid in a Cave, brought forth a Son called *Messenes*. He, when he came to age expelled the *Jews*, to the number of 200000 into *Syria*, and received back his Father *Amenophis* out of *Æthiopia*.

Lysimachus his malicious forgeries.

14. *Lysimachus* an Historian, going beyond the other two in the maliciousnesse of his lyes, wrote, that when *Bocchoris* reigned in *Ægypt*, the people of the *Jews*, infected with Leprosie, Scab, and other diseases, resorted to

to the Temple to beg for their living, and many being infected with this disease, barrennesse fell upon the Land. *Bocchoris*, sending to the Oracle of *Ammon* about it, received this answer; that the Temples were to be cleansed from impure and prophane persons, who were to be cast out into the Desart; but the scabbie and Leprous should be drowned, the Sun not enduring they should live; which being done, and the Temples purified, fruitfulnesse would be restored to the Earth. *Bocchoris* accordingly ordered the Priests to gather all the prophane out of the Temples, and give them up to Soldiers, who were to carry them into the Wilderneſſe; and the Leprous and Scabbie to be wrapped in Lead, and cast into the Sea; which being drowned accordingly, the other were exposed to perish in the Desart. But those, consulting for their own safety, kept fires that night, and strict watch; then, the day following, a solemn Fast to God for their preservation. On the next, counsell was given them by a certain Man named *Moses*, that they should march on in one body, till they arrived at some good Soil. Then commanded he them to be kind to no man, to give bad counsell rather than good, and overthrow the Temples of the gods, as many as they should find; which being approved of, they travelled through the Desart, and, after much trouble, came to a fruitfull Soil, where using the Inhabitants very injuriously, and rifling and burning the Temples, they arrived at length in that Country, since called *Judæa*, and building a City seated themselves there. This City was at first called *Hierosyla*, from the spoiling of the Temples; but afterwards, to shun the disgrace of the occasion, they changed it into *Hierosolyme*, and took the name of *Hierosolymitans*.

Apion his Lyes.

15. Further than this; *Apion* a Grammarian of *Alexandria*, as he counterfeited himself, but born in *Oasis*, a Town of *Ægypt*, amongst severall other lyes against the *Jews*, wrote, that he had received from the eldest of the *Ægyptians*, how *Moses* was a *Heliopolitan*, and, being brought up according to the customs of his Country, changed the rites thereof at his own pleasure. That he led the Leprous, Blind, and Lame, out of *Ægypt*; but fairly saith, it was in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, the same where-in *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*, which happened about 150 years after *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* (as appeareth out of the *Phœnician* Annals) with whom *Solomon* was contemporary. He mentioned the same number of infirm persons as *Lysimachus*, but addeth a reason why the *Sabbath* was so called. Travelling six dayes together, saith he, on the seventh day they rested in *Judæa*, for that they were sorely plagued with Ulcers in their privy parts, and named it *Sabboth*, from the *Ægyptian* word *Sabbatosis*, which signifieth that disease. Notwithstanding that he saith they finished their journey in six dayes, yet he further writeth, that *Moses* hid himself for forty dayes upon the Mount *Sinai* (which lyeth betwixt *Ægypt* and *Arabia*) whence coming down, he gave Laws unto the *Jews*. As for the *Jewish* Religion, he was not ashamed to write, that in their Temple was set the head of an Asse made of gold, and of great value, which being there worshipped, was taken thence when *Antiochus Epiphanes* spoiled the place. Josephus *Lib. 2. contr.* Apionem.

16. Such absurdities were delivered by the *Egyptians*; and those who out of desire to gratifie them, have, after their example, endeavoured to conceal the truth; to which *Josephus* in his two Books against *Apion*, hath abundantly answered. Severall reasons have moved them to corrupt their Originall Records. The *Israelites* growing great in that Country, out of it they returned to the promised Land by the stretched out arm of God, to the great reproch of their cruel and imperious Lords. The difference of religion raised also betwixt the two Nations (as betwixt the *Jews* and the whole world) mortall enmity, whilst the one worshipped the onely true God, and the base and degenerate spirit of the other fell down to things far inferior to themselves; which difference some (though but few) persons discerning, were ambitious to become Proselytes to the *Jewish* Doctrine: Hence again arose such Envy, that some descended to that indiscretion and weaknesse, as to contradict their own most antient and authentick Writers. The in-bred blindnesse of Men's

Reason for these Lyes raised by the *Ægyptians*, and others against the *Jews*.

minds, increased by Paganish Education, hath so far prevailed, that the (*b*) greatest part of Heathen Writers have in this contention sided with the *Egyptians*, (otherwise contemptible enough in their eyes) and subscribed to what they have said concerning the Originall of the *Jewish* Nation; though some (*c*) have not given credit to such reports.

(*b*) As *Diodorus Siculus in Eclog.* lib. 34. & 40. Tacitus *Hist. lib.* 5. *ad initium.* Justin. *lib.* 36.

(*c*) Strabo *lib.* 16. *p.* 761. Dion. Cassius *lib.* 37.

Manetho his false Chronologie.

17. As *Manetho* erreth in the cause of the departure of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*, so also in the time thereof, though not so grossely as his Friend *Apion*. *Manetho* nameth the King *Themusis*, by whom they were expelled: Who, if the same with *Amosis*, he lived 230 years before their true departure; and that he is the same appeareth by *Manetho*'s Catalogue, taken out of *Josephus*. But (to go on with the Storie of the Kings) *Themusis* reigned, according to *Manetho*, 25 years and four moneths after their Expulsion. *Chebron* his Son succeeded him, and reigned thirteen years; next him, *Amenophis* 20 with seven moneths; his Sister *Amesses* 2 and 9 moneths. *Mephres* followed her, and continued twelve years and nine moneths, him *Mephramuthosis*, who reigned 25 and ten moneths; then *Thmosis* nine and eight moneths, *Amenophis* thirty and ten moneths, *Orus* 36 and five moneths. His Daughter *Acencheres* reigned 12 years and one moneth, *Rathotis* her Brother nine years, *Acencheres* twelve and five moneths, another of that name twelve and three moneths, *Armais* four and one moneth, *Armesis* one and four moneths, *Armesses Miamun* Sixty six and two moneths, and lastly *Amenophis* nineteen and 6 moneths. In whose time one who, forsaking *Eusebius*, followeth *Manetho*, in ranking those Kings, holdeth the *Israelites* to have departed *Egypt*, and consequently will have this King drowned in the Sea. That *Rameses Miamun* was he, who first began to afflict the *Israelites*, the length of his reign (as * one supposeth) maketh probable; whose name also seemeth to him, to have given appellation to one of the Cities, in building of which they were imployed.

* Usserius *Annal. Vet. Test. ad* A. M. 2427. & 2494.

Sethosis or *Ægyptus.*

18. After *Amenophis* reigned *Sethosis*, who having great Forces both by Land and Sea, left his Brother *Armais* deputy of *Egypt*, and forbidding him the Diadem and medling with his Wife or Concubines, undertook an Expedition against *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and then against the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, all which he brought under, either by the sword or the terror of his name, whereby, elevated in his mind, he confidently marched up and down the East-countries, overturning the Cities and States thereof at his pleasure. Much time being herein spent, his Brother in the mean while acted all things in *Ægypt* contrary to his injunctions, by the advice of his Friends, assuming the Diadem and rebelling. Of this the Chief-Priest secretly gave him intelligence, so that hasting back to *Pelusium*, he recovered his Kingdom. *Manetho* adderh, that this *Sethosis* was also called *Ægyptus*, (from whence the Country took the name of *Ægypt*) and this his Brother *Armais* had also the appellation of *Danaus*. If so; then *Amenophis*, who was swallowed up of the Sea, must be taken for *Belus*, the Father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* according to the *Greeks*, who not being confounded with the Father of *Ninus* (as by *Mythologists* he is wont to be) is said to hve lived 322 years before the destruction of *Troy*, which account Learned *Usher* judgeth fitly to agree with the time of *Amenophis*. He also thinketh *Rameses Miamun* to be *Neptune*, *Mia* coming near to, and therefore seeming to be derived from, *Moy*; which in the antient *Egyptian* language, according to *Josephus*, signifieth *water*. *Neptune* is said also to be Father of *Busiris*, who at this time tyrannizing about the River *Nile*, cruelly slew such Strangers as came near him. Such a Son indeed was worthy of so cruell a Father as *Rameses Miamun*; and it seemeth likely enough, that the Story of *Busiris* might be taken from his and his Son's cruelty to the *Israelites*, and so the thing may well enough be applied to *Amenophis*. Further, if we observe what * another telleth us, that the Poets are wont to call cruell and bloody men by the name of *Neptune*, as born of the raging and troublesome Sea; then may we find more reason for *Rameses Miamun* his being so called, because of his inhumanity towards the *Israelites* and their innocent Children.

Manetho *apud* Josephum *l.* 1. *contr.* Apionem.

A. M. 2522.

His Brother *Armais* or *Danaus.*

Rameses Miamun the same with *Neptune.*

Amenophis his Son with *Busiris.*

* A. Gellius *Noct. Attic. lib.* 15. *c* 21.

19. Now,

19. Now, to joyn this Storie of the *Ægyptians* with that of the *Greeks*, (whom yet the other complain of, as corrupting their Antiquities) (*d*) *Apollodorus* writeth, how *Neptune*, on *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus* (who being the Son of *Telegonus*, and *Io* the *second* daughter to *Jasus* King of *Argos*, built *Memphis*, as some say, and reigned in the lower part *Ægypt*) begat two Sons *Belus* and *Agenor*, whereof the later went into *Phœnicia*, and there reigned. *Belus* obtained *Egypt*, and of *Anchinoë* the Daughter of *Nilus* begot *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. He sent *Danaus* to inhabit *Africk* or *Lybia* (so called from his Mother); and after *Ægyptus* had subdued the Country of the *Melampodi*, or *Black-feet*, named it *Egypt* after himself, which, according to *Eusebius*, was formerly called *Aeria*, and, according to others, *Potamitis*. But he whom *Manetho*, in *Josephus*, calleth *Sesothis*, seemeth to be the same with *Diodorus* his *Sesoosis*, and *Sesostris* of *Herodotus*, concerning whom both of them record (as *Manetho* hath done) very admirable things. Agreeable to what *Manetho* delivereth of *Sesothis*, *Herodotus* (*e*) writeth, that *Sesostris* subdued many Nations. (*f*) *Diodorus* saith, that *Sesoosis* conquered *Arabia* and *Lybia* before his Father's death, and afterwards having a great ambition to do as much by all the World, first secured the affections of his Subjects at home (to keep them in obedience) by his clemency and bounty. Then with an Army of 600000 Foot, 24000 Horse, and 27000 Chariots, he set upon the *Ethiopians*, towards the South, whom having conquered, he compelled to pay a Tribute of Ebonie, Ivory, and Gold. With a Navy of 400 Ships sent into the *Red Sea*, he subdued all the maritime Coasts, as far as *India*; he himself with a Land-Army overrunning not onely those parts of *Asia* which afterwards *Alexander* subdued, but beyond *Ganges* all as far as the *Ocean* it self.

(*d*) *Lib.* 2.

What the *Greeks* write concerning *Sethosis.*

(*e*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 102, &c.

(*f*) *Lib.* 1. *p.* 34, &c.

His Conquests.

20. After this, he conquered the Nations of *Scythia* as far as the River *Tanais* (which severeth *Asia* from *Europe*) and left some of his *Egyptians* to make a Plantation by the Lake *Maotis*, that gave originall to the Nation of the *Colchi*, which the *Egyptians* supposed they sufficiently proved to be their Colonie from the use of *Circumcision*, imagining that the *Jews* had also this rite from them. Finally all *Asia* he subdued, with most of the Islands *Cyclades*; but then passing over into *Europe*, was in danger of losing his Army for want of Provisions, and by the difficulty of places: therefore in *Thrace* he put bounds to his Expedition, having in all places erected Pillars, wherein was written his successe; and where he found courage, he caused a member of a Man to be ingraven, but where he met with cowardise that of a Woman. At length, after nine years, he returned home with much spoil, where he refreshed, and rewarded his victorious Army. Here he was not idle, but set himself to such works as he thought might eternize his name, wherein he imployed none of his naturall Subjects, but the Captives he had brought with him. This the *Babylonians* not enduring, brake out into rebellion, and fortifying a place near the River, held it out in despight of him, till at last by composition they enjoyed a Seat, which they called *Babylon*, in remembrance of their own Country. He raised up great heaps of stones and earth, and to them removed such Cities, as by reason of the lowness of their situation, were obnoxious to inundations from the River: yet, lest there should be want of water, and for convenience of trade, he caused Rivolets to be digged throughout the Land; he also fortified the Country by a wall on the East, and otherwise povided against invasions.

21. For an ostentation of his greatness, he caused such, as being subdued held their Kingdoms of him, or had received new Principalities at his hand, at certain times to come down with their Presents, whom he otherwise used with much respect: but being to go to the Temple, or enter the City, he would loose his Horses out of his Chariot, and be drawn by four of these Princes. At length, having excelled all Men in Conquests, and other Royall Atchievements, he fell blind, and killed himself when he had reigned 33 years; for which act he was the more admired by the *Egyptians*. These amongst other things are reported of *Sesostris*, before whose Statue many

His pride.

years

years after *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes* causing his own to be erected, the chief Priest contradicted it, alleadging that *Darius* had not yet excelled *Sesostris* in honourable actions; with which freedom the King was well pleased, and said, if he lived, he would labour to come no whit shore of him. His son succeeded him of the same name and misfortune in the losse of his sight, which to recover he was bid by an Oracle to wash his eyes in the Urine of some woman which never knew any other man then her own husband. Beginning with that of his own wife, he proceeded to make trial of the honesty of many others, but found none effectual to the cure, but the wife of a certain Gardiner, which woman he then married, and burnt all the rest. Many after him followed in order till one *Arnosis* came to the Government, who by his Tyranny made way for *Actisanes*, the King of *Æthiopia*. He, using his power with moderation, put no Malefactor to death, but, cutting off their Noses, sent them away into the Confines of *Ægypt* and *Syria*, where he built them a Citie, called from the maimednesse of the inhabitants *Rhinocalura*, which was destitute of all sorts of provisions through the barrennesse, and unhealthfulnesse of the place. The soyl he chose on purpose, that they might be diverted from idle, and vitious courses, by anxious and effectual care for a livelyhood, which they got by a trade of fishing in the adjoyning Sea.

Sethosis, or *Sesostris*, the second, son to the other.

Actisanes King of *Æthiopia*.

22. After his death the *Egyptians* recovered the Soveraignty, and created a King of their own Nation, called *Mendes*. He spent his life in making provision for death by a Sepulcher inimitable for Art, which he made under the notion of a Labrynth; according to which pattern they believed *Dædalus* to have framed that he made for *Minos*, King of *Crete*, wherein to keep the *Minotaure*. After *Mendes* an Anarchy followed for a long time, till one of ignoble extraction was made King; by the *Egyptians*, named *Cetes*, but by the Greeks *Proteus*, who living in the time of the *Trojan* War, had great skill in Astrology, and the knowledge of winds; whence, and because the Kings of *Egypt* were wont to have several kinds of living Creatures, Trees, Fire, and other things painted, and worn about their heads, the *Greeks* took occasion to invent that fable of his turning himself into all manner of shapes. *Remphis* his Son, and Successor spent his time in the improvement of his revenue and customes, insomuch that he died far richer then any of his Predecessors, having got together 400000 Talents of Gold and Silver. The next, who was any thing considerable was *Nileus*, who because he took great care about bringing water from the River to furnish the Country, changed the name of it from *Egypt* into *Nile*.

Mendes.

After an Anarchy.

Remphis.

Nileus, from whom the *Nileans* named.

23. The 8th. from *Nileus* was *Chemmis*, who being born at *Memphis* reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramids, counted amongst the seven wonders of the World. *Herodotus* writeth that the first King who gave his mind to this work was *Cheops*, and that he prostituted his daughter to raise money for this purpose: That the biggest was twenty years in building by no fewer then 100000 work-men, towards the diet of whom the price of Onions and Garlick onely, amounted to 1600 Talents of silver: That his daughter, of every one who had to do with her, begged a stone, and therewith built a little Pyramid near adjoyning. *Diodorus* writeth that the basis of the greatest was on each side 700 foot broad, the heighth above 600 foot, and at the top it was six Cubits broad, all of solid stone very hard, and of an everlasting substance, which he proveth for that the whole structure in his time remained unchanged and uncorrupted, though raised 1000 years before. But others which within this hundred years have travelled into *Egypt* relate how those monstrous buildings which stand 13 miles off from *Memphis*, and look like Mountains at a distance, are on the North-side much eaten, and consumed with that wind; the *Etesian* winds being there as much putrifying as the Southern in other parts. These Piles of stone stand in a sandy place which affordeth not any quarries of stone, some five miles distant from the *Nile*, so that the work may well seem right miraculous, though the *Egyptians* raised many fables thereupon. But so many thousands of men were to be killed

Diodorus.

Chemmis first buildeth a Pyramid.

Vide Phicium *lib.36. c.12.*

killed with this toil that one might be stately buried; which yet they say happened not to him: For the people were so enraged hereat, that his son durst not there bury him, but laid him in another obscure and ignoble place. And yet he could not contain himself, but to his power must also imitate his father's madnesse.

Cephren.

24. *Cephren* the brother of *Chemmis* succeeded him, and reigned 56 years, though some would have his son *Chabry's* immediatly to have followed him. He spent his time the same way, building another Pyramid in workmanship like to the former, but much inferiour to it in compasse and Ingeneesse; being also buried in an obscure place for fear of the rage of the multitude. After *Cephren* followed *Mycerinus* (or *Mycherinus*) the son of *Chemmis*, or *Cheops*, of whom the *Egyptians* made great account, because he reformed much amisse in his Father's and Uncle's dayes. He also built a Pyramid lesse than the other, but in excellency of workmanship far excelling them. One *Bocchoris* succeeded next, according to *Diodorus*; in body contemptible, but for endowments of mind going beyond all his Predecessors. Then, after a long time came in *Sabacon* the *Æthiopian*, and reigned in *Egypt*. But *Herodotus* writeth that *Asychis* succeeded *Mycerinus*, and built a Pyramid of Brick; then followed *Anysis*, who being blind, in his time *Sabacus*, or *Sabacon*, invaded *Ægypt*, and drove him into the Fens, where he hid himself: but *Africanus* relateth that *Sabacon* took *Bocchoris* alive, and burning him quick, reigned in his stead eight years. This cruelty is little agreeable to that humanity which *Herodotus* ascribeth to him, *viz.* that he put no malefactor to death; but, according to the degree of guilt, imposed upon every one the carriage of so much earth to the place where he dwelt; and hereby the Towns were made much higher, and lesse subject to inundations, at the time of the overflowing of the River. His piety is much commended; for being told by one of the gods, that if he would reign quietly in *Egypt*, he must cut off all the Priests by the middle, he made choice rather to quit his interest in the Kingdom, and the possession thereof, than to hazard the quiet of it, or commit such an act of cruelty. He is thought by some to be the same with *Soe*, King of *Egypt*, who combined with *Hoshea* of *Israel* against *Salmanasar*.

Herodotus.

Diodorus.

Mycherinus.

Bocchoris.

Sabacon.

25. After his departure *Herodotus* brings the blind man out of his lurking hole, where he had now lien fifty years, and maketh him to have recovered the Kingdom. More likely it is that *Sathon* the Priest of *Vulcan* succeeded him, thought to be *Senechus* his son whom *Africanus* placeth after him, and it may seem probable enough that if he forsook the Kingdom himself, yet he might leave his son in the Government. This *Sathon* (or *Sethon*) wholely devoted to his Superstition neglected Military men, and therefore, when *Senacherib* King of *Assyria* invaded *Egypt*, was quite forsaken by them; yet he is said by his importunity so far to have prevailed with his god, that pitching his Tents at *Pelusium*, the Mice did eat the Thongs of the *Assyrian* Targets, and the Horse-Bridles, so that his Enemies were rendred incapable of fighting; and, confounded with fear at so strange an accident, retreated. But whatsoever was done at *Pelusium*, the * Prophecies against *Egypt* clearly shew that the *Assyrians* pierced further into the Countrey, and led away a multitude in Captivity. After *Senechus*, *Africanus* placeth *Tiracus* the *Æthiopian*, the same with *Tirhaka*, who affrighted *Senacherib* back into his Countrey, and is said to have made an expedition into *Europe*, and pierced as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*. Him followed an Anarchy of two years, and then happened the Government of twelve men together, which having continued fifteen years, *Psammeticus* one of the twelve, assisted by the *Ionians* and *Carians*, got the power wholely to himself. He reigned 54 years, 29 whereof he spent in the siege of *Azotus*, or *Ashdod* in *Syria*. By placing his *Egyptian* Souldiers in the left Wing of his Army, he gave them such distaste, that, disdaining strangers should have the chief place, 200000 forsook him, and, do what he could, departing into *Æthiopia*, there seated themselves. He, first of all *Egyptian* Princes, invited the *Greeks*, and others to Trade in his Dominions,

Sathon.

Tirhaka.

Psammeticus.

* *Nahum* 3. *Esay* 20.30.31. 2 *Kings* 18. A.M. 3288. *Strabo.* *Diodorus.* *Herodotus.*

ons, from which they had been formerly discouraged, either by the severity of his Predecessors, or by giving credit to the fable of *Busiris*.

Pharah-Neco.

26. He left the Kingdom to his son *Necos*, called in Scripture *Pharoh Neco*, who first undertook that fruitlesse task of cutting a passage from the River *Nile* into the *Red-Sea*, and in that work spent the lives of 120000 men. Undertaking a War at Gods command against the *Assyrian*, *Josias* King of *Judah* opposed him in the Valley of *Megiddo*, where he was worsted, and so mortally wounded that he died within a short space. After his return he disposed of the Kingdom of *Judah* to *Eliakim*, to whom he gave the name of *Jehojakim*, and made him his Tributary: Him *Nebuchadnezar* King of *Assyria* withdrawing from his obedience to his own service, *Neco* went up against the *Assyrian* to *Carchemish*, and there was slain as is before (*a*) shewn from Scripture. *Herodotus* (*b*) writeth that he got a victory over the *Syrians* in *Magdalum*, and took *Cadytis* in *Syria*, which may well be that *Kadesh* mentioned by (*c*) *Moses*. He reigned sixteen years, saith *Herodotus*, six saith *Eusebius*, and was succeeded by his son *Psammis* or *Psammitichus*, who after he had reigned six years made an expedition into *Æthiopia* and died. Him followed *Apries*, his son, called in Scripture *Pharoh Hophra* and *Vaphres*, who invading *Phœnicia*, made War by Land upon *Sidon*. He fought a battel at Sea with the *Tyrians*, whom overthrowing, and returning home with great spoyl, he was so far puffed up, as to perswade himself that no god could deprive him of his Kingdom; so strongly did he think he had established it. But making War upon the *Cyrenæans*, he received from them a great overthrow, and the Souldiers thereupon mutined against him as having wilfully exposed them unto danger. To appease them, he sent one *Amasis* whom they presently chose for their King, and he after some pause accepted their offer. *Apries* fled, but after some time was taken, and by *Amasis* delivered up to his Subjects, who strangled him, having reigned six years.

A.M 3390. *V.C.* 139. *Josiæ* 30.

(*a*) Chap. 3. sect. 3. Paragr. 18.

Psammis.

(*b*) *L.* 2. *c.* 159.

(*c*) *Num.* 20. 16.

Pharoh-Hophra, or Apries.

A.M. 3396. *V.C.* 145. *Joakimi* 4.

Amasis.

A.M. 3426. *Nebuchad.* 30. *Ahyagis* 15.

27. With this report of *Herodotus* agreeth *Diodorus Siculus* his storie, relating how *Apries* vanquished the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in a Sea-fight, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, wan the other Towns of *Phœnicia* with the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned 22 years. But others of late considering the more sure Testimony of Scripture, and how *Egypt* was promised to *Nebuchadnezar* * as wages for the service he had done against *Tyre*; how *Pharoh* and his Army should be slain by the sword, and the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and *Pharoh Hophra* delivered into the hands of his Enemies as *Zedekiah* had been; resolve that the *Ægyptian* Priests notably deluded those Historians, hiding the disgrace and bondage of their Nation. Therefore it is thought fit rather to believe the report of *Josephus*, that *Nebuchadnezar* in the 23th year of his reign, and the 5th after the destruction of *Jerusalem* Conquered *Egypt*; killed the King thereof, and appointed another in his stead. Some think *Amasis* might be used as an instrument by *Nebuchadnezar*, and for that was made Governour by him; others that the Deputy, or Vice-Roy, which he had set over the Land was slain by *Amasis*. Agreeable to this later opinion, the Army of *Ionians* and *Carians* are held to have been none other than the Garrisons of Mercenaries left by the *Assyrian*, for the Guard of his Viceroy, and custody of this his new subdued Province: as likewise the Company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the friends of such as were slain in that expedition, deposed, & slue *Apries*, are conceived to have been the *Egyptian* Fugitives, which then recovered their own Countrey, seeing that of the Prophet was verified: *At the end of fourty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cause them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom.*

Ezek. 29. 18, 19. *Jerem.* 43. and 44.

28. *Amasis* being a man of mean extraction, and perceiving himself upon that account, despised of his people, took a Golden Vessel wherein he and his Guests had used to wash their feet, and thereof made an image of a god, which

Herodotus.

which when the *Egyptians* worshipped with great reverence, he called them together, and comparing his Original with the former use of the Gold, convinced them of that equal reverence which the change of both ought to beget in them. Under him the *Egyptians* boasted that their Countrey was most happy, no fewer then 1020 Towns of good note flourishing therein, in his dayes. He made a Law that all men should yearly give account how they lived, which if they could not prove to be by some honest calling, they were to be punished with death; and this, *Solon* is said to have translated to *Athens*. He being the first of all others that took *Cyprus*, reigned 54. or 55 years. It seemeth probable enough that he revolted from *Cyrus*, being before tributary to the *Babylonian* Empire (though the Priests hid this amongst other things from *Herodotus* and others); and that this was the chief cause, whatever is pretended, why *Cambyses* came down and conquered his Kingdom. This was not accomplished in his time, he dying in preparation for the War. But his Son *Psammenitus* succeeding him lost all, and so *Egypt* became a Province of the *Persian* Empire; which things involving much of the affairs of *Persia*, and nearly relating to the tragedie of *Cambyses*, are to be referred to a more proper place.

Amasis his Law.

Psammenitus.

A. M. 3480. V. C. 229. *Cambysis* 5.

29. The *Egyptians*, accounting themselves the most antient of all Nations, were not wanting indeed of many reasons to witnesse their antiquity, although their pride transported them beyond the true *Epoche* of their Original. The Scripture it self witnesseth *Egypt* to have been a mighty Kingdom, every way better replenished then any other Country that we can read of, in so antient times: in the dayes of *Abraham* it was a flourishing Kingdom, and the *Israelites* were not a People till such time as the *Egyptians* were one of the most flourishing Nations upon Earth. The *Ethiopians* concluded themselves more antient, because *Egypt*, as they thought; was of old a Sea or Lake, (*k*) antient Writers being of opinion, that it was the *gift* of the River *Nile*, which having once contained within it self all the compasse of the Land, at length warped it up out of it's bowels; so that from it's mud, or dirt, the firm ground proceeded, and became a Continent. They urge, that in the yearly inundations of the *Nile* much mud is left and sticks immovable; that in the mountains of *Egypt* the shells of Fishes are found; that the Springs and Wells there digged, afford water of a brackish taste, as if the reliques of Sea-water yet remained in the Earth: Lastly, they say, that the Island *Pharus* at this day, is scarce a mile distant from *Alexandria*; whereas in the time of (*l*) *Homer* it was a day and a nights sail off from *Egypt*. But experience sheweth, that for some thousands of years there hath been no accession by any such mud, but that those Towns which anciently stood upon the Shore of the Sea, and River, still continue there. The shells might come from the generall Deluge, being found also in other places as well as *Egypt*. Many describe the Fountain of the Sun at *Heliopolis*, and yet none observe any brackish taste in the water. And as for *Pharus* in the *Trojan* times it was distant from *Canobus*, where *Menelaus* is thought to have arrived, but 120 furlongs; and therefore could not be a day and nights sail from *Egypt*, as *Homer* wrote by virtue of his Poetick liberty, or rather his ignorance in Geographie.

The Kingdom of *Ægypt* very antient.

Ægypt not the gift of the *Nyle*, as was generally imagined.

(*k*) Ephorus *apud* Diodorum. *l.* 1. *p.* 26. Herod. *lib.* 2. *c.* 5. Arist. *Meteor. l.* 1. *c.* 14. Strabo. *l.* 12. *p.* 536. D. Plut. *in* Iside. Plin. *l.* 2. *c.* 85. Ammian. *l.* 22. (*l*) Odyss. *l.* 4. *ver.* 356.

30. Certainly they had cause enough to charge the *Greeks* with novelty, and to jeer (as they did) at their pedantick pretence to Antiquity; the lustre of any one of their Common-wealths being to that of theirs but as yesterday; their Laws and Policy, their Religion and Rites but new upstarts, and (as the *Egyptians* would go about to demonstrate) but copies of their Originall. There was ripeness of literature, civil discipline, and inventions of severall sorts amongst them, before the like did as much as bud forth in *Greece*, *Italy*, or other Western Countries. They stick not to instance wherein the *Greeks* have borrowed of them. All, or most of the names of their gods, with the superstition belonging to them, were, they say, stollen out of their Country, the Rites being somewhat altered and new stories invented, to blind the World, as to their Originall. *Osiris* they avow to have been the true *Bacchus* or *Dionysius*, in whose Mysteries *Orpheus* the Poet being initiated whilst he

The antiquity of the *Greeks*, novelty in comparison of that of the *Ægyptians*.

Vide Brodæi *Miscell. l.* 3. *c.* 5. & Bochart *Phaleg. l.* 4. *c.* 24.

Herod. *l.* 2. *c.* 49.

Diodorus *l.* 1. *p.* 14. &c.

he sojourned in *Egypt*, when he was afterwards kindly entertained at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, to gratifie them of that place, raised a Fable of his being born there, and begotten by *Jupiter* on *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, a certain Bastard having at that time been born of her, and fathered upon *Jupiter*. *Isis* the Sister and Wife of *Osiris*, they affirm to be the true *Ceres*. *Hercules* was an *Egyptian*, not born immediately before the *Trojan* War, but in the most antient time, even at the beginning of Mankind, to which season the wearing of a *Club* and *Lyons-skin* was most congruous, when clothes were not as yet found out, as also his cleansing the Country of Monsters and wild Beasts, at that time; the Earth being but inhabited in a scattered manner. *Apollo* in like sort was no other than *Orus*, who was taught the Arts of Prophecying and Healing, by his Mother *Isis*. As to this controversie, is observable the incertainty of the names of those Heathenish vanities, the same being to some *Isis*, to others *Ceres*, and to others *Themophoris* (or, the Inventor of Laws) to others *Juno*, to others the *Moon*; and to some all those names are one. *Osiris* in like manner, is now taken for *Serapis*, then for *Dionysus*, otherwhiles for *Pluto*, sometimes for *Ammon* and *Jupiter*; and not seldome thought to be *Pan*, as *Diodorus* hath observed.

The incertainty of the Heathenish Deities.

31. Severall Colonies they glory to have sent forth. The first by *Belus* the Son *Libya*, and *Neptune*, into *Babylon*; where, upon *Euphrates*, he constituted *Flamins* after the custom of *Egypt*, free from all taxes and impositions. These by the *Babylonians* were called *Chaldæans*, who in imitation of the *Egyptian* Priests, and Philosophers, observed the Stars. *Danaus* out of *Egypt* peopled *Argos* the (almost) ancientest City of *Greece*. The Nation of the *Colchi* and the *Jews* they prove theirs by Original, from the rite of *Circumcision*. *Cadmus* and *Phœnix* his Brother they report to have been Natives of their Egyptian *Thebes*, whence the former translated the name of that City into *Greece*: but *Agenor* his Father, as is believed, (being the Brother of *Belus* and Uncle to *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*) came thence into *Phœnicia*, then have they further occasion to boast of a Colonie led by him into that maritime tract. The *Athenians* they prove to have been a Colonie, led by *Cecrops* from *Sais* in *Egypt*, for that they alone called their City *Astu*, from a place so named in their Country, and because the members of their Common-wealth were distinguished into three rankes; of *Noblemen*, who only were capable of honours as the *Egyptian* Priests; *Country-men* who bare Arms agreeable to that sort of people in *Egypt*, who being called *Husbandmen*, afforded Soldiers for the Wars; lastly, *Artificers*, exercising manual and common Arts, which fitly answereth to the custom of that place. Besides *Cecrops*, *Petes* the Father of *Mnestheus* and *Erictheus* were of the *Egyptian* extraction; of whom the later carrying great store of Corn out of *Egypt* to *Athens*, thereby obtained the Kingdom, and gave occasion to the Story that *Ceres* at that time came into *Greece*.

Colonies pretended to, by the *Ægyptians*.

32. Although it may not passe for currant, that the whole World is beholding to them for the use of Letters, the knowledge of the Stars, Geometricall Speculations, the best Laws, and most of the liberall Arts, as they have bragged; yet most antient have several of these things been amongst them. Besides the common and usuall way of writing, they had certain Notes, called * *Hieroglyphicks*, wherein each letter served for a word, and single words expressed whole sentences. As by the image of a Vulture they expressed the word *Nature*, because in that kind of Bird no Male can be found. By the picture of a *Bee making Honey* they understood a *King*; hinting, that in a Governour, a *sting* or *sharpnesse* ought to be mixed with *sweetnesse*. They also used ænigmaticall compositions or mixtures of images; as, by a *Scepter with an Eye, and an Ear on the top thereof*, they signified the Soveraign and all-knowing Majesty of God. As for Astronomy, though the *Babylonians*, for the antiquity of their knowledge herein, had no need to give them place, yet were the *Egyptians* furthered in the due observation of the Stars, by the plainnesse and evenness of their ground, and the severity of the air; it never raining in *Egypt* in ordinary course of Nature, which defect is supplyed by the yearly overflowing of the River. If the World be bounden to them

Ammianus Marcell. *l.* 17. *De Hieroglyph. vide* Joh. Pierium *Valerianum Bellunensem.*

The *Ægyptian* Hyeroglyphicks.

them for Geometry, it's to be ascribed also to their River, as another fruit of it's inundation, whereby washing away the marks and removing the fences of their particular Lands, they were forced every year to measure them over again, and thence, through necessity, driven to Mathematicall speculations. Now that the best Laws, and most ingenuous Arts were from them conveyed into *Greece*, they evidence by a particular of the bearers.

33. The Priests, pretending in their Sacred Records to find the Register of their names, and to demonstrate the truth thereof by other tokens, have made mention of *Orpheus*, who out of *Egypt* fetched the Mysteries of *Ceres*, with the Fable of the *Inferi*, or those in Hell; the severall places whereof, with the Ferrie-man *Charon*, are taken out of the Fens of *Acherusia*, and the passing over this Lake by boat to bury their dead there. Besides him, they make mention of *Musæus*, *Melampus*, *Dædalus*, and *Homer*, who travelled into *Egypt* to get knowledge. To these they add, of Law-givers, *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*, and *Solon* the *Athenian*, who borrowed many of their Laws, and *Plato* the choicest of his notions. *Pythagoras* of *Samus* from them received his *Sacred Speech*, as it's called; his Principles of *Geometry*, *Arithmetick*, and *The doctrine of the transmigration of Souls*. *Democritus* of *Abdera* they take for granted, to have lived amongst them five years, in which time he proved an excellent Astrologer. *Oenopis* of *Chius*, by his conversation with their Priests and Astrologers, amongst other things, learnt the particular oblique course of the Sun. And, to add no more; *Eudoxus* the Mathematician is beholding to *Egypt* (where he studied) for those instructions which much profited *Greece*, and thereby procured him no small honour.

Diodorus *l.* 1. *p.* 60, 61, 62.

Greek Poets & Philosophers that borrowed their knowledg of the *Egyptians*.

34. The invention of Philosophy and Laws, with all the rest of the *Egyptian* wisdom, wherein *Moses* was learned, is ascribed by divers unto *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Trismegistus*; of whom yet either as to his person or time, nothing certainly can be affirmed. *Cotta* in *Cicero*, reckoneth up five, who have born the name of *Mercury*. The first, begotten by the *Heaven*, or the *Day*; the second, Son to *Vulcan* and *Pharon*, who liveth under the Earth, called also *Triphonius*; the third, begotten by *Jupiter* the *third* on *Maia*; the fourth, Son to the *Nile*, whom the *Egyptians* feared to name for reverence sake; the fifth and last, whom the *Phœnicians* worship, who slew *Argus*, and flying thereupon, was set over *Egypt*; to the Inhabitants whereof he gave Laws and Literature, and was by them named *Theut*. But others attribute the finding out of Letters, not to the *last*, but the *first Mercury* truly called *Theut*, *Thoyoth*, *Thot*, and *Taautus*; it being utterly against all Antiquity, that any should out of *Greece* transport Learning into *Egypt*. Others account two of this name naturall *Egyptians*, of whom the later was Nephew or Grand-son, to the former. Some think *Joseph*, some *Moses* the true *Mercury*. What ever he was, his Works lost and * those yet extant, shew him to have been a Man very well skilled in true Divinity, and have gained him the credit to be numbred amongst the Prophets, and Sibylls, for that he wrote many things of God, worthy of admiration; nay also, it's believed, of the coming of Christ, of the Trinity, and the last Judgement. Of the Learning of the *Egyptians* he is (*n*) said to have written 36525 Books, if Pages be not rather meant hereby: And (*o*) telleth us, that in his time were extant 36 of his Books, *viz.* of the wisdom of the *Egyptians* sixteen, of Physick six, of the Orders of Priests ten, and four of Astrology.

(*m*) *Laertius Jamblicus.*

Hermes or *Mercurius Trismegistus*.

* Translated by *Ficinus* & *Apuleius*.

(*n*) *Jamblichus.*

(*o*) Clemens Stromat. *l.* 6.

35. The most antient Government of *Ægypt*, though Monarchicall, yet left not Princes to the liberty of their own wills, which were restrained by the Laws and Customs, that had such authority over their private and domestick actions, as they could not exceed the bounds of Temperance and Moderation prescribed to them thereby. For no slaves were they suffered to entertain, which might prove instruments for debaucherie, but were attended by the Sons of the most noble Priests, excellently educated. Their hours, both night and day, were destined and set over to particular businesses. In the morning when first awake, Letters were brought in to them; that, having perfect intelligence, they might be better able to provide for the publick safety. When washed

The antient Government of *Egypt*.

washed and royally apparelled they sacrificed; during which devotion the chief Priests prayed for them, and their subjects extolled their vertues, cursing at last their sins of ignorance, committed without their faults, and reflecting upon their Advisors and Councellors. Then did the Priests read out of the Records, famous Presidents of Council, or Action performed by their most Illustrious Predecessors, which were to them proposed as Copies to take out. Their time was prescribed, not onely of speaking to the people, and distributing Justice, but also of walking, washing, and other more secret imployments. Their diet was very moderate: usually Veal and Goose, with a moderate quantity of Wine, as if ordered by an exact Physician. No liberty was there of punishing any man in passion, or choler, either of acting any otherwise unjustly; every case being determined by the Laws. Yet neither did they hereby account themselves straitned of true liberty, but rather happy in that they indulged not their appetites like other men. Hereby obtained they the love of their subjects who held them more dear, alive, or dead, than their own relations, and the Government continued for many Generations, as long as they submitted to those Rules and Orders.

The divisions of the Land, and its Inhabitants.

36. *Sesoosis*, or *Sesostris*, divided *Egypt* into 36 *Nomi*; which word, whether *Greek*, or *Egyptian*, signified several Cities with certain Villages and Grounds thereto belonging. Of these, 10 belonged to the Province of *Thebes*, or to *Thebais*, other 10 to *Delta*, and the rest to the *Midland Countreys* lying betwixt them; all which had their several *Nomarchæ*, or Governours, who ruled them, and took care of the King's Tributes. The Lands were divided into three portions, whereof the *first* belonged to the Priests, who were in great Authority, and high esteem with the people. Of their Revenues they maintained Sacrifices throughout the Land, and their own families; being exempted from all burthens and impositions. They were chief Counsellors to the Kings, always assisting with their advice, judging of things out of their deep skill in Astrology, and suggesting usefull matter out of the Records; their function hereditarily descending upon their Children. The *second* portion of Land belonged to the Kings, by which they maintained their State, waged War; rewarded deserving persons, and which affording them sufficient Treasure, they burthened not their Subjects by any Taxes. The *third* portion belonged to the Souldiers, who were at all occasions ready for the War; it seeming reasonable that such as ventured their lives for the safety of their Countrey should be well rewarded; and good policy not to commit the safeguard thereof to any that had nothing dear, or precious in it: and hereby they were incouraged to be carefull in behoof of their posterity which succeeded them in their possessions. As for the rest of the people, they were divided into three Ranks, or Orders, *viz. Shepheards*, *Husband-men* (that farmed the grounds), and *Artificers*; who all attending their businesse, and not medling with State-affaires, neither having any right to Offices, thereby the more improved their Arts, and saved the Commonwealth harmlesse from such distempers, as are bred by the violence of an heady, and ignorant multitude.

Diodorus *lib.* 1. *p.* 35. &c. Strabo *l.* 17. Aristot. Oeconom. *lib.* 2. Diodorus.

The Courts of Justice.

37. Their Courts of Justice were furnished with the most upright, and able men that could be procured. Thirty Judges were chosen from *Heliopolis* (or *On*), *Thebes*, and *Memphis*, each of them 10. Which Assembly would not give place, either to that of the *Areopagites* at *Athens*, or the Senate at *Lacedæmon*. One of these thirty being chosen President, the Citie for which he served made choice of another to sit in his place. All had maintenance from the King; but the President in larger proportion: who also wore about his neck, in a Chain of Gold, an image of *Truth* made of precious stones, as a badge of his Office. When they were sate and the Codes, wherein the Laws were contained, laid before them; then the Plaintiff exhibited his Bill of the Crime, the manner of it, and the estimate of the dammage. The Defendant having a Copy of the Bill answered particularly to it, either that he did not the thing, committed no Crime in doing it, or else had not deserved so great a punishment. The Plaintiff had liberty to reply, and the other to rejoyn

joyn his answer; but after this, the 30 proceeded to judgement, and the President set the image of Truth towards one of the parties. No Lawyers were suffered to plead, as being thought rather to cast a mist upon the Cause, and darken the Evidence.

Particular Laws.

38. As for particular Laws; Perjury was punished with death as a great offence, both against God and man. If one man suffered another to be murdred in the high-way, or undergo any other violence, without giving his assistance, he was to die for it; and if he could give him no help, he was bound to discover the Robber, and follow the Law against him, under pain of enduring a certain number of stroaks, and being deprived of all sustenance for three dayes. False accusers underwent the punishment due to that fault they accused of. Every one was bound to give in an account to the Magistrate how he lived under pain of death; which Law was made by *Amasis*. Wilfull murder, either of Bond, or Free, was death; onely this Law took no hold on Parents; but such were constrained to continue three dayes imbracing the Carkeises. Against Children who killed their Parents most exquisite punishment was devised: for, having first their flesh all cut and slashed, and then being laid upon Thorns, they were burnt quick. Women condemned were not executed before their delivery. For other Laws not-Capital, it was enacted that Souldiers running from their Colours, or disobeying their Officers should not dye; but be branded with infamy, as a means to excite them to regain their former credit. If any held intelligence with the Enemy, his Tongue was to be cut of his head. They that imbased the Coyn, used new weights, counterfeited Seals; Clarks that falsified and forged Records, were to loose their hands. Ravishment of a free woman was punished with the losse of the Members. Adultery of the man, with 1000 stroaks with a Rod; of the woman, with the losse of her Nose.

39. *Bocchoris* enacted, that he who denied the borrowing of any money should be absolved upon his Oath; which was accounted as a sufficient purgation; a mans credit being so much therein concerned. Usury upon Bond was not to exceed the double of the principal; for which it was lawfull to distrain the goods, but in no wise to meddle with the person of the debtor that was owing to his Countrey, and not due to his Creditor; especially if a Souldier, the common safety suffering in him. Upon this account, they were wont to scoff at the Lawgivers of *Greece*, who forbade seizing upon Plows, Weapons, and other things, but suffered those that should use them to be carried away, and imprisoned. For stealing, they had a peculiar Law: Every Thief entered his name with the Chief of that mystery; and when he had stoln any thing carried it streight to him, where, if any one could tell the time, and place, and prove it by certain tokens to be his, he was to pay the fourth part of the value, and receive it again; the Law-giver thinking this the best remedy against what otherwise could not be prevented.

The Lawgivers of Egypt.

40. The first man that gave Laws to the *Egyptians* was *Mnevis*, perswading the people to receive them, because they were communicated to him by *Mercury*. The second was *Saysches*, who amongst other Laws instituted those concerning religion; and, being a man of great learning, taught Geometry and Astronomy. 3. *Sesostris*, who as he excelled all others in military glory, so he made Laws for the Discipline of War. 4. *Bocchoris*, a wise and prudent man, several of whose Apothegms were a long time preserved in the memories of men. 5. *Amasis*, who much amended the whole policy of *Egypt*, his rare wisdom having preferred him to that high Dignity, for which also being admired abroad as well as at home, he was resorted to by some out of *Greece* as an Oracle. Lastly, *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, King of *Persia*.

Particular customs of the *Egyptians*.

41. As for particular Customs. The *Egyptians* married as many wives as they pleased (posterity being with them a thing of greatest consequence) except the Priests, who were allowed but one apiece. Children born of bond-women, and free, were alike respected, and equally legitimate, the father by them being onely accounted the author of Generation, the mother affording

ing but place and nourishment to the Child; in which respect also, contrary to the custom of other Nations, those Trees that bare fruit they accounted Males, and the barren ones Females. Their Children they educated exceeding hardly, the expence of bringing one up not exceeding twenty drachms. Each Child succeeded his Father in his Trade, or course of life. All sorts had some kind of learning, especially such as conduced to their callings. Musick was neglected by them as rendring men effeminate. Once a moneth they used to purge, or use some Medicinal course for their health. With them no Physician was found (as *Herodotus* writeth) who professed the Art of curing the whole body; but one was for the head alone, another for the eyes, and so for the other parts: all which yet, as *Diodorus* hath it, were nourished of the publick, and bound to observe Methods, and Medecines prescribed them in books; which if they altered or changed, upon the miscarriage of the Patient they forfeited their lives together with their credit.

42. Such was the constitution of the *Egyptian* Commonwealth as they themselves related, which from some gaineth little credit, this constitution of policy hardly agreeing with the manners of those Kings that built the Pyramids; so that to them this excellent model of Government seemeth to be of the same nature, and credit with the * *Cyropædia* of *Xenophon*. This is observable, that according to this constitution the propriety in the Land was carried from that form wherein it was left by *Joseph*, who purchased all the Land (except that of the Priests) for *Pharoh*, and made the King absolute Lord thereof. The fond and ridiculous superstition, which possessed this people above others taketh off much from its reputation. That sordid, and degenerate humour of consecrating, with such blind earnestnesse, *Bulls*, *Sheep*, *Dogs*, *Cats*, *Ichneumons*, *Ibis*, *Gosshawks*, *Eagles*, *Goats*, *Wolves*, *Crocodiles*, * *plants* that grew in their Gardens, and other things, is so abominable at the first sight, as none of their pretences can give thereto the least shew of reason, in the opinion of a man but ordinarily qualified with the light of nature.

Their ridiculous superstition.

* *Vide Judicium* Jacob. Cappelli *in Hist. sacra & Exotica ad* A.M. 1931.

* *Porrum aut cepe nefas violare aut frangere morsu. O Sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis Numina!* *Juvenal. Satyr.* 15.2.9.

Ah! what a thing is man devoid of Grace,
Adoring Garlick with an humble face:
Begging his food of that which he may eat,
Starving the while he worshippeth his meat.
Who makes a Root his God. How low is he,
If God and man be sever'd infinitely?

What wretchednesse can give him any room,
Whose house is foul while he adores his Broom.
None will believe this now, though mony be
In us the same transplanted foolery.

Mr. *Herbert* in his Church Militant.

CHAP. V.

The most Ancient state, and condition of Greece, *during the* Babylonian *Empire, with a Description of its Kingdoms and Commonwealth.*

SECT. I.

The State of *Greece* in General.

1. THe most Ancient common name of the inhabitants of this Countrey is more agreeable to the *Roman* Appellations of *Graii*, *Græci*, and *Grajugenæ*, than that whereby they have rather chosen to call themselves, *viz.* *Hellenes*. For, till * such time as *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, which hapned some years after the *Deucalionean Deluge*, no such name as the later was known. From him his Subjects, who inhabited that part of *Thessaly*, being betwixt the two Rivers * *Peneus* and *Asopus*, were first called *Hellenes*, being formerly known by the name of *Græci*; and the Countrey it self *Hellas*, afterwards named *Phthiotis*. *Homer* owneth none by the name of *Hellenes*, but those, who with the *Myrmidons*, amongst others, followed

Whence the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*.

* *Vide Apollod. lib.* 1. *c.* 21. *Thucyd. l.* 1. *in præfat. Aristot. de Meteoris l.* 1. * Strabo *l.* 8. *p.* 383. A. Ἕλληνοι.

followed *Achilles* to the Siege of *Troy*, neither any place calleth he *Hellas*, but onely one in *Thessalie*, mentioned by *Strabo*, who knoweth not whether it be a Town or Country, though he would gladly prove, that, by *Hellas*, *Homer* understood the whole Nation. *Strabo* is in no wise to be heard against *Thucydides*, and *Apollodorus*, whereof the former witnesseth, that the Poet no where mentioneth the *Barbarians*, because all the *Hellenes* were not yet known by one common name, whom he might oppose against them; and the later expressely saith, that he onely called those in *Thessalie* by the name of *Hellenes*. But though in *Homer's* time the whole Nation might begin to be called *Hellenes*, and the Country *Hellas*; yet clear it is from many witnesses, that these names came out of *Thessalie*, and were thence transferred to signifie the whole Nation, and their Colonies placed elsewhere; insomuch, that prideing themselves, as it were, in it, they wholly rejected the other of *Græci* (which signifying *antient*, as it seemeth, they had also out of *Thessalie* from the same people) who were afterwards called *Hellenes*; though the Poets despise it not, as *Callimachus*, *Sophocles*, and others; and the *Latins* still retain it, taking no notice of the other in their Language, whence these words *Greece* and *Græcians* are derived.

SECT. I.

Vide Strab. *lib.* 8. *p.* 370. *A.*

2. *Greece* was not anciently inhabited in any setled or established way, though in after ages it became so famous in it's flourishing Common-wealths. Seats and habitations were often changed, according to the power and strength of such as were not satisfied with their own fortune. No commerce was there amongst them, being in continuall fear one of another: they lived onely from hand to mouth, not regarding money, or the improvement of their grounds, knowing not how long they should enjoy any thing in present possessions; so that no considerable City was there, or any Fortifications of value. *Attica* indeed was something priviledged by it's barrenness, and secured from such violent attempts as other parts were obnoxious to; whence such, as were disturbed elsewhere, flocked thither, and it grew so populous, that not able to maintain the great numbers, under which it groaned, it poured out Colonies into *Asia* the lesse, which made up the body of the *Ionians*. Before the *Trojan* War, nothing considerable was done abroad by the *Græcians*; but at that time having got some power at Sea, they were rendered capable of that expedition. For *Minos* King of *Crete*, (whom *Thucydides* would make to have had the first and most antient Fleet of all others) had not long before obtained the dominion of the greatest part of the *Greek* Sea, and making himself Master of the Islands *Cyclades*, cast thence the *Carians*, and placed Colonies of his own therein, over which he made his Sons Princes. And, to increase his Customs, he scoured the Seas of Pyrats; it being then the trade of those that lived upon the Coasts, to passe over and make prey one of another; which to the last could not be left by some, as the *Ætolians* and *Acarnanians* amongst others.

Thucyd.

The most antient *Greeks* lived in an unsetled condition, preying one upon another.

Nothing considerable done by them abroad till the *Trojan* War.

A. M. 2773.

3. The Sea being cleared, Cities began to be built upon the Coast both for trade and security, whereas the more antient Towns stood at a good distance from the Sea, both in the Continent and Islands. Then came it to passe, that the weaker submitting themselves to the more powerfull for matter of profit, or the other by strong hand procuring it from them, some new and considerable Principalities were erected, which rendred them fit for the Expedition against *Troy*; wherein *Agamemnon* præsided, as the most powerfull Prince then reigning, especially at Sea. Yet was there still such scarcity of money and of provisions, that onely so many Forces did they carry over, as they hoped the War might maintain, and used those not all together, and at the same time, but employed them in tilling the *Cherronesus*, and in depradations; whereby being thus dispersed, the *Trojans* were the longer able to resist them; which they could not have done, had they been sufficiently furnished with necessaries, and incontinently with all their strength fallen upon the City. Ten years being consumed in this War, great alterations were thereby produced in *Greece*. For through their absence so long abroad, seditions and tumults arose at home; whence many at their return, or afterwards,

Cities begin to be built upon the Sea-Coasts.

The *Græcians* maintained themselves by tillage and plunder at the Wars of *Troy*.

A. M. 2821.

SECT. I.

Great changes caused at home by their so long absence.

wards, were forced to seek out new habitations. A long time it was, ere the Country returned to quietnesse and settlement; but at length, it was inabled to send out Colonies as the *Athenians* into *Ionia* and the *Islands* of the *Greek* Sea, the *Peloponnesians*, and some other Cities, into *Italy* and *Sicily*. The Nation growing now stronger and wealthier daily, Tyrannies or petty Kingdoms were erected in every place, there being now a possibility of raising revenues; and as any exceeded others in power or cunning, they invaded the Governments of others, which they made arbitrary; whereas before Kingdoms were hæreditary with a constant limited power, that they seldom exceeded.

The *Corinthians* first eminent at Sea.

A. M. 3353. D. C. 102. Manassis. 50.

4. The *Corinthians* first began to be famous at Sea, being the first that used that sort of Gallies camed *Triremes*, and fought a battel with the *Corcyreans*, 220 years before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War. For being seated in the *Isthmus*, they enjoyed thereby a constant Mart, which filled them with wealth, especially after the Sea was cleared of Pyrats, and Traffick increased. Long after, the *Ionians* got the start of the rest in navall glory, making good progresse therein, and had gone still further, but that *Cyrus* having broken in pieces the power of *Crœsus*, and subdued all as far as the River *Halys*, forced them also, after some strugling, to submit themselves unto the yoak:

The *Ionians*.

A. M. 3462.

A. M. 3473.

Polycrates and others.

After them, *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samus*, the *Massilians* and *Corcyreans* obtained the greatest power at Sea; the *Ægyptians* and *Athenians*, with the rest, being inconsiderable therein, till these two States falling out, *Themistocles* procured the *Athenians* to apply themselves more to Sea matters, when they now also expected the coming of the *Persian* King. Great commodity all these obtained by the power of their Navies, either in getting money, or new possessions; for they subdued the Islands, such especially labouring herein, whose native Soils afforded least advantage. By Land no War arose that gave any sufficient advantage of inlarging their dominions further, than to the disturbance of their next Neighbours; they stirred not abroad nor gave their minds to any new Conquests. Those that were Subjects, were patient under the yoak, and Equalls in power made no considerable quarrells, till all *Greece* came to be divided in the old War, betwixt the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*. Then to hinder them from growing great, the affairs of the *Persians* were advanced; till having cast out their Tyrants, (who all this while contenting themselves with the private power they had over particular places, stirred not) they got ground by little and little of the Eastern Empire.

No War by Land.

Almost during this whole Period had they * no written Laws, *Homer* being witnesse, who never useth the word * *Law* throughout his writings. They were not generally governed but by indefinite Sentences and Præcepts of their Kings, remaining a long time without any written Præcepts, and referring all to the event, according to which Judgment insued. Such was the most antient condition of *Greece* in generall. Now a particular account is to be given of the severall Kingdoms and States, that were most considerable and contemporary with the *Babylonian* Empire.

* No written Laws.

* Joseph. contra Apion. l. 2.

SECT. II.

The *Sicyonian* Kingdom.

The *Sicyonian* Kingdom most ancient.

1. THe affairs of the *Sicyonian* have the (*a*) first place allotted to them in Antiquity, who inhabited a City situated upon the *Bay* of *Corinth*, and the confines of *Achaia*. Here *Ægialeus* began a Kingdom about 270 years after the universall Deluge, 232 before the beginning of *Inachus*, 1213 before the first *Olympiad*, the year of the World 1915, according to the Vulgar way of computation, without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the History of the *Judges*, and the 859th year of *Noah*) whilst *Ninus* reigned in *Assyria*. From him the City was first called *Ægialia*, and part of

(*a*) Euseb. in Chronic. August. de civit. Dei. l. 18. Pausan. in Corinthiacis. p. 49. Edit. Græc. Francofurti. 1583.

Ægialeus the first King.

A. M. 1915.

SECT. 2.

Europs. *Telchines* *Apis.* *Thelxion.* *Ægyrus.* *Thurimachus.* *Leucippus.* *Peratus.* *Plemnæus.* *Orthopolis.*

of the *Peninsula* it self according to some; which afterwards was from *Pelops* named *Peloponnesus*. He left his Kingdom to *Europs* his Son, after he had reigned 52 years, and *Europs* having reigned 45, was succeeded by *Telchines*. He governed 20, and was followed by *Apis*, who was so great, that all within the Isthmus was from him called *Apios*. When he had continued 25 years, his Son *Thelxion* succeeded him, during whose reign, all things were so prosperous and happie, that being dead, they worshiped him for a god by sacrifices, and solemnizing games, which (as they say) were first invented for his sake. Him followed *Ægyrus*, after he had reigned 52 years. *Ægyrus* or *Ægydrus*, reigned 33, *Thurimachus* 45, *Leucippus* 53, who had onely a Daughter named *Calchinia*, on which *Neptune* (or rather *Mesapus*) begat *Peratus*, who was Heir to his Grand-father, and governed 47 years. After *Peratus* followed *Plemnæus*, whose children all died as soon as they were born, till *Ceres* came in the likenesse of a Woman, and brought up *Orthopolis*, who succeeded his Father, having reigned 48 years.

Coronus. *Corax.* *Epopeus.*

2. *Orthopolis* the twelfth King of *Ægialea*, had a Daughter named *Chrysorthe*, on which *Apollo* is supposed to have begot *Coronus* his successor. *Coronus* left two Sons *Corax* and *Lamedon*. *Corax* after he had reigned 30 years, died without issue, and *Epopeus* a *Thessalian* seized on his Kingdom. *Epopeus* stole *Antiopes* the Daughter of *Nycteus* King of *Thebes*, for which injury he was prosecuted with War by the *Thebans*. A battell being fought, he had the better, but both the Kings were mortally wounded. *Nycteus* presently died after he was carried home, but left the tuition of *Labdacus* the Son of *Polydorus* and Nephew to *Cadmus*, (whose Guardian he had been) to his Brother *Lycus*, requesting of him to lead down another Army into *Ægialea*, to revenge him upon *Epopeus*, & to punish *Antiope*, if he could take her; but in the mean time *Epopeus* died also of his wounds, being neglected, and *Lamedon* the Son of *Coronus* obtained his Fathers Kingdom, gave up *Antiope* to *Lycus*, as *Pausanias* writeth, though *Apollodorus* saith, that *Lycus* took *Ægialea* and slew *Epopeus*. *Antiope* in the way to *Thebes* fell in travell, and brought forth *Amphion* and *Zethus*, who being found and nourished by an Herdsman, the former gave himself to Musick, and the later to nourishing of Cattell; and both afterwards revenged their Mother upon *Lycus* and his Wife *Dirce*, from whose hard usage she had escaped and came to them.

Lamedon.

A. M. 2616.

Sicyon, from whom the City was named.

3. *Lamedon* maried *Phemo* the Daughter of *Clytius* an *Athenian*, and undertaking War against *Archander* and *Architeles* the *Achæans*, sent for *Sicyon* the Son of *Metion* and Nephew of *Erechtheus*, out of *Attica* to assist him, to whom giving his Daughter *Zeuxippe* in mariage, he left him also his Successor. From *Sicyon* the City was named *Sicyon*, and the Country named *Sicyonia*. He had a Daughter named *Chthonophyle*, on which *Mercury* begat *Polybus*; after whose birth she was maried to *Phlias* the Son of *Dionysius*, and to him bore *Androdamas*. *Polybus* succeeding his Grand-father, left also his Grand-Son *Adrastus* (by his Daughter, maried to *Talaus* King of *Argos*) his Heyr, who being expelled his own City, had fled to him. But he making his peace at home returned, and after his departure *Inachus* the Nephew of that *Clytis* whose Daughter maried with *Lamedon*, came out of *Attica* and obtained the Kingdom. After *Janiscus* had reigned 42 years, he gave way by death to *Phæstus*, one vulgarly accounted the Son of *Hercules*, who after eight years, at the direction of an Oracle, went over into *Crete*, where he built a City of his own name.

A. M. 2656.

Polybus. *Adrastus.* *Janiscus.* *Phæstus.*

Zeuxippus. *Hippolytus.* *Polyphides.* *Pelasgus.*

4. After his departure *Zeuxippus* the Son of *Apollo* by the Nymph *Syllis*, was King of *Sicyon*; but reigned not long, *Hippolytus* Nephew to *Phæstus* by his Son *Rhopalus*, obtained his Grand-Fathers seat. Against him *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ* made War, till he forced him to submit. After four years succeeded *Polyphides*, and continued 31, then *Pelasgus* 20, and after this * *Eusebius* would have *Zeuxippus* to have begun his reign, which after 32 years ended with the Kingdom. It having now continued the space of 962 years, the Priests of *Apollo Carnius* obtained the Soveraignty, and held

A. M. 2846.

* *Ex Castore Rhodio Chronographo.*

The Priests of *Apollo Carinus.*

Sect. 3. held it 33. But *Pausanias* writeth, that when *Laceſtades*, the ſon of *Hippolytus* reigned at *Sicyon*, *Phalces* the ſon of *Temenus* (who had been King of *Argos*) ſeized upon it with the *Dores* in the night time; but, for that both of them were deſcended of *Hercules*, dealt not roughly with him, but admitted him to partnerſhip in the Kingdom. So, from thenceforth the *Sicronians* became *Dores*, and were reckoned amongſt the *Argives*. This fell out 87 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, 120 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A. M. 2908. A.M.2908.

Laceſtades. Phalces ſeizeth upon *Sicyon.*

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of *Argos.*

The Kingdom of *Argos* hath the ſecond place, if not the firſt.

THe (*a*) ſecond place in Antiquity belongeth to this Kingdom, for which (*b*) ſome have not been wanting to challenge the firſt, affirming that many years after the eſtabliſhment of this, *Ægialeus* began that of the *Sicyonians*; and certainly though *Argos* miſſed ſomething of *Sicyon* in years; yet in fame, dignity, power, and riches it exceeded it. *Inachus* firſt here began a Kingdom, about 244 years after the beginning of the *Sicyonian*, the 142 of the life of *Abraham*, 676 before the deſtruction of *Troy*, and 1082 before the beginning of the *Olympiads*. From the Antiquity of *Inachus* came that proverb *Inacho antiquior*, concerning which *Eraſmus* is to be conſulted in his *Adages*. On his ſiſter *Meliſſa* he begat *Phoroneus* and a daughter named *Io*, which muſt not be confounded with the daughter of *Jaſus* of a later date, as ſhe is wont to be by *Mythologiſts*. After fifty years reign, he left his Kingdom to his ſon *Phoroneus*, who by (*b*) ſome was thought the firſt man, as the ſon of a *River* in that place, called *Inachus*, and conſequently the father (*c*) of Mortals, and Author of Mankind. He is ſaid to have (*d*) built the firſt Altar unto *Juno*. Againſt him and the *Parrhaſians*, the *Telchines*, and *Caryatæ* made War; but being overcome betook themſelves to the mercy of Wind and Sea, and at length arrived in *Crete*, as ſome, or *Rhodes*, as others ſay. He obtained the Dominion of the whole *Peninſula* and of the Nymph *Laodice* (*e*) begot a ſon called *Apis*, and a daughter named *Niobe*, which *Jupiter* loved the firſt of all women, and on her begat *Argus*. *Phoroneus*, after he had reigned ſixty years, died, and left his Kingdom to his ſon *Apis*.

(*a*) *Euſeb. in Chronico.*
(*b*) *Vide Ludov. Vivem in Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei lib.18. cap.3.*
A.M.2149.
Inachus.
Phoroneus.
(*b*) *Pauſan. in Argolicis p.58.*
(*c*) *Clemens Stromat. l.1.*
(*d*) *Nonius.*
(*e*) *Oroſius l. 1. cap.7. Apollodorus lib.2.*

2. *Apis* turning Tyrant, commanded the *Peninſula* to be called after himſelf, *Apios*, and being circumvented by the wiles of *Thelxion*, and *Telchin*, died without iſſue after he had reigned 34 years. *Apollodorus* ſaith, he was killed for his Tyranny in *Greece*, though ſome make him to have gone into *Egypt*, and there dying to have been taken for a God, and called *Serapis*; but there being two Kings of this name beſides him, *viz.* one of *Sicyon*, and another of *Egypt*, moſt Mythologiſts confound them, and attribute what was done by all unto one; which thing is uſual with the *Greeks*. *Apis* dying after he had reigned 34 years, left for his Succeſſor *Argus* his ſiſters ſon by *Jupiter*, the King of *Crete*, who lived about this time. In that Iſland firſt reigned *Cres*, who gave name to it, and was one of thoſe *Curetes* that were ſaid to have hid *Jupiter* from his father *Saturn*, who would have devoured his youngeſt ſon after the other, and nouriſhed him; as alſo to have built the Citie *Cnoſſos*, and the Temple of *Cybele*. With this man, many others are confounded, according to the cuſtom of Poets, who have obſerved no diſtinction in aſcribing to one what many did, and fathering things of their own invention upon the common name of *Jupiter*. A.M.2260.

Apis.

Argus.

Several particular men known to have had the name *Jupiter.*

3. The firſt man known to have had this name was *Ham*, the youngeſt ſon of *Noah*, who was worſhipped for a God under the title of *Jupiter Hammon*. His Nephew *Nimrod*, the firſt King of *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, was ſirnamed

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named *Belus*, and often called *Jupiter Belus*. In *Crete* lived (*f*) one very ancient that hath gone under this name; although as many places have challenged him for their Native, as (*g*) contended for the birth of *Homer*. Some think that he who is reported to have been preſerved, and nouriſhed by the *Curetes*, or the *Idæi Dactyli*, was more ancient than *Niobe*, and therefore make a ſecond *Jupiter* to have lived in *Crete* about 150 years after; who becauſe he was the firſt of this name known to have been extravagant towards women, thence aroſe that ſaying that *Niobe* was the firſt woman beloved by *Jupiter*. *Æolus* the ſon of *Hellen*, and Nephew of *Deucalion*; who lived about *Theſſaly*, and gave name to the *Æoles*, became ſo famous with Poſterity, that they gave him the name of (*h*) *Jupiter* and *Neptune*. *Picus*, King of the *Aborigines* in *Italy*, father to *Faunus*, and ſuppoſed to be begotten by *Saturn*, after he had fled into *Latium* from his ſon *Jupiter*, is alſo called *Jupiter* by (*i*) one, and *Æneas Jupiter Indiges* by the *Romans*. Theſe are ſuch particular men as are known to have had this name, which hath been ſo far advanced as to ſignifie the beſt, and chieſeſt Being, whil'ſt ſuch as at firſt were reverenced for their vertue or power, at length were forgotten to have been mortals.

(*f*) Euſeb.
(*g*) *Vide Pauſan. in Meſſenius p.143.7.*
(*h*) *Idem ibid. p.154.31.*
(*i*) *Apud Sulpitium Dam.*

4. Each Nation of old had its Native *Jupiter*, who was either the Founder thereof, or, living in remote times, was by that Generation, which attributeth immoderate things to Antiquity, elevated into a Deity. Here is to be conſidered what *Annius* his *Xenophon* wrote in his Treatiſe of *Æquivocals*, as he calleth them. The moſt ancient King of any great, and illuſtrious family was wont to be called *Saturn*, the eldeſt ſon *Jupiter*, and the moſt valiant amongſt the Nephews, or Grand-ſons, *Hercules*. *Jupiter* the ancient King of *Crete*, or ſome other, by his great exploits, and well-deſerving of that Age, might gain this credit to his name; or the word *Zeus*, in the *Greek* tongue ſignifying what *Ham* doth import in the other language, the Original of this name may better agree with the name, place, and condition of the ſon of *Noah*. As for *Jupiter* the younger, who is ſuppoſed to have begotten *Hercules* on *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphytrio*, appeareth a meer fiction; ſo valiant a perſon as that Child proved, inhancing the repute of his generation: or if this *Hercules* was not the ſon of *Amphytrion*, but begotten by ſome other man, then was the name of *Jupiter* given to his father to take away the Odium of Baſtardie; it being an ordinary thing for ſuch as were baſe-begotten to be fathered upon *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or *Apollo*.

Whence ſo many.

5. From *Argus* the Citie was named (*k*) *Argos*, before called *Phoronicum* from *Phoroneus*, who firſt gathered the people into it, being before that diſperſed; and made them Laws for Government. From him alſo his Subjects took the name of *Argi* and *Argivi*, and the whole * *Peninſula*, named *Apia* before; he would have called after himſelf *Argos*. In (*l*) his time *Greece* began to be full of Corn, which being aſcribed to his care and induſtry, he was honoured after his death with a Temple and Sacrifice, which worſhip was before given to one *Homogyrus*, killed by a Thunder-bolt, for that he had firſt yoaked Oxen in the Plow. His brother (*m*) was *Pelaſgus*, (ſaid alſo to have been begotten by *Jupiter* on *Niobe*) the father of *Lycaon*, and who gave name to the *Pelaſgi*, a people that firſt inhabited *Arcadia*, (hence called *Pelaſgis* & *Pelaſgia*) afterwards ſpread (*n*) themſelves throughout *Greece*, and ſent Colonies into *Latium*. *Argus*, on his wife *Euadne*, the daughter of *Strymon* begat *Jaſus*, *Peiranthus*, *Epidaurus*, and *Criaſus*. *Jaſus* begat *Agenor*, the father of that *Argus* whom the Poets make all eyes, though ſome report him the ſon of *Areſtor*. *Criaſus* ſucceeded his father after he had reigned ſeventy years, and Governed the *Argives* 54. Two of his brothers are added by *Pauſanias*, viz. *Piraſus* the ſame with *Peiranthus* and *Phorbas*. *Peiranthus* firſt built a Temple to *Juno* at *Argos*, wherein he placed her image made of a wild Pear-Tree, and made his daughter (*o*) *Callithya* called alſo *Callithoe*, and *Io*) Prieſt thereof; which Superſtition being continued for many Ages, all inſtruments publick and private were dated from ſuch or ſuch a year of her Succeſſors, as the cuſtome

From *Argus* the Citie took its name.

(*k*) *Heſychius.*
* *Lege Strabon. lib.3. p.365.*
(*l*) *Auguſt. de civit. Dei l.18. c.6.*
(*m*) *Apollodorus lib.2. initio.*
(*n*) *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l.1.*

Criaſus.

(*o*) *Argol.p.58. 17.*

Euſeb. præp.l.3. Evangel. lib.3.

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ſtome hath been from thoſe of the Kings, or Magiſtrates in other places.

6. That this *Peiranthus* reigned, appeareth no where but in *Pauſanias*, who ſeemeth to make him the immediate Succeſſor of *Argus*, by the name of *Piraſus*. But *Phorbas* ſucceeded *Criaſus*, and reigned 35 years; after him *Triopas* 46. whoſe ſon *Xanthus* being Prince of ſome of the *Pelaſgi*, who went out from *Argos*, ſeized firſt upon part of *Lycia*, and there ſeated himſelf: afterwards he paſſed over into the Iſland *Iſa*, then void of Inhabitants, which dividing amongſt his followers he named *Pelaſgia*, in proceſſe of time called *Lesbos*. *Pauſanias* maketh *Jaſus* and *Agenor* the ſons of *Triopas*, and *Jaſus* to have reigned at *Argos*, though by *Euſebius* he be not reckoned amongſt the Kings. His daughter was the famous *Io*, which being got with Child by *Jupiter*, and thereupon, through the diſpleaſure of *Juno* turned out of her wits, or into a Cow, as the Poets ſing, paſſed over the ſtraits of *Thrace*, to which, upon this occaſion of her Metamorphoſis, was given the name of *Boſphorus*. Then went ſhe down into *Egypt*, where, reſtored to humane ſhape, ſhe brought forth her ſon *Epaphus*, the builder of *Memphis*, and was afterwards taken for a goddeſſe, and called *Iſis*. *Herodotus* leading us out of the Labrynth of fables, relateth that the *Phœnicians* after their removal from the *Red-ſea* (where he thinketh them once to have inhabited) to the *Mediterranean*, applied themſelves unto ſailing, and Traffick from *Aſſyria* and *Egypt* unto other places. On a time coming to *Argos* (which then excelled all *Greek* Cities); on the fifth or ſixth day after they had expoſed their merchandiſe to ſale, many women came to their ſhips to buy what liked them, and amongſt the reſt this *Io*, the Kings daughter. The *Phœnicians* encouraging one another laid hands on thoſe they could catch, and taking her with ſome others, carried them into *Egypt*. This by *Herodotus* is made one of the firſt grounds of envy, betwixt the *Aſiaticks* & *Greeks*; though he confoundeth her with the daughter of *Inachus*, (which is uſual) and the *Greeks*, as *Pauſanias* hinteth, gave another account of her deportation.

Piraſus. Phorbas. Triopas.

Diodorus Siculus *lib.* 5. *pag* 239. *in margine notata*, A.

Jaſus.

Lib. 1. *ad initium.*

7. As *Pauſanias* reckoneth *Jaſus* amongſt the Kings of *Argos* (which after him was, without doubt, called *Jaſos* (*p*) and the Citizens *Jaſii*); ſo he nameth *Crotopus*, his brother *Agenor*'s ſon, for his Succeſſor, whom *Euſebius* will have to have ſucceeded his Grand-father *Triopas*. His daughter *Pſamathe* being with Child by *Apollo*, after her delivery expoſed the Infant, which ſhe named *Linus*. It chanced to be devoured by wilde beaſts; whereat ſhe was ſo troubled, that her father perceiving it, got out the matter, and put her to death, for which *Apollo* brought a plague upon the *Argives*, who, to pacifie him, made great and ſolemn lamentation for the Child, which is not to be confounded with the Poet *Linus*, as ſome ſo order the matter. *Crotopus* having reigned 21 years was followed by *Sthenelas* his ſon, who held the Kingdom for 11. and then left it to his ſon *Galenor*. In his time, *Danaus*, the brother of *Egyptus*, King of that Countrey, having 50 daughters, refuſed to marry them to his brother's 50 ſons, becauſe he was bidden by an Oracle to beware of a ſon in Law, and therefore taking them away with him, failed to *Rhodes*, wherein he built a Temple to *Minerva Lindia*; and thence to *Argos*, where he moved a conteſt with *Galenor* for the Kingdom, as deſcended of *Epaphus*, the ſon of *Io*. Both pleading hard before the people, the cauſe, as doubtfull, was put off till the day following; at what time there came a Wolf and killed an Ox, which was feeding by the Walls. The people took the Wolf to ſignifie *Danaus*, becauſe a ſtranger; and, making this conteſt of the beaſts a leading caſe, decreed the Kingdom to the *Egyptian*.

(*p*) Stephanus.

Crotopus.

Sthenelas. Galenor.

Apollodorus lib. 2.

Diodorus l. 5. *p.* 227. D.

A.M. 2531.

Apollod. ibid. & Pauſan. in Argolicis pag. 61.

Danaus.

8. *Danaus* having obtained the Kingdom, his brother *Egyptus* feared leſt by the marriage of his daughters he might get too great alliance and ſtrength, and therefore ſent down his 50 ſons to *Argos* with an Army, and command, either to marry them, or deſtroy him. They perſwaded their Uncle by fair means to receive them as ſons in Law; but he commanded his daughters that each of them ſhould the firſt night kill her Bridegroom, and gave

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gave them Poniards for that purpoſe. They all obeyed him, except *Hypemneſtra*, (and ſome add *Bebrice*); which, diſmiſſing *Lynceus*, with advice to ſhift for himſelf, was by her Father accuſed, and brought to Judgment; but acquitted by the *Argives*, and afterwards had leave from him, to receive again *Lynceus*, now reconciled to him. As for the reſt of the Siſters, they were beſtowed upon ſuch, as in tryall of Maſteries got the better; and became ſo infamous, that it was believed they were condemned in Hell, to fill with water a Barrell, which having an hole in it, let out as much as it received in.

9. From *Danaus* thoſe who formerly had the name of *Pelaſgiotæ* were called *Danai*. He built the Caſtle, and his Daughters are ſaid to have ſupplied the City with water, by digging of Wells; although (*q*) *Strabo* proveth, that by reaſon of it's ſituation it could never want the commodity of that Element. Having reigned (*r*) 50 years, he died, and was ſucceeded by *Lynceus*, who governed 41, and on *Hypermneſtra* begat *Abas* his Succeſſor. *Abas* ruled 23 years, and begat on his wife *Ocalea*, the Daughter of *Mantineus*, *Acriſius* and *Prætus* Twins. They are ſaid to have ſtrugled in the womb, and did it to purpoſe afterwards for the Kingdom. *Prætus* firſt obtained and held it ſeventeen years, but then was driven from *Argos* by *Acriſius*, and forced to flye into *Lycia*, to *Iobas* his Father-in-Law, King of that Country. From him he returned with armed hand, ſeiſed upon *Tyrinthe*, and afterwards joyned battell with his Brother, wherein they two are reported firſt of all others, to have uſed Targets. The battell ending with æquall ſucceſſe, they came to an accommodation, and divided the Kingdom. *Acriſius* was to ſtay at *Argos*, and *Prætus* to enjoy *Hereus*, *Midæa*, *Tirynthe*, and the maritime parts. *Prætus* had by his wife *Sthenobœa*, a Son named *Megapenthes*, and three Daughters, which being taken with the fury of *Bacchus*, *Melampus* the Poet is ſaid to have cured. *Acriſius* on *Eurydice* begat a Daughter named *Danæ*, and conſulting the Oracle about iſſue-Male, was anſwered that he ſhould have no ſon, but a Nephew by his Daughter, that ſhould procure his death. Hereupon, he ſhut up *Danæ* with her Nurſe in the ground; but *Jupiter* turning himſelf into a golden ſhower, thereby got to her, and begat *Perſeus*. Both Mother and Son were put into an Ark, and caſt into the Sea, which drave them aſhore on the Iſland *Seriphus*, where *Dictys* Brother to *Polydectes* the King, educated the Boy. Being grown up, he made an Expedition into *Africk*, where he ſlew the Gorgon *Meduſa*, being ſent, as the Fable goeth, by *Polydectes*, who ſought to be revenged on him, for hindering him from the Marriage of his Mother; but *Pauſanias* not at all regarding the Fable, writeth, that this *Meduſa* was the Daughter of *Phorchus*, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdom which lay upon the Lake *Tritonis*; that ſhe was wont to go out to hunt and fight with the *Africans*, over which ſhe reigned; but *Perſeus* coming againſt her with choiſe Forces out of *Peloponneſus* (ſo that this Voyage muſt have been after his return thither, and his Grand-Father's death) ſhe was entrapped by him and ſlain in the night. He admiring her beauty, cut off her head, and caried it into *Greece* for a ſpectacle.

(*q*) *Vid.* lib. 8. p. 376, 371.

(*r*) Euſeb. Apollod.

Acriſius and *Prætus.*

Pauſan. *in* Argolicis.

Danaë.

Mother to *Perſeus.*

10. *Perſeus*, after this, married *Andromeda*, (Daughter to *Cepheus*, by *Caſſiopeia*, who reigned at *Joppe* a maritime Town of *Phœnicia*) having firſt ſaved her from being devoured by a Whale. This by one is thus interpreted; That *Phœnix* by her Father's conſent, took her away by force, and carying her in a Ship called the Whale, *Perſeus* ſailing that way, and hearing her lamentations, boarded the Ship, and delivering her out of his hands, married her. After this, he returned to *Siſyphus*, where he revenged upon *Polydectes*, the violence offered to his Mother; and then, with her and his wife, went to *Argos* to ſee his Grand-Father, who being afraid becauſe of the Oracle, departed into *Pelaſgia* (or *Theſſalie*, ſo called, from the *Pelaſgi*, who were now removed thither out of *Peloponneſus*, being a vagabond people, and ſtaying in no place): where when *Teutamias*, King of the *Lariſſeans*, made Games in honour of his deceaſed Father; thither alſo came *Perſeus*, amongſt other

Conon, apud Photium *in Bibliotheca.*

Apollod. *lib.* 2.

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Perseus killeth *Acrisius.*

other lusty and active young Men, and slew his Grand-Father at unawares in the Game, by a stroak of a quoit upon his foot, after he had reigned thirty years.

The Generall Councill of the *Amphyctiones.*

11. Some (*f*) think that rather to *Acrisius* then to *Amphyction* the Son of *Deucalion* (who 182 years before began his reign at *Athens*) the founding of the famous Concill of the *Amphyctiones* is to be ascribed. It seemeth probable, that *Amphyction* first of all assembled it in *Thessalie*, near the Streights of *Thermopyla*, (*Pausanias* writeth to have been the common opinion) and that *Acrisius* thence transferred it to *Delphos* in *Phocis*, where it for the most part assembled; this place being the middle of *Greece*, and, as the *Greeks* thought, of the World it self, where was also the famed Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*. For, These Cities which at first had onely right to send their Deputies to the Coucill, were such as either were seated in *Thessalie*, or near unto it. This was the chief Tribunall of all *Greece*, for deciding of publick and most weighty causes, betwixt the severall Cities, and Common-wealths. The authority thereof was very great; insomuch as it's Decrees have sometimes been executed by the Sword, with the great motions of severall States, some or other scarce ever being wanting to undertake the work. It used to meet twice a year, (and oftener if necessity required) in the beginning of Spring, and Autumne; the Cities sending their Deputies, three, two, or one, according to their bigness. These were called *Pylagoræ*, because they met at *Pylæ*, a place near to the Temple, of which they also had the oversight, and præsided over the Games made in honour of *Apollo Pythius* every other year. This Court continued for many Ages without change, untill the time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, who overthrowing the *Phocians*, in the *Sacred War*; for their Sacriledge outed them and the *Lacedæmonians* their assistants, of their Priviledges of voting therein, and transferred the right to his own Kingdom. Long after, *Augustus Cæsar* innovated again, by removing the *Magnesians*, *Maleans*, and others, from their interest herein, and making *Nicopolis* (a City built by him in memory of his Victory at *Actium*) free of that Society, as *Pausanias* telleth us, who hath also recorded, that in his time, (which fell in with the reign of *Antoninus Pius* the *Roman* Emperour) this Councill was still maintained and kept up, consisting of thirty persons.

(*f*) Lege Strabon. *lib.* 9. *p.* 419, 420.

(1) Lege Paus. *in* Phocicis.

A.M. 2693.

The Kingdom of *Argos* divided.

12. *Perseus*, after that dysaster, which hapned to his Grand-Father, was ashamed to return to *Argos*, his Inheritance, and therefore went to *Tirynthe*, and changed Kingdoms with his Cousin *Megapenthes*. He built *Mycenæ* (so called from his Sword's * *Scabberd*, that fell from him in this place, which thing he took as a sign, that here he should build a City) and making it his seat, therein reigned 58 years. About this time this Kingdom of *Argos*, that had now continued about 544 years, came to be divided into three parts. For *Anaxagoras* the Son of *Megapenthes* contenting himself with a third of his half, gave the other two to *Melampus* the Son of *Amythaon*, and his Brother *Bias*; either for that he (who is said to have found out the way of purging) had cured the Daughters of *Prætus* (Aunts to *Anaxagoras*) of their madnesse, as was told before, or (*x*) invented a Remedy for that distemper, which had seized epidemically upon the women of those parts. But *Perseus* begat of *Andromeda* five Sons: *Perses*, *Alcæus*, *Sthenelus*, *Electryon*, and *Mestor*. Hereof *Perses* the first, as the *Greeks* believed, gave Originall to the *Persians*, *Alcæus* was Father to *Amphytrion*, *Sthenelus* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and *Electryon* begat *Alcmena*, wife to *Amphytrion*. *Sthenelus* on a Daughter of *Pelops* begat *Eurysthеus* his Successor, seven moneths after whose birth *Hercules* the Son *Amphytrion* and *Alcmena* was born. *Aphules* their other Son coming into the World after *Hercules* (for they were Twins) *Amphytrion* was accounted the Father of him, and *Jupiter* of *Hercules*, whereupon, *Juno* is said to have ever hated him, and by the help of *Ilythia*, (*Lucina* or the Moon) to have hindred his birth, and kept his Mother in travell for seven dayes. The Boy was first named *Alcæus* after his Grand-Father; but afterwards, for his great

* μύκη.

(*u*) Apollod. *lib.* 2.

(*x*) Pausan. *ut supra.* Diodor. *l.* 4. *p.* 188.

Hercules.

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great atchievements called *Hercules*, and ascribed to no less a Father than *Jupiter*, who made the night wherein he begat him, as long as three, that his strength might be the greater. That this person was eminent in his time, is easie to be granted; but incredible things contained in twelve labours, being reported to be done by him, are either meant of the passing of the Sun through the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*; or what things were performed by several others that lived elsewhere, have been by his Country-men attributed to him, whose Epithete of *Hercules* (signifying fame and glory spread abroad in the air) came also to be given to them, if the word be of no other than *Greekish* Original.

How many of that name.

13. *Cicero* reckoneth up six who had the name of *Hercules*. The first and most antient, he maketh begotten by the antientest *Jupiter* on *Lipsus*, and to have striven with *Apollo* about the Tripos. The second was an *Ægyptian*, Son to *Nile*, who despised the *Phrygian* Letters. The third a Native of *Crete*, and one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, who first found out the making of Iron, by taking notice of the melting of that Metall in the Hill *Ida* when it burned, and being five in number, had the name of *Dactyli* from the fingers, in number so many on each hand. The fourth was son to *Asteria* the Sister of *Latona*, and Father to *Carthage*, being worshipped by the *Tyrians*. *Belus* in *India* is reckoned for the fifth, and then in the sixth place cometh this Son of *Alcmena*. The *Ægyptian Hercules* is said to have aided the gods in their War against the Gyants, which being the off-spring of the Earth, *Diodorus* acknowlegeth that this cannot agree with the time of the *Grecian Hercules*, who lived but one Age before the *Trojan* War; but rather happened at the original of Mankind.

14. *Hercules* the *Tyrian* is believed to have been the Captain of that Expedition which the *Phœnicians* made into *Spain* and *Gades*, which though the *Grecians* attribute to theirs, yet this convinceth their assertion of falshood, that in the Island *Gades*, was a most antient Temple, wherein *Hercules* was worshipped, not after the *Grecian* manner, but according to the Rites of *Phœnicia*. This was he, who erected his pillars at the bound or unmost limit of the World, and that overran *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*. *Ganchoniathon* a *Phœnician* Author of great antiquity, wrote, that he was the Son of *Demacunus*, and that his proper name was *Melcharthus* (which signified *the King of the City*) by the *Greeks* called *Melicertes* and *Palæmon*. He was also called *Diodas* * by *Eusebius* (for which *Desanaus* is thought to be corruptly written in *Hieron*'s translation) which *Phœnician* name he seemeth to have had, because he was invocated by lovers; their happy successe being supposed to depend on him. Some think this *Tyrian Hercules* was the same with the *Ægyptian* or *Libyan*, by *Pausanias* named *Maceris*, who undertook a journey to *Delphos*, and whose Son *Sardus* leading a Colonie into the Island *Ichnusa*, changed it's name into *Sardinia*. *Tacitus* * writeth, that the *Libyans* would have the most antient *Hercules* a native of their Country, and that such as came near him in valour and renown, were named after him. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Eusebius* mention three of this name, (though the former attributeth all their actions to the youngest, or the Son of *Alcmena*) *Servius* four, and *Varro* 44. And here must be remembred what was before noted; that it was the custom of old, to call the most antient Kings by the name of *Saturn*, their Sons by that of *Jupiter*, and their most valiant and active Nephews by this of *Hercules*.

* *Consule* Bocharti *Canaan* lib. 1. cap. 24.

* *Annal. lib.* 2.

The story of *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena.*

15. This *Heroe* being so much written and talked of, it concerneth beginners to have some account of his actions, and the rather, because they include the labours of many. *Amphytrion* his Father, as it seemeth, was Prince of *Tirynthos*, but thence was forced to flye to *Thebes*, having at unawars killed *Electryon* his Uncle and Father-in-Law, where *Hercules* being educated, slew *Linus* his Musick-Master with an Harpe as he taught him. His Father seeing his disposition, and fearing some such like accident might fall out again, sent him amongst the Herdsmen, where not yet eighteen years old, he slew a Lyon. For his extraordinary strength and courage, he was taken

Apollodorus & Diodor.

ken notice of by *Thespis* (or *Thespius*) Prince of the *Thespienses*, who made him lye with his fifty daughters, of which begetting so many sons, these afterwards passed over into the Island *Sardinia* with the name of *Thespiades*. A little after this he delivered *Thebes* from the Tyranny of *Ergimus*, King of the *Minyans*, who exacted an annual Tribute of 100 Oxen. He destroyed *Orchomenus* with his Palace therein, and for this was rewarded with *Megara*, daughter to *Creon*, Prince of *Thebes*. When he was about 20 years old, he sailed with *Jason* amongst others to *Colchos*, to fetch thence the Golden Fleece so much celebrated by Poets, and variously interpreted by Expositors of Mythology.

16. This *Jason* was the son of *Æson*, and the fourth in descent from *Æolus*, being born at *Iolcus*, which place *Pelias*, King thereof, unjustly detained from his father. He considering with himself what glory *Perseus*, and others of late had gotten, sought how he might accomplish some notable Enterprize for the eternizing of his name, and having at length resolved on this design, published his intentions throughout *Greece*, by a Crier. The young and active spirits of that time were much taken therewith, and 53 of the flowr of *Greece* gave their names to the expedition, of whom the most eminent, besides *Hercules*, were *Orpheus*, (Scholar to *Linus*) *Oileus*, *Telamon*, and *Peleus*, the sons of *Æacus*, *Pollux*, and *Castor*, sons to *Tyndarus*, King of *Sparta*, *Meleager*, and *Argus*, who built the ship, named after him *Argo*, wherein they sailed, and thence were afterwards called *Argonautæ*. Having all things in readiness (*Pelias* supplying *Jason* with all necessaries, to be rid of him, fearing he should call him to account for the Kingdom) they set sail from *Iolcus*, and came to *Lemnus*, an Island in the *Ægæan* Sea, whence they sailed to the Countrey of the *Dolliones*, by whose King *Cyzicus* they were honourably received; but thence lanching out by night, were driven back by Tempest, and being taken by him for the *Pelasgi*, with whom he was at feud, he fell upon them, and lost his life in the fight, with many of his followers; but, his error once understood, was magnificently buried by them. From *Cyzicus* they came into *Mysia*, where *Hercules* for want of skill in rowing brake his Oar, and going into the Woods to provide another, whil'st his companions rested themselves on the shoar, it happened that *Hylas* his Boy drinking at a Fountain, was intercepted by the Nymphs, as the story goeth. Crying out, *Polyphemus*, the son of *Elatus*, who had married *Laonome*, the sister of *Hercules*, ran out to rescue him, and meeting with *Hercules*, went up and down seeking him in great perplexity; so that they were left behind by their companions, whom *Hercules* followed on foot to *Colchos*.

The *Argonautæ*.

Apollonius Rhodius l.1.

Lege Simsonium in Chronico ad A.M. 2743.

Theocritus in Hyla.

17. *Jason* with the rest sailed to *Colchos*, and by the treachery of *Medea*, daughter to *Æetes* the King, that fell in love with him, became master of the Golden Fleece, and returned home with her, having finished his journey in four monethes. They lived hapily at *Corinth* for ten years, till *Creon*, King of that Citie, betrothing his daughter *Glauce* to him, *Medea* was commanded to quit the place; whereupon mad with anger, she set the Palace on fire, and slew her own three sons, which she had by *Jason*; as *Euripides* relateth the story. Who, as it's probable, too much indulgeth his poetick liberty, the *Corinthians* having corrupted him with five Talents, as an antient (*y*) Historian hath discovered. (*z*) *Herodotus* writeth in that a Messenger was sent from *Colchos* to demand *Medea*, but he was put off with this answer, that they of *Asia* had formerly stoln away *Io* from *Argos*. As the *Argonautæ* sailed by *Athos* and *Samothracia*, they were driven by Tempest upon *Sigæum*, a Promontory of *Troas*, (*a*) where they found *Hesione*, daughter to *Laomedon*, King of *Troy*, bound upon the shoar, that she might become a prey to a Whale. This Whale had been sent by *Neptune* to devour Passengers upon the Coast, because (*b*) *Laomedon* with money taken out of the Temples of *Neptune*, and *Apollo*, had built the Walls of the Citie, and made no restitution. *Apollo*, had answered that no way could they be quit of the Whale, but by the devouring of some one chosen out by lot, which fell upon the Kings

(*y*) *Vide Paræmiscum, Scholiis ad Euripidem.*

(*z*) *Lib.1.c.2.*

(*a*) *Diodorus l.1. p.171.*

(*b*) *Vide Pindari interpret. ad Nem.3.*

Kings own daughter. But *Hercules* moved with pity, upon promise to have the maid, and certain horses that never were handled, undertook to kill the Whale, which readily performing, he trusted *Laomedon* with his wages, till his return from *Colchos*. Then he demanded them (*c*) by *Iphicles* his brother and *Telamon*, whom he sent into the Citie, but the King instead of restoring what he formerly detained, imprisoned the Messengers, and plotted the destruction of the whole company. *Priamus* of all his sons was onely against this treachery, and when he could not otherwise prevail, sent in two swords to the prisoners, wherewith they dispatching their keepers, got out to their companions. In revenge for this afterward *Hercules* took the Citie, slew *Laomedon*, and preferred *Priamus* for his integrity to the Kingdom.

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(*c*) *Diodorus ibid.p.175.*

18. The *Argonautæ* being returned into *Greece*, *Hercules* (*d*) took an Oath of them mutually to aid one another, as also to chuse out some certain place, wherein to meet and celebrate Games in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*. This matter being left to his care and management, he pitched on the plains of the *Eleans*, lying upon the River *Alpheus*, where he ordained exercises, both to be performed on foot and horse-back, appointed rewards to the Victors, and sent abroad to give notice thereof to the several Cities, which were all hereby wonderfully affectionated towards him. But after *Eurystheus* had succeeded *Sthenelus* his father in the Kingdom of *Mycene*, he began to grow jealous of the strength and prosperity of *Hercules*, and ceased not to presse him forwards into dangerous, though glorious attempts. Hear first refusing went & consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, which is said to have acquainted him with the pleasure of the gods, that at the appointment of *Eurystheus* he should finish twelve labours, and so attain to immortality. Hereat he grew exceeding melancholy, taking it in great disdain to be commanded by him, which discontent arose to a Phrensie, and in this distemper he killed the Children that he had by *Megara*, and put her away; but afterwards coming to his right mind, resolved to venture himself, and returned to *Eurystheus* for his orders.

(*d*) *Idem pag. 178.*

Olympick Games instituted by *Hercules*.

His twelve labours.

19. The * first task imposed on him was to kill a Lyon in *Nemea*, a Wood of *Achaia*, whom no sword nor any other weapon could peirce. Being onely to be mastered by the hand he caught and strangled him, then taking off his skin, thenceforth wore it as a Garment. The second thing injoyned him was to kill an *Hydra* with 100 heads, like Snakes, whereof when one was cut off, two others sprung up in its room. The third was to bring home alive the *Erymanthian* Boar, at the sight of which beast upon his shoulders, *Eurystheus* was so frighted that he ran for fear into a brasen Hogshead; and in this expedition he also overcame the *Centaures*. The next thing commanded him was to catch an Hart of marvelous swiftnesse with Golden horns, which he effected, but in what manner is not agreed on. After this he drave away innumerable companies of Birds from the *Stymphalian* Fens, which there, and in other places devoured the Corn. Then cleansed he *Augeas* his stable; not by carrying the Dung out upon his shoulders, (which indignity was intended him by *Eurystheus*) but by the current of the River *Peneus*, which he brought down thither for that purpose. The seventh thing commanded him was to fetch a wilde Bull out of the Island *Crete*, with which *Pasiphaes* is said to have faln in love: and betwixt this and the next labour he helped the gods against the Gyants, and pacifying *Jupiter* towards *Prometheus*, loosed this man from the place where an Eagle continually fed upon his Liver for his communicating to men the knowledge of fire. The eighth task was to fetch the Mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which had brazen mangers, were tied with Iron chains, and fed not on any other fodder than the flesh of strangers coming that way: But *Hercules* first gave them their masters flesh, and then brought them to *Eurystheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*, and their breed is said to have continued to the time of *Alexander* the Great.

* *Diodorus l.4. p.219.B.*

20. After this it is that *Diodorus* maketh him to have sailed amongst the *Argonautæ* to *Colchos*. Then at the command of *Eurystheus* he warred

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against the *Amazons* in *Africk*, and brought to him the Girdle of *Hippolyta* their Queen. The tenth labour was to fetch the Oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, as the fable goeth; whereas *Geryon* reigned not there, but in that part of *Epirus* which lieth about *Ambracia* and *Amphilochus*, as (e) *Arrianus* witnesseth from the Pen of *Hecatæus* a most ancient Historian, (f) and others do testifie. There were afterwards in *Epirus* a very large sort of Oxen, called *Larini*, thought to be of that kind which *Hercules* drove away, and to have had this name from *Larinus* his herdsman. Seeing then that this occasion of invading *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul* is taken away from this *Hercules*, that expedition is to be left to the *Phœnician*, to whom formerly we ascribed it. But *Hercules* is farther said in this journey to have slain *Antæus*, to have gone down into *Egypt*, and made an end there of *Busiris* that cruel Tyrant, and erected his Pillars in the utmost bounds of the World. Within eight years and one moneth he finished these his ten labours. After his return he was enjoyned to fetch *Cerberus* out of Hell, which having accomplished, the 12th was the fetching of the Golden *Hesperian* Apples; which, whether they were such, and were kept by a terrible Dragon, or by them is to be understood Herds of Cattel defended by some strong and valiant man, he also brought out of *Africk* to *Eurystheus*. Those are his 12 labours, as *Diodorus* describeth, and ranketh them.

(e) *L. 2. Anab.*
(f) *Eustathius in Dionysium Periegetem.*
Athenæus lib. 9.
Scholiastes in Aristoph. Aves.
Suidas.

His other acts.

21. Having served *Eurystheus* twelve years, he returned to *Thebes*, and there gave *Megara*, whom he had put away, to *Iolaus*, the son of his brother *Iphicles*. He had now no legitimate issue, and therefore married *Deianeira*, daughter to *Oeneus*, King of the *Calydonians*, to pleasure whom he derived the River *Achelous* into another Chanel, and thereby rendred the Countrey more fertile; whence the fable arose that he fought with *Achelous*, turned into a Bull, and cutting off one of his Horns, gave it to the *Ætolians* (part of whom the *Calydonians* were) called the Horn of *Amalthea*, wherein was plenty of all fruits. Before this he had won *Iole*, the daughter of *Eurytus* Prince of *Oechalia*, by shooting, which exercise her father had proposed to all comers against himself and his son. Yet was he denied her, whereupon to be revenged on *Eurytus*, he drove away his Horses, and carrying his son *Iphitus*, who was sent to seek them, up into a Tower to see if he could make any discovery of them, when he could not espy them, as if he had wrongfully accused him of theft, he threw him down headlong. For this he was struck with a disease, and had answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, that if he would be freed from it he must be sold, and the price given to the Children of *Iphitus*. He then passing over into *Asia*, willingly permitted one of his friends to sell him, and was bought by *Omphale*, Queen of the *Mæonians*, to whom her husband *Tmolus* had left the Kingdom. Being freed from his disease, he did his Mistresse great service, killing many of the famous Robbers, called *Cercopes*, and bringing some of them alive unto her. *Omphale* admiring his acts, after she knew who he was, gave him his liberty, and took him to her bed. Of her he begat *Lamus*, having already a son by his fellow slave, named *Cleolaus*: he served her three years, and then returning into *Peloponnesus*, went against *Laomedon* King of *Ilium*, as some rank the series of his actions.

Diodorus & Apollodorus.

22. Some years after, having subdued several persons, and Cities in *Greece*, he joyned the *Arcadians* and others to him, and went with an Army against *Eurytus*, whom he slew with his three sons, and taking away *Iole*, came to *Cenæum*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*. Here being about to sacrifize, he sent *Lichas* his servant to *Trachine* for his Shirt and Coat, wherein he was wont to perform that religious work. From *Lichas*, *Deianeira* learning how *Iole* was taken, and fearing to be robbed by her of her husbands affections, annointed his Shirt with a poyson given her by *Nessus*, the *Centaure*, as he was dying (who would have ravished her; and for that was killed by *Hercules*) perswading her that it was an oyntment Efficacious to procure love. As soon as the Shirt touched his body the venom also seized on it, wherewith being grievously tormented he dismissed his Army, and returned to *Trachines*, where the dis-

Diodorus ut prius p. 169. &c. Apollodorus.

His end.

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disease increasing, he sent to enquire of *Apollo* about a remedy. It was answered, he should be carried up to the Mountain *Oeta*, where a great pile of wood being reared, *Jupiter* would take care for the rest. This done, and all hope of recovery past, *Hercules* in his warlike habit cast himself upon the pile, and desired the standers by to put fire to it, which when all his own relations refused to do, *Pœas*, who seeking his Cattel, came that way, as *Apollodorus* writeth, or his son *Philoctetes*, as most deliver, (to whom *Hercules* gave for a reward his Bow and Arrows) set fire to it, which also being kindled with lightning, was presently reduced together with the body into ashes. *Iolaus* finding one of his bones, a perswasion arose, that he past d from amongst mortals to the Gods, as the Oracle had formerly shewed. He commanded that *Hyllus* his son, when he came at age, should marry *Iole*. As for *Deianeira*, she seeing what she had brought upon her husband, out of vexation hanged her self. Thus perished *Alcæus*, Sirnamed *Hercules*, the Son of *Amphytrion* and *Alcmena*, at the age of 52 years, having in a fit of Phrensie, as it's thought, burnt himself. And these are the most remarkable things that are written of him, who lived (according to that Chronology which taketh not in the hundred years formerly mentioned) in the dayes of *Tholah* the Judge of *Israel*.

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What hapned to his children.

23. *Hercules* being dead, his children for some time stayed at *Trachine* with *Ceyces*, the King, till *Hyllus* and others of them were grown up. Then *Eurystheus* began to fear them, and therefore resolving to banish them all out of (g) *Greece* (or rather *Peloponnesus*) sent to *Ceyces*, commanding him upon pain of his displeasure, to remove them together with *Iolaus* and the rest of their Friends. They being unable to make resistance, voluntarily quitted the place, and sent about to the principal Cities to beg harbour, which none would afford them except the *Athenians*, who placed them in *Tricorinth*, one of the four parts of their City. After some time, when they were come to ripenesse of age, and now bare themselves high upon the glory of their Father, *Eurystheus* much more suspecting their growth, lead down a great Army against them; but assisted by the *Athenians* under conduct of their Cousin *Iolaus* and *Theseus*, they overthrew and slew (h) him with all his Sons, and then invaded *Peloponnesus*. Now a Plague seized on the Country, and the Oracle answered, that it was, because they returned thither before their time; whereupon *Hyllus* returned, as some say, and went to *Æpalius* King of the *Dorienses* about *Oeta*, by whom he was (i) adopted, because, by *Hercules* his means, *Ægymius* had formerly recovered his Kingdom; and thenceforth the *Heraclidæ* became imbodied with the *Dorienses*. *Diodorus* writeth, that *Hyllus* provoking some one of his Enemies to a single Combat, upon this condition, that if he overcame, then were the *Heraclidæ* to be Masters of *Mycenæ*, if not, they should depart for fifty years, was slain, and so they accordingly returned, and kept themselves quiet for that time.

(g) *Diodor. l. 4. p. 181.*

(h) *Strabo l. 8. p. 377.*

(i) *Idem lib. 9. p. 417. c.*

Atreus the son of *Pelops.*

24. *Eurisheus* being slain after he had reigned at *Mycenæ* 43 years, (k) *Atreus* the son of *Pelops* succeeded him, who also at this time had the soveraignty of *Argos*. This *Pelops* above an hundred years before (for so famous a Man must not be omitted) being the son of *Tantalus* Prince of *Phrygia*, had made War upon *Ilium*, where after he was put to the worst by *Ilus* the King, he was forced to flye into *Greece*, and coming to *Pisa*, fell in love with (l) *Hippodamia* Daughter of *Oenomaus* Prince of that City, who being warned by the Oracle to take heed to himself, when she should take an husband, had condemned her in his resolutions, to perpetuall virginity. Therefore he admitted no Suter, but on this condition, to run a race with him in the Chariot, and if he won her not, then to suffer death, to which he brought many, through the swiftnesse of his Horses, till *Pelops* (or *Hippodamia* for him) corrupting the Chariot-driver, obtained the Prize, for grief of which, the old man thinking now the Oracle to be fulfilled, hanged himself. *Pelops* then obtained *Hippodamia* and *Pisa* with her, after which, by little and little, he got most of the *Peninsula* into his possessio 1, called after him *Peloponnesus*, wherein he reigned 58 years. Of *Hippodamia* he begot

(k) *Euseb.*

(l) *Diodorus. lib. 4. p. 191.*

Pelops Obtained *Pisa* with most of the *Peninsula.*

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many children, by which he promoted his affairs more than power; for by the marriage of them, he insinuated into the Principalities of most of the Cities. Amongst his Sons the most eminent were *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Pisthenes*. The two former he left his Successors, and *Pisthenes* dying young, left two Boyes to *Atreus*, to be brought up, called *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*. *Atreus* married their Mother, by name *Aërope*, the Daughter of *Minos* King of *Crete*, with whom his Brother *Thyestes* committing Adultery, he first banished, and after recalling him, feasted him with the flesh of his own sons.

25. Some will have *Atreus* to have outlived *Thyestes*; others say, he died before him, and, being reconciled, left him the Kingdom at his death, on this condition, to restore it to *Agamemnon* when he should come to age. After *Eurysthenes* his death, it seemeth, that he became Master of all *Peloponnesus*, and opposed *Hyllus*, who challenging any in his Army, as was said, to a single Combat, *Echemus* King of the *Tegeatæ* in *Arcadia* accepted the challenge, and slew him. He was very skilful in Astrology, being by some reputed the first that discovered the motion of the Sun to be contrary to that of the Starry Heaven, (*m*) and that observed the Eclypse of that luminary. He adopted his two Nephews *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who succeeded him (*n*) seventeen years before the beginning of the *Trojan* War. *Agamemnon* a Man of prudence and courage, obtained not onely *Mycena*, but *Argos* also, with all as far as (*o*) *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and that Country then called *Ionia* and *Ægialea*, afterwards *Achaia*. *Menelaus* got *Laconia*, and their reigned at *Lacedæmon*. For *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus* the King, (*p*) dying before their Father, he sent for him to *Sparta*, and delivered up his Kingdom to him, having first given him his Daughter *Helena*, whom *Paris* the second Son of *Priamus* King of *Troy* (by his wife *Hecuba*) stealing away, gave occasion to the famous ten years War, and the ruine of that City; concerning which something is to be spoken.

Agamemnon & Menelaus.

(*m*) *Servius.*

(*n*) *Clemens in Stromat.*

(*o*) *Strabo ex Homero. lib. 8. p. 377.*

(*p*) *Apollod.*

The Trojan War.

26. The first (*q*) Man reported to have reigned in *Arcadia*, was *Atlas*, who inhabited about the Mountain of *Cancasus*, and had seven Daughters, which made up the *Pleiades*, whereof on *Electra*, *Jupiter* her husband begat *Jasus* and *Dardanus*. *Jasus* lived unmaried, but *Dardanus* had by his wife *Chryse*, the Daughter of *Palaus*, two sons, *Ideus* and *Dimas*, who succeeded *Atlas* in his Kingdom. Afterwards great inundations happening in this Country, they were forced to divide the people into two parts, whereof leaving one with *Dimas* in *Arcadia*, with the other *Jasus*, *Dardanus* and *Ideus* left *Peloponnesus*, and coasting by *Europe*, at length came into the Bay of *Melane*, and arrived at a certain Island of *Thrace*, called *Samo-thracia*, from the Countrey, and a Man's name who inhabited it; one *Samon* the son of *Mercury*, by the Nymphe *Rhene*. Here finding no convenient habitation, the greater part under the conduct of *Dardanus* (for *Jasus* died in the Island, being struck with a Thunder-bolt, because he attempted the chastity of *Ceres*) passed into *Asia*, and landing in the *Hellespont*, seated themselves in *Phrygia*. *Ideus* with part of the Army, setled upon the Mountains, which bore his name, and *Dardanus* in that part of the Country, since named *Troas*, built a City of his own name, having some grounds given him by *Teucer* the King of the place, the Son of *Scamander*, from whom the Country was called *Teucris*, and whose daughter *Batea* he married. He succeeded him in his Kingdom, and changed the name of his Subjects from *Teucri* to *Dardani*, and built the City upon the Sea-side, about the 2530th year of the World, in the dayes of *Sthenelaus* King of *Argos*. On *Batea* he begat his son and successor, called *Erichthonius*, reported by (*r*) *Homer* and others, to have been exceeding rich and fortunate, who on *Callirhoë* the Daughter of *Scamander* begat *Tros*, from whom the Country was named. *Tros* succeeding him begat *Ilus*, *Assaracus* and *Ganymedes*. *Ilus* succeeded him. From *Assaracus* descended *Æneas*. *Ganymedes* for his beauty was stollen by *Tantalus* King of *Phrygia*, and Father to *Pelops*, whence arose a War, in which many lost their lives, and *Tantalus* (though the son of *Jupiter* by the Nymph

(*q*) *Dionysius Halicarnassæus. lib. 1. Diodorus lib. 4. p. 192. & lib. 5.*

The Original of the *Trojans.*

Dardanus.

Erichthonius.

Tros.

Ilus.

(*r*) *Iliad. l. 20.*

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Nymph *Plota*) was beaten out of *Paphlagonia*. *Ilus* built the chief City in the Plain, which though the *Latins* called it *Troja*, and we *Troy* (which names most properly belong to the Country) yet the *Greeks* constantly *Ilium* from him. Against him and it *Pelops* made an Expedition, and miscaried in the successe, as was said before. *Laomedon* his Son succeeded him, who seeking to defraud *Hercules* of his wages, for killing the Whale which should have devoured his Daughter *Hesione*, was outed of his Kingdom and life; and *Priamus* his Son for his love to Justice was placed in his Throne.

Diod. ut suprà. Vide Strabon. l. 13. p. 587. c.

Laomedon.

Priamus.

27. *Podarces* (Sirnamed *Priamus*, as *Apollodorus* writeth) was exceeding rich, and had a large dominion, extending from *Lesbus* and *Tenedos*, to the upper *Phrygia*, containing (*s*) nine divisions, and many Towns besides. He had Fifty Sons, (*t*) whereof seventeen were lawfully begotten. His first wife was *Arisba* the Daughter of *Merops*, on which he begat *Æsacus*. Dismissing her, he married *Hecuba*, the Daughter of *Dymas*, *Cisseus*, or *Sangarius* (all which are mentioned) and by her he had *Hector*, *Paris*, *Helenus*, *Deiphobus*, and others. Before she was brought to bed of *Paris*, she dreamed that she was delivered of a firebrand, which should consume to ashes the whole City. (*u*) *Priamus* hereupon caused the child to be exposed on the Mountain *Ida*, but by the procurement of his Mother, he was educated amongst the Shepherds, whom because he assisted against robbers, and shewed himself very couragious, he obtained the name of *Alexander*. He (whether out of design or no, is uncertain) came to *Sparta* to the house of *Menelaus* the King, and thence stole his wife *Helena*, which some (*x*) report he took away by force, and that after the taking of the City; but (*y*) others affirm of her, as of all others thus taken away, that it was not without her own liking. Fearing he might be persued, he carried her first to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where he married her, and thence to *Troy*, at which City they were scarce arrived, before all *Greece* was in an uproare, as if the whole Country had been overrun. *Agamemnon*, who was much concerned for his Brother, possessing almost all *Peloponnesus*, by his authority easily perswaded other Princes to engage in the quarrell. He first assembled them at (*z*) *Ægium*, a City of *Achaia*, to consult about the management of the War, where being chosen General, they afterwards met at *Aulis*, a Sea-town of *Bœotia* with their Ships, and there sware, never to return home, till *Troy* should bee taken.

(*s*) *Confulas omnia Strabon. l. 13. p. 184.*

(*t*) *Cicero Tuscul. quæst. l. 1.*

(*u*) *Apollod.*

The rape of *Helena.*

(*x*) *Herod. l. 1. c. 3.*

(*y*) *Servius in Virgil. l. 10.*

28. The chiefest of these renowned Warriours were (*a*) *Nestor*, who reigned in *Messenia*, *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* Prince of the Island *Salamine*, *Ajax* the younger, or the son of *Oileus* King of *Locri*, over against *Eubœa*, *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus* by the goddesse *Thetis*, whose principality was *Phthiotis*, part of that Country afterwards called *Thessalie*, *Ulysses* the son of *Laertes* King of *Cephalenia*, *Thoas* the *Æolian*, *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, Sons of the third *Æsculapius*, and *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*, who now inhabited the Island *Rhodes*. They made up amongst them a Navy of about 1000 ships, and therein transported an Army of 120000 men. From *Aulis* they sailed to *Lemnos*, and thence, missing of *Troy*, into *Mysia*, which mistaking for their Enemies Country, they began to make encursions into it, and were beaten back by *Telephes* Prince thereof; all but *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, the former whereof sore wounded him: and *Thersander* (*b*) General of the *Bœotians* here lost his life, into whose room, because his Son *Tisamenus* was but young, they elected *Penelens*. A conflict presently ensued their arrival at *Troy*, wherein *Protesilaus* was slain by a *Dardanian*, as *Homer* calleth him, (either *Hector* or *Æneas*) and then the *Greeks* sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Ambassadors, to demand *Helena*. *Priamus* calling a Council to deliberate about the matter, *Antenor* was for delivering her up, and so were the rest of the grave and ancient Men, though they attributed much to the beauty of the Woman; but *Antimachus* being corrupted by the gold of *Paris*, urged the contrary, and not onely moved to have the message rejected, but the messengers killed.

The names of the chief amongst the Greek Warriours.

(*a*) *Vide Simonium in Chron. Cathol. ad A. M. 2812. &c.*

(*b*) *Pausanias in Bœoticis.*

29. *Priamus*, though otherwise prudent enough, rejected the counsel of the

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the old men, and out of indulgence to his son, sent away the Ambassadors without any satisfaction. Then both parties prepared for the War, and another ingagement followed, wherein the *Greeks* had the better, who then dividing their forces, left part to continue the siege, and with the other, *Achilles* (who took with him *Palamedes*) was sent to harraze the Countrey, and cut off provisions from the Citie. This he so well performed, as he took 23 Towns, and therein got much booty, which was divided. Whil'st *Palamedes* was with him carrying on the War in the Island *Lesbos*, *Ulysses* envying him for his great wisdom, wherein he seemed to overtop him, circumvented him by treachery, and by false suggestions procured him to be sent for to the Camp, and stoned as a Traytor, though he had exceedingly well deserved of the Army, being a person of great courage (which he also expressed at his death) and yet so moderate and wise, that he thereby allayed the too much heat of *Achilles*. To him (*a*) some attribute the invention of 16 Letters in the *Greek Alphabet*, (*b*) others onely 4. but withall the ordering and ranking of an Army, the watch word, Guards, and Dice to divert the Souldiers. His death was grievously taken by *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*, who for some time absented himself, but especially by *Achilles*, who took it so heinously, that for a great while he would not be reconciled, nor brought to fight, having much more cause to be offended for this thing, than the detaining of a woman from him by *Agamemnon*, as the Poet sings, who industriously omitteth whatsoever reflecteth upon *Ulysses*.

(*a*) *Tacitus lib.* 11. (*b*) *Plin. l.* 7. *c.*56.

vins.

30. *Achilles* determined not to fight till the *Trojans* should peirce as far as his own ships, which at length happening, he first sent out *Patroclus* in his Armour, who had desired it. *Patroclus* with the *Myrmidones* (*Achilles* his subjects) put the *Trojans* to flight, who now had begun to cast fire into the ships, slew *Pyrachmes* with his own hand, pursued *Hector*, and smote *Sarpedon* King of *Lycia* about the heart so that he died; but being wounded by *Euphorbus*, who came behind him, he was slain by *Hector*. *Euphorbus* endeavoured to get his body, but was killed by *Menelaus*; and the Soul of this *Euphorbus Pythagoras* affirmed (according to his principle of commigration) to have passed into his own body. After this, *Achilles* (whose presence formerly had kept the *Trojans* within their Walls) went out to fight, and taking twelve young men alive slew them at the funeral of *Patroclus*. By the River *Scamander* (or *Xanthus*) he killed *Asteropæus*, Captain of the *Paones*, from whom, though he received a wound in the Arm, yet went he to fight with *Hector*, who expected him without the Walls, and would not be perswaded to decline his fury, though it proved his ruine, being slain in this single Combat about the 30th year of his age. His body tied to a Chariot, the Conqueror drew in Triumph about the Walls, but afterwards it was ransomed by *Priamus*. After this he slew *Memnon* the Nephew of *Priamus* by his brother *Tithonus*, who was sent out of *Persia* by the *Assyrian* King *Teutamus* to his aid; then *Troilus* his son by *Hecuba*, and lastly *Penthesilea* one of the *Amazons*, who for murder had fled her Countrey, and coming to *Troas* * after *Hector*'s death, did good service against the *Greeks*. When dead, *Achilles* is said to have been enamoured of her body, and with her also the valour of this sort of women is believed to have been extinct.

Lege Simsonium in Chronico Cathol. ad A.M. 2820. &c.

Patroclus slain.

Hector slain.

Diodorus l. 2. p. 91.

* Servius.

31. *Achilles*, whom no art nor violence of the *Trojans* could overcome, was taken by the love of a Woman, and slain by treachery. For having a view of (*a*) *Polyxena*, the daughter of *Priamus*, from the Wall, he became so inslaved to her in his affections, that he proceeded to a Treaty of marriage, wherein he was shot with a Dart by *Paris*, who hid himself behind the image of *Apollo*, which idol is therefore feigned an assistant in the work. Afterwards the *Greeks* had it revealed to them, that except they could take the *Palladium*, or Image of *Pallas* out of the City, till they should get *Hercules* his Arrows, and provide a wooden Horse, *Troy* could never be taken. *Ulysses* therefore, and *Diomedes*, as * *Virgil* singeth, stole away the Image; *Philoctetes*, who had the Arrows was sent for from the Island *Lemnos*, and with them slew *Paris* the incendiary, after whose death *Deiphobus* the son of *Priamus*

(*a*) *Idem ad Virgil. Æneiad. l.* 3.

Achilles treacherously killed by *Paris.*

* *Æneiad.* 2.

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mus obtained *Helena*, as being of best account for valour next to his brother *Hector*. Then was a wooden Horse prepared by the hands of *Epeus*, which pretending to dedicate to *Minerva* they left before the Citie, having industriously made it higher than the Gates, hoping the *Trojans* would pull down part of the Wall to take it in. They left also some of their choicest men in the Horses belly, and *Sinon* with his hands bound behind him, who under notion of a fugitive that had been ill used, should perswade them to receive it into the Citie; and then giving out that they would raise the siege for some time, they withdrew into the Island *Tenedos*. The *Trojans* with great resolution break down the Wall, and taking in the Horse placed him in the Citsel; but in the night *Sinon* giving warning by fire, the *Greeks* came from *Tenedos*, and being easily let in by their companions, by reason of the *Trojans* had drunk themselves fast asleep, the Citie was taken, sacked and burnt. *Menelaus* killing *Deiphobus* in his bed, took away *Helena*, and *Priamus* was slain in his own house by *Pyrrhus* (or *Neoptolemus*) the son of *Achilles*. Of the *Trojans* which escaped, *Antenor* being spared by the *Greeks* came with the *Heneti* into the *Adriatick* Sea, where he built *Padua*, and *Æneas* the son of *Anchises* at length reached *Italy*. This destruction of *Troy* happened in the 10th *year* of the siege, 408 before the first *Olympiad*, 1182 before the *Æra* of Christ, of the World 2821. in the dayes of *Jephtah*, who judged *Israel*.

Troy taken. A.M. 2821

32. Of the *Greek* Captains which escaped, *Ajax* the son of *Telamon* striving with *Ulysses* for the Armour of *Achilles*, and overcome by the judgement of the Army, killed himself, or else was circumvented by his adversary. *Ajax* the younger, the son of *Oileus*, having taken prisoner *Cassandra*, the daughter of *Priamus*, unwilling to part with her, was driven by the plots of *Agamemnon* to shift for himself, and putting out to Sea in an unseasonable time miscarried by shipwrack. Of those that returned home, most encountred with many difficulties; *Ulysses* especially, who for many years wandred about, as it is poetically described by * *Homer*. *Menelaus* after the work was done, presently commanded the *Greeks* to prepare for their return; but *Agamemnon* being unwilling to depart before he had sacrifized to *Minerva*, the Fleet was divided, and a contention arose betwixt the followers of *Menelaus* when they came to *Tenedos*, because some would have stayed for *Agamemnon* there; insomuch as *Ulysses* then returned back to him. *Nestor* set sayl thence before *Menelaus*, but was overtaken by him about the Island *Lesbos*, whence they sailed together as far as *Attica*, where *Menelaus* staying to bury *Phrontes*, the other left him and came safe home to *Pylus*. *Menelaus* his ships were most of them overwhelmed in a Tempest about the Promontory of *Malea*, and the rest with him and *Helena* driven into *Egypt*, where, and in other places he continued till * the 8th year. *Agamemnon*, after he had sacrifized, and erected an Altar to the twelve gods in the Promontory of *Troas*, came home, and was presently * murdered by *Ægisthus*, the son of his Uncle *Thyestes*, with whom *Clytemnestra* his wife (the daughter also of *Tyndareus*) had lived in Adultery, and now conspired to make him away.

The *Greeks* return home.

* *In Odyss.*

* *Consule Strab. l.* 1. *p.* 37. *&c.*

* *Homer Odyss.* 4.

Orestes.

33. He left a son named *Orestes*, and three daughters begotten on this woman. The Boy (for he was but young) was by his sister *Electra*, and his Nurse, when they perceived his life was laid at by *Ægisthus* before his fathers return, conveyed into *Phocis*, unto *Strophius*, who had married his father's sister, whence returning the 8th year after his death he killed *Ægisthus* together with his mother, and recovered the Kingdom. Because of his mothers death he was vexed by the furies, and found some difficulty in mastering the *Argives*, who now opposed him; but by the help of the *Phocians* he recovered his father's Dominions, though *Menelaus* his Uncle, either for that he disapproved the death of his mother, or for private respects, bare him no good will, and neglected him, which he shewed further in taking from him his daughter *Hermione* (who had brought him a son) and giving her to *Pyrrhus*, the son of *Achilles*. Tormented with the furies he went into

Lege Simsonium in Chronico. A. M. 2829.

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into *Arcadia*, and thence to *Athens*, where he was acquitted in the Court of *Areopagus* about his mother, the suffrages, for, and against him being equal, in which case judgement always passed on the Defendants side. A little after this he is thought to have killed *Pyrrhus* as he was sacrifizing to his father at the Temple of *Delphos*, and then resumed his wife. When *Menelaus* was dead he obtained the Kingdom of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* being more willing to receive him as the Grand-son of *Tyndarus* by *Clytemnestra*, than the base sons of *Menelaus*, *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthos*, begotten on a slave. It is probable that he, as his father before him, was supream Lord of *Argos*, and that the Successors of *Melampus* and *Bias*, ever since the division of the Kingdom, or for a good space, held their principalities of his Predecessors and himself. But now being King of *Lacedæmon*, and the greatest part of *Arcadia*, lying near to *Argos*, after the death of *Cylababos*, the son of *Sthenelus* (who left no Children) and that *Amphilochus* was departed thence to the *Amphilochians* (to whom he gave name) having the *Phocians* constant friends to him, he easily made himself sole master of *Argos*, and so this Kingdom was re-united about 140 years after the threefold division of it. Divers years after, he placed a Colony of the *Æolians* in *Asia* * (four ages before that of the *Ionians*) and shortly after died in *Arcadia*, when he had reigned 70 years.

Paterculus l. 1.

Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

* *Strabo l. 13. pag. 582.*

34. He left (*b*) two sons: One legitimate, and named *Tisamenus* (from his revenging his fathers death) begotten on *Hermione*; and another born of *Erigone*, the daughter of *Ægisthus*. *Tisamenus* succeeded him according to *Pausanias*, though *Paterculus* writeth that both of them reigned after their fathers death. Scarce was *Tisamenus* warm in his seat when he was displaced by the *Heraclidæ*, or posterity of *Hercules*. They had several times attempted their return into *Peloponnesus*, but were ever frustrated till now; *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules* once or twice, *Cleodæus* his son after him, and *Aristomachus* his son also with the same successe. *Aristomachus* left three sons, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, which being grown up consulted the Oracle of *Apollo* concerning their return, and had the same answer their father formerly had, that they should attain their desire, if they went by the way *Stenygrus*, which word in the *Greek* being of an ambiguous signification, *Aristomachus* thinking by it to be meant the *Isthmus*, as a narrow way, led down his forces through it, and miscarried. *Temenus* objecting this, the *Pythia*, or woman that delivered the Oracles, answered, that their Ancestors by their misunderstanding had been Authors of their own infelicity; for whereas *Hyllus* was told that the *third fruit* was to be expected, the *third Generation* was meant, and not the *third crop*, or *summer*, as he expounded it, and accordingly perished: And as for *Stenygrus*, by it they were to understand the *deep Sea* on the right hand as one entreth *Peloponnesus*, and not the narrow *Isthmus*. Having received this answer, and conceiving all things now to be fulfilled and ripe for their effectual return, they built ships in *Ætolia* upon that Sea, the place wherein they were made thenceforth keeping the name of *Naupactus* from that occasion. Whil'st they were about this work, a certain Prophet appeared to them, and foretold them several things; but *Hippotes* taking him for a Magician sent on purpose to delude the Army, killed him. For this a Pestilence was sent amongst them, about which consulting the Oracle they were bidden to banish *Hippotes* for 10 years, and use the conduct of a Captain with three eyes, for two years space.

Tisamenus.

(*b*) *Vide Pausan. ut priùs p. 60. Apollodorum l. 2. pag. 123.*

The return of the *Heraclidæ*.

35. Seeking out such a man, they met one (*c*) *Oxylus*, an *Ætolian*, son to *Thoas* that went to the siege of *Troy*; who being on horse-back had but one eye, now returning into his own Countrey from *Elea* in *Peloponnesus*, whither he had been banished for killing a man. Him they made Captain of the expedition, bargaining to procure him the possession of *Elis* as (*d*) *Pausanias* witnesseth, who reporteth him to have ridden on a Mule that had but one eye, and therefore to have been taken for the man meant by the Oracle, through the persuasion of *Cresphontes*. Being ready, they (*e*) gave out they would march again through the *Isthmus*, and by that means the

(*c*) *Apollodorus.*

(*d*) *Eliac. 1. p. 150.*

(*e*) *Polyænus Stratag. l. 1. A.M. 2901.*

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the *Peloponnesians* attending their motions there, easily passed over the Sea, and landed at *Molycrium*. Three parts of *Peloponnesus* especially they challenged as their due: *Argos*, because descended of *Perseus*, whereas *Tisamenus* the present King was of the posterity of *Pelops*, who had no right to that Kingdom. *Lacedæmon*, for that *Hercules* killed *Hypocoon*, who had expelled *Tyndareus* thence, and restored the later to the Kingdom, on this condition, to keep it for his children. *Messenia*, because having also conquered it, when he destroyed the City *Pilus*, and slew all the brothers of *Nestor*, he gave it to him of meer goodness and compassion, but on the same condition as *Lacedæmon* to *Tyndareus*. The dominion of *Argos* without much adoe they got into their hands; after that, taking a certain Village in the confines thereof, *Temenus* fortified it, and used it for a place of retreat for carrying on the War. One *Philonomus* betrayed *Sparta* into their hands, which they entered with sound of Pipes instead of Trumpers, as most effectual by the tune, to make the soldier attentive, and keep his ranks, which use was constantly observed by the *Lacedæmonians*, together with that of the Harp.

Lege Pausan. in Argolicis & Strabon. l. 18. p. 352, &c.

Strabo. lib. 18. p. 365.

Polyænus.

36. *Tisamenus* and the *Achæans* thus expelled these parts, and out of *Messenia* by the *Heraclidæ* and *Dorienses* their associates, sent to the *Ionians* then inhabiting *Peloponnesus*, their Neighbours, desiring leave to live amongst them. But they being jealous of him, left for his high birth and valour, he should be chosen King of the Country, denied their request. The *Achæans* then, driven by necessity and desperation, attempted to get by force, what they could not by intreaty, and though they lost *Tisamenus* in the fight, drave the *Iones* out of their Seats, and constrained them to passe into *Attica*, where they were received by the *Athenians*, through the persuasion of *Melanthus* the King. As for the *Heraclidæ*, when they came to divide what they had won, *Argos* fell to *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, by fraud used in the Lot, obtained *Messene*, and *Lacedæmon* became the portion of *Procles* and *Eurysthenes*, the sons of *Aristodemus*, who was slain by the sons of *Pylas* kinsmen to *Tisamenus*, before they entered *Peloponnesus*: They also according to their ingagement possessed *Oxylus* of *Elis*.

Pausan. in Achaicis, Messenicis & Laconicis.

Temenus obtained Argos.

37. *Temenus* being setled in *Argos*, after some years incurred the displeasure of his Sons, for marrying his Daughter *Hyrnetho* to *Deiphontes* his kinsman, he so affected them two above his other children, that he made him his onely Counsellour in all affairs; insomuch that his sons fearing he would transfer the Kingdom from themselves to him, made their father away, by one means or other. And *Cresphontes* his Brother, who had used too much cunning in getting *Messene*, not long after, seeming to be too gracious with the people, incurred the displeasure of the Nobility, and was murdered together with two of his Sons; onely *Æpitus* then but young escaped, and killing *Polyphontes* the usurper, revenged his Father's death. Recovering thus the Kingdom, he had Successors, *Glaucus*, *Isthmias*, *Dotadas*, *Sybotas*, *Phineas*, *Antiochus*, and *Euphaes*, who dying of a wound, received in a battel fought with the *Lacedæmonians*, without issue, *Aristodemus* was elected in his room, and continued as long as the Kingdom it self lasted, being overturned by means of the *Spartans*, as will be seen in their story. *Cisus* the eldest son of *Temenus* succeeded him, though the people generally inclined to *Deiphontes*, by whose party they were so stirred up and animated, that *Cisus* being dead, they took away from his Successors all regal power and authority, left them nothing but a meer empty title, and so in reality, this Kingdom fell, being in effect turned into a Free-State. Which change happened about forty years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*, 690 after the beginning of *Inachus*. A.M. 2940.

Idem in Argolicis.

In Messenicis.

Cisus.

All regal power taken from his Successors.

A. M. 2940.

38. One (*f*) (and he a great one) there is, who would gather out of an old Tragedian, that the antient government of this Kingdom of the *Inachidæ* was meerly absolute, the King being by the Poet called both *People* and *City*, *not subject to any Laws, but sustained by the power of his Throne, and acting all things according to his meer will and pleasure.* But if credit

(*f*) *Grotius ex Æschylo in suppliciibus, de jure belli & pacis. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

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may be given to the expresse words of (g) *Pausanias*, rather than the liberty of a Poet, *Ennius* thence concludeth, their power was but moderate; for the *Argives* saith *Pausanias*, from the most antient times were exceeding studious of liberty. Out of this principle (being stirred up as it seemeth by the party of *Deiphontes*) they abated the power of *Cisus* his Successors, leaving them nothing but an empty name. And this they further shewed, when *Meltas* the Son of *Lacidamus*, one of these Kings, not enduring this abatement, grew as they thought dissolute and imperious in the Government. For impatient hereof, they deprived him of all power, took upon them to condemn him to death, and pluckt up all Supremacy by the roots, not suffering any afterwards to reign amongst them. For though we meet with one afterwards, called *King of Argos* in *Herodotus*; yet that name signified no more than it did in the Common-wealths of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, where this title was wont to be given to some sorts of Officers, as this work will shew. The Government was now *Democratical*, the chief power lying in the people, divided into three tribes, to which the *Senate* was subordinate, chosen every year for the preparing of matters for the whole body, and the management of the executive power, with authority to enact things of lesser consequence. There was also a Council of State, consisting of 80 persons, besides inferior Magistrates of the City, and Judges for determining of causes, all which are mentioned in the league, made betwixt the *Argives*, *Athenians*, and others, described by *Thucydides* in his fifth Book of the *Peloponnesian* War. No fuller intelligence have we concerning the constitution of this Common-wealth, which yet flourished downwards for many Ages, and had great contests with the *Lacedæmonians*, especially about the territories of *Thyrea*, to which both laid claim. Sometimes they fell out about their confœderates, being moved with much emulation and distaste at each others Government (the one being a *Democracie*, and the other an *Oligarchie*) which once especially brought the State of *Argos* into great danger. But these things belong to another place.

(g) *In Corinthiacis. pag.* 61.

The Kingdom of the *Inachidæ* moderate.

The Government made *Democratical.*

SECT. IV.

The most antient Kingdom and Common-wealth of *Athens*.

Cecrops.

1. THe founding of the *Athenian* Kingdom is ascribed to (a) *Cecrops*, who first reigned in *Attica* (then *Acte*) in the dayes of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, 373 years before the destruction of *Troy*, 780 before the first *Olympiad*, A. M. 2449. The (b) *Ægyptians* said he was their Countryman, and brought hither a Colonie of the *Saita*, who inhabited upon one of mouths of *Nile*. He was feigned to be double-natured, consisting both of a Serpentine and Humane shape, because coming into *Greece*, he shook off barbarism and turned civil. Besides this Colonie, he gathered the people of these parts into twelve Towns, whereas before that they lived dispersedly according to the most antient custom of *Greece*, and called them *Athenæ*, after the name of *Minerva* in the *Greek* Language. The storie is (c) told, that when the name came to be given, on a sodain an Olive-tree, and a Fountain of water appeared, whereat *Cecrops* moved with wonder, sent to enquire of the Oracle what they should mean. It was answered, that the Olive signified *Minerva*, the water *Neptune*, and that they might name that City from which of these two they pleased. Hereupon, all the men and women were gathered together to make the choice: the men were for *Neptune*, but the women being the greater number, carried the name for *Minerva*. *Neptune* angry hereat, drowned their territories, whom to pacify, they punished the women several wayes. They decreed, that thenceforth they should not have a voice in any publick matter; that no child should bear the mother's name,

(a) *Eusebius in Chron. ex Castore.* A. M. 2449.

(b) *Diodorus. l.* 1. *p.* 17.

(c) *Augustin ex Varrone, de Civitat. Dei l.* 18. *c.* 9.

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name, and that they should not be called *Athenæ*, but *Atticæ*. Some women known by the name of *Minerva* there have been, though impure spirits, ambitious to blind men with superstition and idolatry, might well act in this matter, as *Augustine* telleth us, under the name of *Neptune*.

Several *Minervas*,

2. *Cicero* (d) mentioneth five several women that have had the name of *Minerva*. The *first* was the mother of *Apollo* by *Vulcan*. The *second* born of the River *Nile*, and worshipped by the *Saita*. The *third* daughter to *Jupiter Coelius*. The *fourth* begotten by *Jupiter* on *Coelephe*, daughter to the *Ocean*, called *Coria* by the *Arcadians*; which invented the Chariot drawn by four horses. The *fifth* was the daughter of *Pallas*, said to have killed her Father, because he attempted to violate her virginity. Of these the second must be she that was thus honoured by *Cecrops*, having founded the City *Sais*, near to *Delta*, being by the *Ægyptians* called *Neith*. To her he had formerly erected a Statue in *Ægypt*, and he, as they say, first give the name of *Zeus* to him whom the *Latins* called *Jupiter*. As there were several *Minervaes*, so also more (e) than one City known by the name of *Athenæ*. From this in *Attica*, the Citizens were by the *Romans* called *Athenienses*; but another there was in *Eubœa*, built by *Cecrops* the Son of *Erechtheus*, the Inhabitants of which went by the name of *Athenæ*: and a City in *Narbone*, a Province of *Gaule*, near to *Marseils*, called *Atheneopolis*, and the Citizens *Atheneopolitæ*. There was also in *Laconia* a Town called by the name of *Athenæ*.

(d) *De natura Deorum.*

And *Athenæ.*

(e) *Varro de Analogia. Vide Ludovic. Vivem in Augustin. de Civitat. Dei lib.* 18. *cap.* 9.

Deucalion his story.

3. In the dayes of (f) *Cecrops*, *Deucalion* the Son of *Prometheus* reigned in *Thessalie*, whose history being remarkable, must be briefly touched. *Iapetus* had three Sons, *Atlas*, *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*. For (g) the first, One telleth us there were three that bore the name of *Atlas*. One a *Moor*, and the greatest of all; another an *Italian*, Father to *Electra*; the third, an *Arcadian*, Father of *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*; all which the antients confound according to their custom. The first (h) lived near to Mount *Atlas*; to which for his great skil in Astrology, is attributed the bearing up of the Heavens; and he is also counted the Father of *Electra*. *Prometheus* found out the instrument to strike fire, and thereupon is said to have stolen fire from the Gods. *Deucalion* his Son married *Pyrrha* the daughter of his Uncle *Epimetheus*, and in his time (i) happened that great deluge in part of *Greece*, which is known by the addition of his name; that Country called most antiently and truly *Hellas*, his seat near to the Mountain *Parnassus* being chiefly afflicted with it, on which Hill he is thought to have saved many men by boats, and thence the Fable to have risen of his repeopling the Earth. But (that we may note it altogether) there are three particular Floods which we read to have hapned to this Country of *Greece*. The first, under *Ogyges* (called the *Ogygean* deluge) concerning whom, we shall speak in the History of *Thebes*. This fell 248 years before either of the other, and overwhelmed *Attica* especially so, that as *Pererius* will have it, it remained waste 200 years after. The next was this of *Deucalion*, which happened 727 years before the first *Olympiad*: and the (k) third fell 86 after it, in the dayes of *Dardanus* and *Cadmus*.

(f) *Eusseb.*

(g) *Servius ad* 8. *Æneid.*

(h) *Diodorus l.* 5.

(i) *August. de Civit. Dei, l.* 18. *c.* 8. *Orosius. l.* 1.

(k) *Diod. l.* 5. *p.* 223.

His issue, which is especially to be noted, for a distinct knowledge of the several sorts of *Greeks*.

4. *Deucalion* of *Pyrrha* his wife begat *Hellen* and *Amphyttion*. *Hellen* give the name of *Hellenes* to his Subjects before called *Græci*, and of *Hellas* to the Country formerly named *Pelasgia*, from the *Pelasgi* (who there inhabited) is *Hæmonia* from *Hæmon*, the son of *Pelasgus*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyrrha*. He had three sons, *Xuthus*, *Æolus*, and *Dorus*. To *Æolus* he left his Kingdom, and sent the other two abroad to seek out seats elsewhere. *Æolus* grew so famous, that the name of *Jupiter* and *Neptune* came to be given him. *Dorus* inhabited the Country *Histiæotis*, about the Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus*. *Xuthus* after his Father's death was banished *Thessalie* by his other Brothers, for stealing away a great part of his Fathers treasure, and came to *Athens*, where he married the daughter of *Erechtheus*, on which he begat *Achæus* and *Ion*. *Achæus* getting aid from *Athens* and *Ægialus*, went into *Thessalie*, and recovered his Grand-Father's Kingdom; but afterwards

Strabo. *l.* 8.

Herod. *l.* 1. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Sect. 4. killing a man by chance, he fled into *Laconia*, where his posterity continued till expelled by the *Heraclidæ* and *Dorienses*, as we shewed in the History of *Tisamenus*. *Ion* being exceeding famous at *Athens* had a numerous progeny, which, for that *Attica* was now grown too full, was sent out as a Colony into *Peloponnesus*, whence they were thrust out by their brethren the *Achæans*, after they had denied them harbour (as is formerly said) and returned to *Athens*, from which Citie they were afterwards led out into *Asia*, by the sons of *Codrus*. But these things hapned in after times. *Strabo ut supra.*

The Council of *Areopagus.*

5. In *Cecrops* his time (*l*) one maketh the Council, or Senate of *Areopagus* to have had its Original, though no clear light can we discover concerning the true beginning of it. (*m*) Some write that it began under *Solon*, but (*n*) another of a more antient date signifieth that it was a Court of Judicature before. (*o*) One deriveth the word from *Mars* (in Greek *Ares*) making him to have been first tried there for killing *Halirrhodius*, the son of *Neptune*, who offered violence to his daughter *Alcippe*. Others would fetch a reason from the erecting of his Spear there, or from this, that the Court of *Areopagus* took Cognisance of slaughters, which are usually committed with Swords, or other Weapons of *Mars*. Lastly, some think it thence to have been named, for that the *Amazons*, when they fought against *Theseus*, made *Mars his Hill* their Fortresse, and there offered sacrifice to him. * *Cecrops* died after he had reigned 50 years, and because *Erysichthon* his son died before him, *Cranaus* the most powerfull man then at *Athens* succeeded him in the Kingdom. He, after he had reigned some seven years, was thrust out by *Amphyction*, the son of *Deucalion*, and his son-in-law, the founder as some have thought of the National Council of the *Amphyctiones*, of which we have already spoken. He is reported to have given entertainment to *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, who at this time, as they say, came into *Attica*, and when he had reigned ten years, was also expelled by *Erichthonius*.

(*l*) *Euseb.*
(*m*) *Cicero offic. l. 1. & Plutarch.*
(*n*) *Aristot.*
(*o*) *Pausan in Atticis.*
Suidas.
* *Euseb.*
Cranaus.
Pausan. ut supra.
Amphyction.
A. M. 3507.

Erichthonius.

6. The father of *Erichthonius* was said to be *Vulcan*, and his mother the earth, because he was found in *Vulcan's* Temple upon the earth, with a Snake wound about his feet, whence also they feigned that he had feet like Snakes, and invented a Chariot wherein he might ride and hide them. He instituted Games to *Apollo* and *Minerva*, and having reigned 50 years, left his Kingdom to his son *Pandion*, who also, after 40. gave way to his son *Erechtheus*. He became a man of great account, and whereas the subjects of *Athens* were before his time called *Cecropidæ*, thenceforth they were named after the place it self. He made War upon the inhabitants of *Eleusine*, *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, and his own Grand-son by his daughter being his chief Commander, wherein after he had slain *Immaradus*, the son of *Eumolpus* their General, he also lost his life, when he had reigned 50 years. He left three sons, *Cecrops*, *Metion*, and *Pandorus*, who falling into contention about the succession, put it to the arbitration of *Xuthus*. He adjudged it to the eldest, but yet would they not rest satisfied, which made him leave *Athens*, and go into *Ægialea* where he died. This *Cecrops* the second, some think to have gathered the people into twelve Towns, for that living dispersedly abroad, the *Carians* by Sea, and the *Bœotians* (called *Æonæ*) by Land harrased the Countrey, as * *Strabo* writeth. At the end of 40 years his son named *Pandion* succeeded him, who was expelled the Kingdom by the sons of *Metion* his Uncle, and fled to *Pyla*, the King of *Megara* his father-in-law, who left him his Successor. Whil'st he here reigned he begat four sons, *Ægeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*, who after his death went against the *Metiontidæ*, and expelled them *Athens*, the Dominions whereof they divided into four parts, according to their father's injunctions, *Megara* falling to *Nisus*, who reigned there a long time.

Apollodorus. l. 3.
Pausan. in Atticis.
Apollod.
Pandion.
Erechtheus.
Cecrops 2d.
Pandion.
* *L. 9. p. 397. C.*
Pausan. ut prius.

Ægeus.

7. Though this division was made, yet was *Ægeus* Soveraign in effect, for fear of whom *Lycus* fled to *Athens*. *Pallas* the other brother had 50 sons, which growing up gave cause enough to *Ægeus* to be jealous of them, having him in contempt because he was childlesse. For though he married two wives, yet had he issue by neither of them, which made him go to *Delphos* to enquire

A. M. 2723.
Plutarch in Theseo.

quire of the Oracle about posterity. The answer being obscure, in his return he was entertained by *Pittheus*, the son of *Pelops*, a man famous for learning at *Trœzene*, who either understanding the Oracle, or otherwise induced, made his daughter *Æthra* to lye with him, after he had caused him to drink good store of Wine. At his departure he put a sword, and a knife under a great stone, bidding her, if she brought forth a Boy, as soon as he could remove the stone, and take those things from under it, to send him with them as tokens unto *Athens*, and he would own him for his son. She accordingly brought forth a son (called *Theseus*, from putting the marks under the stone) whom *Pittheus* brought up, and for that he proved exceeding prudent and couragious, his mother at sixteen years of age brought him to the stone, acquainting him with his Original, and his fathers injunctions. He easily removing it, and taking away the tokens, prepared for his journey; but they were unwilling to let him go by Land, because all the wayes were full of Robbers, since *Hercules* (who went up and down destroying them) after his killing of *Iphitus* had quitted these parts, and was gone into *Lycia*, where for some years he served *Omphale* the Queen. But *Theseus* burning with emulation upon hearing continually the praise of *Hercules* his Kinsman (for their mothers were next Cousins) resolved to take that way to obtain some renown in killing those Robbers, and effected his design upon several of them.

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Begetteth *Theseus.*

8. Being arrived at *Athens*, he was in danger to be poysoned by his father, through the perswasion of *Medea* (who now was fled to him from *Corinth*, and filled his jealous head with suspitions of this stranger) till thinking it wisdom to make himself known, rather than let another do it, he shewed him the tokens, which he presently acknowledged, & owning him for his son, made his subjects as such to take notice of him. But the sons of *Pallas*, who before had been seditious, now seeing all hopes of the Kingdom taken from them by him, and disdaining that *Ægeus* should first reign himself, being not of the bloud Royal, but adopted onely by *Pandion* (as *Plutarch* writeth) and then leave for his Successor a stranger, and a Bastard, they took Arms, and the better to accomplish their design, divided themselves into two parties, whereof the one came openly with their father against *Athens*, and the other lay in ambush. *Theseus* having notice of the later fort, surprized, and cut them all off, which so discouraged the other as they separated themselves and fled. *Theseus* after this, to employ himself, and gain the favour of the people, went, and took the *Marathonian* Bull, fetch't out of *Crete* by *Hercules*, and brought him quick into the Citie, after he had infested the Countrey very much. Then sailed he to *Crete*, where, as the fable goeth, he slew the *Minotaure*, a Monster kept by *Minos*, King of that Island.

Plutarch.

The acts of *Theseus.*

Minos.

9. *Minos*, (*q*) *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon* were the Children of *Jupiter* by *Europa*, and all adopted by *Asterius* (the Grand-son of *Hellen*, by his son *Teutamus*) King of that Island, who married their mother, and was childlesse. *Minos* was the Law-giver of the *Cretians*; this honour being ascribed to him by the most Authentick of ancient (*r*) Authors. Yet (*s*) *Ephorus* in his book of *European* Commonwealths, wrote that he was but an imitator of one *Rhadamanthus* (of the same name with his brother, who by others is also said to have been imployed by *Minos* in this work, but more ancient) who first cultivated the Island by Laws, Cities, and Commonwealths, feigning that he had from *Jupiter* all the Ordinances which he published. In (*t*) imitation of him, *Minos* having continued in the Law of *Jupiter* nine years, produced Laws in writing, and ascribed them to the same Author as *Homer* also hinteth; which (*u*) word of *Homer*, though *Strabo* taketh to signifie a continuance for ten years, yet *Plato*, and from him (*x*) *Valerius Maximus* interpret it not of nine years continuance, but every ninth year wherein as it seemeth he amended his Laws. Although *Minos* was a King, yet he directed (according to * *Ephorus*) the whole model of his Laws to the freedom of his subjects. This liberty he thought to be preserved best by Concord, which would be most established by the prevention of avarice and

(*q*) *Diodorus l. 4. p. 183.*
(*r*) *Plato in legibus.*
Aristot. Politic. l. 2. cap. 8.
(*s*) *Apud Strabon. lib. 10. p. 476.*
(*t*) *Eupus. ap.*
(*u*) *Odyss.*
(*x*) *Lib. 1. c. 2. Exter. Exemp. 1.*
* *Apud Strab. ut prius. pag. 480. B.*

SECT. 4. and luxury, the great causes of disagreement. He would therefore have them all live soberly and frugally, to which purpose he ordained that Boys should live together in companies, called *Agelæ*, when they were grown up, and men, in others, called *Syssitia*, from eating together, (which they also named *Andrea* from their manhood) that taking their meat all in publick, the poor might live in equal condition with the rich.

The form of the *Cretian* Commonwealth.

10. After the abdication of regal power, the chief Magistracy was exercised by ten *Cosmi*, in power, though not in number, like to the Spartan *Ephori*, being chosen out of the lowest sort of people as those; yet not out of the whole body but particular families, which custom *Aristotle* accounteth worse than the other of *Lacedæmon*. Those *Cosmi* at home Governed the Commonwealth; in War commanded the Army with absolute Authority. There was also a *Senate*, chosen out of those who in this Office had well demeaned themselves, being for life, and not liable to be called to account. There was an Order of *Horse-men*, who were bound to keep Horses for the service of the State, whereas they at *Lacedæmon* had no such tie upon them. In the *Concio*, or great *Assembly*, all Members of the Commonwealth had equal Votes, but its power was not great, confirming onely what was propounded by the *Senate* and *Cosmi*. They had publick slaves, called *Periæci*, from their inhabiting up and down the Countrey, who tilled the grounds, and paid in a constant Revenue. All, when ripe of age, were commanded to marry for the propagation of legitimate issue: Yet they did not lead their wives to their houses when newly married, but let them stay till they were fit to govern a family. The Boys took their meat altogether on the ground, serving themselves, and the elder sort. They were cloathed meanly, and alike, both Winter and Summer; they used bickerings with one another, both with single hand and Weapon on certain dayes, and had those who exercised them also in shooting, and a warlike kind of leaping invented by *Cures*; moreover in certain Rithms, called properly * *Rythmi Cretici*. The *Cretians* had several commendable Laws, as that which severely restrained drunkenesse, another commended by *Plato*, that required an account how publick Corn was distributed and spent. The younger sort were utterly forbidden to make any inquiry into the equity of the Laws, and if the elder were unsatisfied, without their knowledge, they were to have recourse to the Magistrates, and their own equals. But that the Laws might be ingraven in their memories, the boyes were wont when they were taught to read, to get some of them by heart, being put into Verse, together with some Musical Notes.

Vide Aristot. quo supra & Strabon.

* Ρυθμοι Κρητικοὶ.

11. *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Law-giver made this model the pattern of his new Commonwealth, having travelled into the Island, where he had converse with *Thales*, a man ennobled for his Lawes, and Lyrick Poems; for we must not suppose *Minos* the sole Author of the *Cretian* customs. As the *Cretians* had their *Cosmi*, so the *Spartans* their *Ephori*, though most probable it is that these were brought in after the death of *Lycurgus*. As they a *Senate*, so these also endowed with the like immunities. The *Concio*, or *Assembly* of the people in *Crete*, resolved nothing but what was propounded by the *Cosmi* and *Senate*, which was followed by the first constitution of *Lycurgus* the *Senate* propounding at *Sparta*. The *Periæci*, and *Heloti* fitly agreed, though the *Cretians* received lesse dammage from the former, because being in an Island there were no Neighbours to hold correspondence with the slaves. The *Syssitia* of the *Lacedæmonians* were fetched, as *Aristotle* proveth, from *Crete*; and their *Phiditia* taken from the *Andria* of that place, as also their education of Children was agreeable to the *Cretian*. *Plato* commendeth much the Commonwealth of *Crete*, and the Legislator for his wisdom and prudence, though he abominateth the immodest love of boyes, and rejecteth his reason for it, which yet *Lycurgus* so approved, as to put it in his model. *Aristotle* condemneth it, as also amongst some other things, the Election of the *Cosmi*, and their too great advantage they had of raising seditions in the State, when they came to be punished. But *Polybius* affirmeth the two Commonwealths of *Crete* and *Sparta* to have vastly differed,

Strabo, lib. 10. pag. 482.

Aristot. Politic. lib. 2. cap. 8.

De Legibus lib. 8.

ed, not fearing to blame *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Plato*, for saying they were very like; because with the *Cretians* it was usual to ingrosse Land and Money, whence they were avaricious, contentious, seditious, and what not? moreover they had annual Magistrates, whereas the other had two Kings for life. They were, he saith, fraudulent and crafty in their private demeanour, and most unjust in their publick Councils. Though some publick abuses taxed by *Polybius*, might have crept in in ancient times; yet it appeareth from the testimony of that Verse of *Epimenides* a *Cretian*, which St. *Paul* citeth and confirmeth, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, that the disposition even of the old *Cretians* (for *Epimenides* is found contemporary with *Solon*) was very naught.

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Lib. 4. & 6.

Proverb. cum Cretense Cretissa fave, lib. 8.

12. *Minos* succeeding his Step-father, begat *Lycastes*, and left him his Successor, who on *Ida* the daughter of *Corybas* begat *Minos* the second, fathered also on *Jupiter*. He had issue by *Pasiphae* (daughter to *Sol* and *Crete*) *Deucalion*, *Astrea*, *Androgeos*, *Ariadne*, and other children. *Androgeos* going to the solemn Feast of the *Panathenæa*, instituted by *Theseus* at *Athens*, excelled all men in the exercises then performed, whereby he became familiarly acquainted with the Sons of *Pallas*. This when *Ægeus* perceived, fearing they might by his means receive some aid and assistance, he procured him to be made away, at which *Minos* sore aggrieved, came to *Athens* to demand satisfaction, but obtaining none, is said to have procured from *Jupiter* a Famine to fall upon all *Greece*, and especially *Attica*, which could not be abated, till he received satisfaction. A (*b*) yearly Tribute then be imposed on the *Athenians*, of seven Boys and as many Girls, which being unwillingly willing to submit to, they were sore displeased when they came to part with their children, and repining at *Ægeus* as the author of their calamity, at the third time of sending, *Theseus* offered himself to go amongst the rest. The Fable is, that they were to be devoured of the *Minotaure*, a Monster, whose upper parts were like to those of a Man, but resembled a Bull in the other. Some thought there might be such a Monster indeed, but most account it fabulous, and it is interpreted to be meant of one *Taurus*, the Captain of *Minos*, who might have custody of these children, whom *Aristotle* will not have killed, but made slaves, till their death. *Theseus* promising to kill this *Minotaure*, *Ægeus* with much adoe yielded he should go, and commanded the Master of the ship, that, whereas for the sadnesse of the occasion they used black sails, if his Son came back alive, he should change them for white ones, as soon as they came within kenning of *Attica*.

(*b*) *Plutarch. ut supra.*

He killeth the *Minotaure*.

13. *Theseus* coming into *Crete* by the help of *Ariadne* the daughter of *Minos*, (which fell in love with him) got into the labyrinth where the *Minotaure* was kept (and which was made by *Dædalus*, who having killed his Sisters son at *Athens*, fled into this Island) and slew him. It is thought, that when he landed, he offered the Combat to whomsoever would accept of it, and that this *Taurus*, who bore himself high upon his valour, and was hated by all for his ill manners, was forced by *Minos* to accept of it. *Theseus* having killed him, was so admired by the King, that he gave him back the children and remitted the Tribute. *Ariadne* fell in love with him, whom some say, he carried away with him, but others, that he left her behind, and she hanged her self; several things, one contrary to another being reported of her. Peace now being made, and *Theseus* returning homewards, they were so transported with joy, that they forgot to set up the white sailes; whereupon *Ægeus* dispairing of his sons safety, threw himself headlong from a Rock and perished. From this *Ægeus* some would fetch the name of the *Ægean* Sea. But others, think it was so called from *Ægæ*, the Island near *Eubœa*; others from *Ægæ* a town of *Eubœa*; some from *Ægæ* a promontory of *Æolis*, and others from the Rock *Ægæ*, lying betwixt *Tenedus* and *Chius*; Again some from *Ægeus*, the name of *Neptune* in *Pherecydes*; and others from *Ægeon*, the same with *Briareus*, and others from a Goat, because by it's turbulency it leapeth like that creature. *Festus* who deriveth the name also from *Ægeus*, mentioneth other two Originals as probable, viz.

Philochorus apud Plutarch. ibum ut supra.

The death of *Ægeus*.

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viz. the many Islands, which to one looking at them a far off, appear as Goats, in the *Greek* language called *Ægæ*; and the perishing of *Ægæ* the Queen of the *Amazons* in it. Concerning *Ægeus*, *Suidas* telleth a long story out of *Nicocrates*, which is refuted by the Scholiast of *Apollonius*, who concerning this, is to be consulted, together with *Strabo* and *Pliny*.

Theseus gathereth the *Athenians* into one City.

A. M. 2775.

14. *Theseus* succeeding his Father, set himself all manner of wayes to deserve well of his Subjects; Whereas before they were dispersed in twelve Towns or more, he gathered them into one City, as being more convenient for strength, concord, and dispatch of publick businesse. This being hard to effect, by reason that the people were unwilling to quit their present possessions for new hopes, he went from place to place, shewing them the convenience of the thing, and that he might effectually perswade, he promised them liberty, offering to lay down all power except that of the Generalship, and of keeping the Laws; in all other things to be like them, and the power to rest in the people. The multitude being allured by this promise, he made the chief City, called *Cecropia*, his regal seat, and built another about it for the people, which he divided into three ranks, of *Nobility*, *Husbandmen*, and *Artificers*, all under the same æquality of liberty and Law. But the former sort he appointed to be the fountain of Magistracy; yet so, as elective by the suffrages of the other two. He abolished the several Courts of Judicature belonging to the twelve Towns, and constituted one general *Prytaneum* in the City. Thus did he devest himself of all royalty in a manner, and brought popular-government into the State.

His exploits.

15. As *Hercules* had instituted the *Olympick* Games in honour of *Jupiter*, so he ordained the *Isthmian*, and dedicated them to *Neptune*. He sailed with *Hercules* into the *Euxine* Sea (some say, by himself) against the *Amazons*, from amongst whom he got *Antiope* his wife, which gave occasion to that sort of women to come against *Athens*. They sore distressed it by a Seige, till peace was made by *Antiope* or *Hippolyta*, as others called her. Some have affirmed, that he was not partaker in any Exploit with any of the *Heroes* of his time, except in that he helped the *Lapithæ* against the *Centaurs*. Others again contend, that hee sailed to *Colchos* with *Jason*, and assisted *Meleager* in killing the Boar; whence came the Proverb, *Non sine Theseo*: he also performed many brave things by himself, without the assistance of any, hence he came to be counted *Alter Hercules*. Having contracted near friendship and alliance with *Perithous* the Son of *Ixion*, being now 50 years old, he joyned with him in stealing away *Helena* the daughter of *Tyndareus* from *Sparta*, and when they cast lots who should have her, she fell to him. He carried her to his Mother living at *Aphidna*, there to be kept till she were ripe for marriage: But having agreed that he who obtained her, should help the other to procure him a wife elsewhere, they both travelled into *Epirus*, to steal thence the daughter of *Aidoneus* King of the *Molossians*, whose wife was called *Proserpina*, and his Dog *Cerberus*, he himself by the Fable being named *Pluto*. When he understood their errand, that they came not to woo but to steal, he laid hands on them both, and caused his Dog to devoure *Perithous*, kept *Theseus* in prison, till *Hercules* desired he should be set at liberty.

Plutarch.

16. Whilst *Theseus* was absent, one *Menesthеus* the son of *Peleus* (who was Grand-son to *Erechtheus* by his Son *Oneus*) incensed the people against him, and that upon the account of that change he had made in the State, which he would have them believe was intended to inslave them under pretence of liberty: and at this time came down the *Tyndaridæ*, *Castor* and *Pollux* (some think by his procurement) against *Athens* in behalf of their Sister. Finding that she was not there, and discovering the place of her restraint, they went to *Aphidna*, and taking it by force recovered her, and took *Æthra* the Mother of *Theseus*, which afterwards accompanied her as her servant to *Troy*, and at the taking of that Town was set at liberty by her Grand-son *Demophon*. By means of *Menesthеus*, the *Tyndaridæ* were received into *Athens*, and great honour was done unto them, which thing contributed

Idem.

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His exile

buted to his design. For when *Theseus* returned, the Citizens were so wrought upon, that in no wise would they be reconciled, and so was he forced to banish himself into the Island *Scyrus*, having sent away his children privatly to *Elpenor* the son of *Chalcedon* into *Euboea*. One writeth, that sailing towards *Crete* to *Deucalion* the son of *Minos* (whose Sister *Phædra* he had married after the death of *Antiope*) he was driven by tempest upon *Scyrus*, the Inhabitants whereof receiving him with great honour for reverence of his name, *Lycomedes* their King, out of jealousie, made him away, having led him up to a Rock, as though to shew him the Country, and thence tumbled him down headlong.

Diod. l. 4. p. 184. Pausanias in Atticis.

And death.

A. M. 2802.

Menesthеus.

17. *Menesthеus* then began his reign at *Athens*, in the dayes of *Atreus* King of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and some years after accompanied *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* to the siege of *Troy*, with 50 ships. During the War, we hear little or nothing of him, but after the City was taken, he honoured the Funerals of *Ajax* the son of *Telamon* with a Funeral Oration, which work belonged to the *Athenians* to perform for those that died in the Wars; but within a while he himself afforded matter for that office, dying in the Isle *Melos* at his return homewards. After his death *Demophon* the son of *Theseus*, (who together with his brother *Achamas*, (both begotten on *Phædra*) followed *Elphenor* to *Troy*) went to *Athens* and obtained the Kingdom. As he returned, *Phyllis* daughter to *Sithon* and Queen of *Thrace*, fell in love with him, and wood him for marriage. He told her he would first go to settle his affairs at *Athens*, and then come and marry her; but staying somewhat long, she had no patience to wait, and thinking she was slighted, hanged herself. He stole the *Palladium* or image of *Pallas*, from the *Argives*, who brought it from *Troy*, and in their return with *Diomedes* made encursions unwittingly into *Attica*, being driven by night upon *Phalerus*, and not knowing where they were. He reigned about 34 years, and then left his Kingdom to his son *Oxyntes*, who after twelve was succeeded by *Aphidas* his son, who reigned but one year. Then followed *Thymœtes* the fifteenth King, who being a Bastard, is reported to have murdered *Aphidas* his brother, and after eight years lost the Kingdom, He was the last of the *Erechthidæ* that reigned at *Athens*.

Philostratus in Heroicis.

Demophon.

Servius in Eclog. 5. Virgil.

Oxyntes.
Aphidas.
Thymœtes.

Athenæus.

18. It hapned that the State of *Athens* had War with the *Bœotians* about *Celæna*, a place seated in the confines of both Countries, and it pleased the parties that their Kings should decide the quarrel in their own persons. *Thymœtes* declined the combat, and for that was deposed. *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who was then driven from home by the *Heraclidæ* accepted it, and overcame *Xanthus* the *Bœotian* King by a stratageme; for when they came to fight he cried out: *Thou dost not justly* Xanthus, *but contrary to our agreement, who accompanied with another person, comest to fight against me a single man*, at which he wondering, and looking back to see who should follow him, *Melanthius* ran him thorow with his Lance. He then reigned in the room of *Thymœtes*, and at his death left *Codrus* his son his Successor; who willingly offered himself to death for the safety of his *Athenians*. There were now distasts arisen betwixt the *Heraclidæ*, who held *Peloponnesus*, and them, for that they harboured the *Iones*, and other fugitives out of that Country; and at length the *Heraclidæ* intending to make War upon them, consulted the Oracle beforehand concerning their successe, which answered, that they should have the better, if they kept off their hands from the *Athenian* King, and not otherwise. They gave order to their men to beware of hurting him; but he getting knowledge of the matter, disguised himself, and going into their Army, by blows provoked them to kill him. This being known, they raised their Siege, though some of them had already got into the City, on whom then the *Athenians* had mercy, and dismissed them without any harm. This happened 486 years after *Cecrops*, 114 after the destruction of *Troy*, 35 after the return of the *Heraclidæ*, 293 before the first *Olympiad*, A. M. 2935.

Pausan. in Atticis.

Frontinus Strat agem. l. 2. c. 5. Exemp. 41.

Melanthius.

Codrus the last King.

Justin lib. 2.

Strabo lib. 9.

A. M. 2935.

The Archons for life.

Pausan. in Messeniciis.

19. After *Codrus* his death, the people took away the title of *King* and gave

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gave the name of *Archon* with a diminished power to his Successor, who might be called to an account for what he did, though he kept the principality during life. This was *Medon* the son of *Codrus*, whom the rest of his brothers despising, as weak, and lame, led out Colonies of the *Ionians*, and some others (*Attica* being now full) into *Asia*, and there founded the 12 famous Cities of the *Ionians*, viz. *Ephesus*, *Miletus*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Claromena*, *Erythra*, *Phocæa*, *Chius* in the Island *Chios*, and *Samus* in an Isle of the same name over against *Ephesus*, which at first being subjected to several petty Princes, at length joyned in one body politick, and became very famous in after-ages. Twelve other *Archons* succeeded *Medon*, named from him *Medontidæ*, and in this condition the state remained unaltered for 315 years, during which time there is little remarkable, either concerning Princes, or Commonwealth; onely the time of *Ariphron* the 19th. *Archon* fell in with that of *Sardanapalus*, and *Alcmaon* the son of *Æschylus* was the last, who dying when he had scarce reigned two years, the people took another occasion to alter the Government; for being weary of this perpetual power of their Princes, they confined it to the space of 10 years.

Idem in Achaicis & Strabo l.14.

The twelve Cities of *Ionia*.

Euseb.

Archons for ten years.

This change being made about the beginning of the first *Olympiad*, *Charops* was the first that underwent it, in whose time *Dionysius* of *Halycarnassus* will have *Rome* built. Six others succeeded him in the power thus qualified, whereof *Hippomenes* the fourth in order was the last of the posterity of *Codrus*, being deposed for his cruelty to his daughter, whom being deflowred, he shut up with an Horse that had no meat given him, and so caused to be devoured quick. The last of all the six was *Eryxias*, who after he had Governed six years, either died, or being deposed for some Crime, opened the Door to a new and greater innovation, after 70 years continuance of the *Decennal* Government.

A.M. 3248.

Suidas.

Euseb.

Annual *Archons*, nine in number.

20. The people still burning with a desire of greater liberty, abolished quite the power of a single person, and instead of him made nine *Archons*, to be but annual, a new Election being to be made every year out of those who for birth, wealth, or favour were most considerable in the Citie. The first in order was properly called *Archon*, as principal of the College, and *Eponymus*, because he signed the Calendar, and all things that fell out in that year were said to be done, he *being Archon*. He had the care of their superstition, to him it belonged to take Cognisance of differences arising about inheritances, as also betwixt Husband and Wife, Parents and their Children, and Kinsfolks one amongst another: Moreover, he took care of Orphans, and assigned them Guardians. The second in order had the name of *King*, who taking care also of another part of their superstition, determined causes, both Civil and Criminal, or referred them to the greater Courts of Judicature. The third was called *Polemarchus*, who besides the charge of some religious customs, had that of War committed to him (whence he had his name); was General of the Armies abroad, and at home the Judge of strangers. The other six were termed *Thesmothetæ*, being keepers of the Laws, or Customs, Judges in several Cases, and had power to commit to prison all suspicious persons. These were their distinct Offices. Altogether they had Authority to assemble the people, as the *Kings*, and other *Archons* in former times, and to resolve with them about publick businesse.

A.M. 3318.

Lege Sigonium de Repub. Athen. & ut-tovem Emmium.

21. Such were the improvements of that liberty, which *Theseus* bestowed on the people: But though they seemed great, yet were they not arrived at that heighth as to satisfie the heady multitude offended with the too great power of the Nobler and Richer sort; and which finding it self aggrieved with the many inconveniences that arose for want of Laws (the sentence of the Magistrate, or Judge being the onely Law) many grudges and discords thence arose, which so far prevailed, as that after 50 years, power was given to one *Draco*, a man honest and wise, but of austere severity, to make Laws. Many he framed, reformed the Court of the *Ephetæ*, which he made to consist of 51 persons, not under 50 years of age, who were to judge of murders, and such

Draco.

A.M. 3384.

such like Crimes. But so severe were his constitutions concerning manners (judging no lesse than death to the least offence) that as they were by *Demas* said to be *written in blond*, so in processe of time they grew intolerable, and little, or no relief had the poorer sort against the power of the great ones, with the usury of whom they were even exhausted: Hence grew great disturbances in the Commonwealth, the Commons hated the Nobility, and the Nobility feared the Commons; nothing but desolation seemed to attend the State, some being earnest for a *Popular Government*, others for an *Oligarchie*, and others for a *middle way*. These tempered, and poised the other two parties; but nothing at length seemed to avail, except all the whole power should be put into the hands of one, and a plain Tyranny erected as the onely sufficient remedy for these desperate distempers. The common sort were not for an equal division of the publick grounds now in the hands of the rich, and fit to make themselves an head, and do it by force; but the most prudent sort taking notice of *Solon*, now very eminent, a man of unblameable life, and unbyassed by the interest of either party; him they besought, having sufficient wisdom, to compose these differences of the distracted Commonwealth; offering him the power and command of all.

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Plutarch. in Solone.

Solon.

How he became eminent.

22. A year or two before those great disturbances, hapned that which gave a rise to the eminency of *Solon*, and as well out of respect to the Commonwealth, as in relation to him, must be recited briefly. The Island *Salamine* lying not far from *Athens*, had of late time revolted to the Inhabitants of *Megara*, and for the recovery of it several attempts had been made with such bad successe, that a Law was preferred whereby it was ordained Capital for any man thenceforth to move about it. *Solon* considering the consequence hereof, counterfeited himself mad, and going into the place of publick meeting, began, as the people came about him, to say a company of odd conceited Verses, whereby he so moved them, that they repealed the Law, and decreed another expedition against the *Megarians*, ordaining him their Captain therein. *Solon* saying towards *Colias*, where the *Athenian* women were keeping the Feast of *Ceres*, sent one to the *Megarians*, who counterfeiting himself a fugitive should tell them, that now at this place they might easily surprize the women. This being done, he sends them away, and in their rooms and cloaths, left there a company of beardlesse young men, who being provided of Daggers, stabbed the *Megarians* when they came to seize on their prey, and so by this plot (which several Authors say was executed by *Pisistratus* though devised by *Solon*) the *Athenians* again recovered the Island. *Solon* proved it to belong to *Athens*, for that *Philæus* the son of *Eurysaces*, and Grand-son to *Ajax Telamonius*, being made free of the Citie, gave it unto the *Athenians*; and because that such as were buried there, lay with their faces to the *West*, according to the *Athenian* custom, whereas the *Megarians* buried their dead in a careless manner, not regarding any such position.

Plutarch. & Diogenes Laertius in vita Solonis, Polyænus Strategem. l. 1.

Frontinus Strat. l.4. c.7. Justin. 2.12. Æneas Poliorcet. l.4.

23. *Solon* having got much credit by the successe of this enterprise, procured such to be called to an account, as had been guilty of the death of *Cylon*. This man being famous for his victory at the *Olympick* Games affected the Tyranny of *Athens*, and endeavouring to seize on the Castel, failed therein, and fled for refuge to the image of *Minerva*, whence the Magistrates giving him hopes of life, took him and his companions, and notwithstanding put them to death. This now was accounted a great injury offered to the goddesse, and such, as both the actors thereof, their posterity and Countrey were esteemed as contaminate, and lyable to heavy punishment. *Solon* perswaded them to submit to tryal, and 300 Judges were appointed out of the chiefest persons, who condemned them to banishment. Whil'st this was adoing the *Megarians* fell upon the *Athenians*, took *Nisæa*, and recovered *Salamis*: strange sights also appeared, whereat the Citie was affrighted, and their Prophets told them that certain Crimes were committed, which must be expiated. For this cause *Epimenides* a famous Philosopher (whom some reckon amongst the number of the seven wise-men in the room of *Periander*) was sent for

Herod. l.5.

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out of *Greece* to cleanse the City; a plague having also fain upon it at this time, as *Diogenes Laertius* writeth in his life. Several Altars upon this occasion he caused to be made, as amongst the rest one (*y*) to *Contumelie* (or Reproach) and another to *Impudence*. At (*z*) this time also it is thought that the Altar was erected to the *unknown God*, they having received no benefit by making addresses to their known ones, but present ease as soon as this Altar and a Temple of the same dedication were made and used. One (*a*) saith this was the Inscription: *To the gods of Asia, Europe, and Africk, to gods unknown and strange*; (*b*) another that it ran after this manner: *To the gods of Asia, Europe, and Africk, to the unknown and strange god*, in the singular number. But these calamities increasing publick discontents, made the assistance of *Solon* the more desirable.

(*y*) *Cicero de Legibus lib.2.*
(*z*) *Isodorus lib.4. Epist.69.*
(*a*) *Hieron. in Comment. ad Titum.*
(*b*) *Beza.*

24. He feared much to undertake so difficult a task as a settlement; and as for the *Tyranny* (so then it was termed) he refused it absolutely; though his friends perswaded him that by his moderation and good demeanour he might easily change this odious name into that of a Kingdom. But being elected *Archon* after *Philombrotus*, in the third year of the 46 *Olympiad*, some 93 years after the last change of Government, and in the dayes of *Nebuchadnezar*, King of *Babylon*, he set himself about the work of reformation, and first of all eased the people of the great burthen of their debts, whereby they redeemed their bodies and estates; which act was in *Greek* called *Sisachthea*. Some have thought that it was onely of the interest, but others of the principal too, alleging him to have forgiven 5 (some have said 15) talents that were owing to himself. However, he made them more able to satisfie their Creditors by raising the value of money, as of the *Attick Mina* from 75 drachms to 100. Then for the setling of the Commonwealth; in way thereto, and in the first place he abrogated all *Draco's* Laws, except that against murther, as too severe. The four *Tribes* of the people he left as they were ordered by *Erechtheus*, distinguished into *Souldiers, Crafts-men, Husband-men*, and *keepers of Goats*; but for that here was no distinction made according to estates, and it concerned those that had most therein to take care of the Commonwealth, he also divided the people into four *Ranks*, or *Classes*, according to their substance, and out of the three first ordered all Magistrates to be chosen, the fourth and last having equal Voices in the *great Council*, or *Assembly* of the whole body of the State, in which lay the supream power. The first was called *Pentacosio Medimni*, the second was the *Ordo Equestris*, the third called *Zeugitæ*, and the fourth *Thetæ*. Hereby he gave a right to the common sort to elect, and call to account the Magistrates, to have an hand in making, and repealing Laws, and in the highest Court of Judicature, by which equal temper he suppressed all these factions that had lately risen. And yet, lest the multitude should be too much elevated, besides the Court of *Areopagus* he instituted a *Senate* of 400. (100 to be chosen out of each Tribe) through which all things should passe into the great *Assembly*, wherein nothing was to be debated, but what was offered from this Council, elected a new every year.

(*y*) *Lege Plutarch in Solone. Aristot. lib.2. Politic. Julius Pollux lib.8.*

He reformeth the Commonwealth.

A Senate of 400.

25. The College of the nine *Archons* he left Elective as he found it; but ordained that they should not be admitted to take their Oath, till they had first in the Senate made proof of their descent, and the unblameableness of their life (especially of their duty to their Parents) and then been approved in the great *Assembly*, after which they were to take their Oath in the Kings Gate, to keep the Laws, and accept of no bribes; or if they should be thereof detected, then to erect at *Delphos* a Statue of Gold of their own bigness: and the same Oath they were again to take as they went up to the Castle, Crowned with Myrtle. Unto them severally he assigned their Offices; for the most part as they were before, onely more certain; and for a reward of their good service, if after much, and through examination they were found upright and faithfull, they were to be chosen unto the Senate of *Areopagus*, the Colledge of the *Archons* being hereby constituted the seminary of it. To this Council, consisting of most grave, experienced, and upright men, an inspection

Vide vehementem Emmium in descript. Reip. Athen.

Of *Areopagus*.

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spection was given into all concernments of State, a power of preserving the Laws and Customs, and also of reforming manners, in which particular they were so severe, that once they condemned a boy, for a custom of pulling out the eyes of *Quails*, as hereby betraying a bad disposition. They met ordinarily thrice a moneth on *Mars his hill* (whence the Council had it's name) but extraordinarily as occasion required, and then in the place called the *Kings Gallery*. As for the Council of State consisting of 400, it had power also to determine great matters and controversies of it self, and if it saw it convenient, to report them to the people. If the assent of the people was had, then passed it's acts and constitutions into firm Laws; if not, they continued in force one year, and no longer. To this Council moreover it belonged, to provide for such as were grown poor, and were to be maintained by the publick; to call all indebted to the State to an account, and provide for the making of Gallies.

The Assembly of the People.

26. To the great *Assembly* of the people alone belonged the power of making and nulling Lawes, of Peace and War, sending Ambassadors, and giving the freedom of the City. When they were met together they took an Oath, with a bitter execration, to consult the best they could for the good of the Commonwealth. Those that were above fifty years of age spake first, and, after the businesse was throughly debated, they signified their pleasure by holding up their hands. *Solon* ordained that all the Laws should be reviewed once a year, being recited by the *Thesmothetæ*. But when any were to be abrogated, or new ones made, the whole Assembly took not that matter of debate upon it self; but committed it to the care of the most grave and prudent amongst them, chosen for that purpose, and called *Nomothetæ*, amongst which none were admitted, but such as had dealt in the most important affaires. Before them five Orators (called *Syndici*) pleaded concerning any Law that was to be abolished, which should not be done without mature advice, lest thereby an occasion might be given to sedition and innovation; and what was concluded by these *Nomothetæ*, the body of the people alwaies approved. The *Assembly* was had ordinarily thrice in 35 dayes, at the pleasure of the Council of State or 400; but extraordinarily upon occasion called together, either by the same authority, of the *Strategi* or *Generals* for War, and sometimes of the nine *Archons*.

A.M.3411.

Courts of Judicature.

27. For Courts of Judicature, besides the *Areopagites* formerly mentioned, there was that of the *Epheta*, founded, as its thought, by *Demophon* the Son of *Theseus*, consisting at first of 50 Judges chosen out of *Attica*, and as many from *Argos*; but *Draco* excluding the Strangers, made the number onely 51 Citizens, and after him *Solon* tempering the rigor thereof, transferred thence the more weighty matters to *Areopagus*, leaving the Judgment of *casual homicide*, and *lying in weight for life*, in some cases to it. The causes brought in thither were reported by the *King* or *second Archon*. There was another Court most large and common, consisting of 500, 1000, or sometimes 1500 persons, according to the occasion, chosen by lot out of all the Citizens of 30 years old, and upwards. They judged of many, and often, of the greatest causes; and this was called the *Heliastick Council*, because they sate in an open place where the Sun shone. A fourth Court there was of *Arbitrators*, consisting of 220 chosen out of the Tribes, and being equally divided according to the number of them, heard and determined their Causes. A fifth and least considerable there was yet, made up of thirty persons at the first, afterwards increased to forty, going in circuit to the several sorts of people gathered by *Theseus* into one City, heard and judged lesser matters. As for the Officers belonging to the several Courts, the twelve men for imprisonment, and execution, with the Officers of the several tribes, they are scarce to be mentioned by this Work.

Particular Laws.

28. For particular Laws. *Solon* knowing what a multitude of people inhabited *Athens*, took such care for prevention of idleness, that he absolved any son from the duty of maintaining his Father, fallen into povery, that had not procured him to be instructed in some Trade: and the same liberty he

Plutarch in Solon.

give

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gave unto such as were born of Strumpets. He made a Law whereby he gave leave to the people to make Testaments, which they never could do before; all the estates of deceased persons going to the next Heir. He forbad women to have any portions, lest marriages should be made for gain; yet succeeded they in the inheritances of their Fathers, in default of issue Male. Some things about Marriages and Adultery he decreed, which have been noted, and not unworthily, as absurd. He commanded the Court of *Areopagus*, to take an account of all persons how they lived, and punish those that could render none. He forbad all native fruits, except that of the *Olive*, to be transported out of *Attica*. And nothing is more memorable than this, that he deprived of all honour, and rendred infamous those, that, in a time of faction and sedition in the City, joyned themseves to neither party, concluding, that such as were concerned for the good of the Commonwealth, would according to their best apprehensions, side with such as contended for it. His Laws he exposed to publick view, that none should pretend ignorance in them. He swore the *People*, *Magistrates*, and *Senate*, to observe them for an hundred years, and the Archons, if they brake them, to set up a Statue at *Delphos*, of their own bigness. Then to conclude his Work, he reformed the Calender, much amisse at that time, and reduced the year into such a form as was agreeable to the motion of the Sun.

29. The work being over, there wanted not those who would both praise and discommend it. Some would be amending it by addition, others by Substraction or change, so that plainly seeing what stir would be about it, he got leave to travel for ten years; in which time he went into *Ægypt*, where he conversed with *Amesis*, and into *Lydia*, where he had that notable conference with *Crœsus*, before mentioned. But while he was abroad, the City anew brake into factions. There were the *Pediæans* headed by *Lycurgus*, the *Paralians* by *Megacles*, and the *Diacrians* by *Pisistratus*, one who was descended from *Codrus* the last King. To the later, a company of the poorer sort joyned themselves, such as were most inveterate against the rich, and although they had not much to say against *Solon*'s Laws, yet were they desirous of innovation, hoping to be gainers therein. Things were in this posture when *Solon* returned home, who being received with much honour, laboured by his authority to take off the ring-leaders of the several factions, and reconcile them. *Pisistratus* seemed to give ear to him, being a man of deep dissimulation, and so much apter to deceive, in that no man appeared so great a friend to equality as he, and therfore a greater Enemy to the change of the present Government. But *Solon* quickly found him out; yet prosecuted him not with any open malice, but sought to draw him from his designs by fair means, often professing, that no man was more inclined to Virtue, or to make a good Common-wealth's-man, if the desire of rule and soveraignty were but taken from him.

Idem ibid. & Herodotus l. 1.

Solon travelleth.

30. For all this, *Pisistratus* proceeded, and by his seeming readinesse to patronize the poorer sort against the rich, invaded the Tyranny. He wounded himself and his Chariot-horses, and drove into the Forum, making shew of an escape from great danger, and desired of the people that he might have a guard assigned him to defend his person. He so far prevailed, as to have fifty persons allowed him, though *Solon* stepping to him, told him he did not well to act *Ulysses* in *Homer*, (who, as he counterfeited himself wounded to circumvent his Enemies, so did he the same, that he might cheat his fellow Citizens) and opposed the thing as much as possible. Having obtained the liberty of so many followers, he then took leave to increase their number, and thereby got the Castle into his hands, at which the City was much startled. *Solon* went into the *Assemblie* of the people, where upbraiding them with their former stupidity, he earnestly exhorted them yet now to pluck up that tyranny by the roots, which before they might have so easily prevented, but not at all prevailing, such consternation had seized upon men's spirits, he got him to his house, and laying his weapons before his Court-gate, said, he had discharged his duty towards his Country, and thenceforth kept himself quiet, continuing

Plutarch ut supra.

A. M. 3425.

Pisistratus invadeth the tyranny.

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continuing in the City, though his friends moved him to flie for his life. But such a reverence bore *Pisistratus* not onely to his person, but also to his Laws, that he retained still the most of them in their former vigour. A few he made himself, as one for maintenance of maimed Soldiers (though some attribute this also to *Solon*, and say, the occasion was given by one *Thespus*) and another against idleness, whereby he caused the ground to be more diligently tilled, and the City more quiet than usual. By these two he effectually provided for his own interest, obliging the Soldiers by the one, and by dispersing the people into the Country through the other (under prætence of preventing idleness, and keeping up tillage) cutting off from them all occasion of plotting any thing prejudicial to him. For he knew well, that as *Theseus* his gathering them all up into one Town, conduced to the preservation of that liberty he meant to bestow on them, so this contrary way tended as much to the keeping up of his arbitrary power.

Expelled.

31. Being seized of the Soveraignty, he carried it exceeding well to People, Magistrates, and Laws, and much adorned the City, of which he held possession about three years. Then *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, with their parties, so prevailed, as they banished both him and his tyranny, and being condemned, his goods were set to sale, of which none but *Callias* the Son of *Phœnippus* would adventure to buy any. But not long it was, before those that cast him out, became the means of his restitution; for falling out amongst themselves, *Megacles*, upon promise that he would marry his daughter, covenanted to bring it about, and effected it by a strange and ridiculous wile. There was a woman in the City named *Phya*, almost four cubits tall, but otherwise of tolerable beauty: her being armed, curiously dressed and seated in a Chariot, they drove into the City, sending some before to proclaim, that the *Athenians* were to receive *Pisistratus*, whom their goddesse *Minerva* esteeming above all mortals, now in her own person reduced into her Castle. This being acted with wonderful confidence, the Citizens were so far besotted, as to adore this woman for *Minerva*, and received *Pisistratus* as brought by her; whereby he recovered the tyranny about five years after his expulsion.

Herodot. l. 1. cap. 59.

Val. Max. l. 1. c. 2. Ext. exemp. 2.

Restored.

32. He married the daughter of *Megacles*, according to agreement; but having several sons already in the floure of their age; and *Megacles* being supposed guilty of that hainous crime about the death of *Cylon*, not yet expiated, lest he should put them beside their just expectations, and his family be attainted, he neglected to use her as his wife. She concealing this for some time, at length revealed it to her mother, who told it to *Megacles*. He took it in great disdain, and reconciled himself to his Enemies, consulting again how he might out him, which *Pisistratus* understanding, departed of his own accord out of *Attica*, and went to *Eretria* a City of *Eubœa* in the third year of the 54th *Olympiad*, about ten years after his restitution. Ten other years he continued in exile, at the end whereof, by the advice of his eldest Son *Hippias*, he laboured again for a recovery of his principalitie. Scraping together all the money he could make, he drew the *Thebans* and *Argives* into confœderacy with him, and got *Marathon* a Town of *Attica* into his hands, whither flocked to him from *Athens* and the Country round about those of his Faction. He marched then against the City, and put such to flight as came out against him, but fearing they might rally again, he gave order to his Sons to ride after and bid them fear nothing, so they would but get them to their own homes, and be quiet. Thus recovered he the tyranny once more, which then he laboured to establish, not by the shedding of blood (from which he wholly abstained, and therefore hath the best report of any of his condition) but by seeking confœderates, making himself a considerable revenew, and taking the Sons of those his Enemies, that remained in the City, for Hostages, sending them into the Isle *Naxus* to be kept. Not long after his restitution he died (for his whole reign including the exile amounted but to 33 years) about the time that *Crœsus* King of *Lydia* was overthrown by *Cyrus*, in the second year of the 57th *Olympiad*, and the 3460th year of the World.

Herodot. l. 1.

Forced out again,

And again recovereth the tyranny.

A. M. 3460.

33. This

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33. This onely could be reprehended in *Pisistratus*, that he had cast the yeak upon his Countrey. For such an one it was as had no great weight in it, more than what lay in the minds of the *Athenians*, not accustomed since the dayes of *Theseus* to stoop to Soveraignty. Though he commanded them to apply themselves to husbandry (contrary to what *Theseus* had done, who gathered them out of the Countrey into the City) that he might take them of from plotting against him, yet required he no other Tribute than the Tenths of their profit, which had wont to be payed to the former Kings. He killed no man, neither banished any; he made spoil of no mans fortune, or estate, injured none by any contumelious demeanour, abused neither the one Sex nor the other through any libidinous carriage. The Laws of *Solon* with the order of Magistrates he left as he found; and though he had most cause to be averse to him, yet detained he him in Town when he would have been gone, desiring his counsel and advice for the better Government of the Commonwealth, contenting himself onely in having a power greater than the Laws, in which respect *Cicero* was wont to call *Julius Cæsar*, who trode in his steps, by the name of *Pisistratus*. He was as learned as any in his time, & deserved very well of learning, being the first that erected a publick Library. Whereas *Homer*'s Verses before this were scattered abroad and confused, he purchased with Gold whatsoever of his works he could come by, and setting on work the ableſt Grammarians, put them into that order of *Iliads* and *Odysses*, in which they are now found; to which work *Solon* is said to have contributed his diligence. He had two sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, to whom he left the principality of *Athens*. They for many years reigned, as lovingly betwixt themselves, so with moderation towards their subjects, till the younger being slain by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, upon occasion of some injury supposed to be offered by him to the sister of *Harmodius*, the other exasperated hereat grew severe towards the *Athenians*, and for that was expelled by them four years after his brothers death, and his Tyranny was utterly subverted. But these things falling in with the reign of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, belong properly to another place.

Plutarch & Diogenes Laertius.

Gellius l. 6. c. ult. Cicero 3. de Oratore. Ælian lib. 13. c. 14.

SECT. V.

The most antient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Lacedæmon.

The first inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*.

1. THis Countrey was most antiently inhabited by a people called (*a*) *Leleges*, so named from *Lelex* their King, said to be an *indigena*, or a natural of the place, because it was obscure from what Countrey he, and his people came. From him this Region was called *Lelegia*, and *Lelegis*. He left two sons, *Myles* and *Polycaon*, whereof the former succeeded him in his Kingdom, and the later marrying *Messene*, the daughter of *Tryopas* King of *Argos*, went, and subdued that Countrey, which from her he named *Messenia*. *Myles* was succeeded by his son *Eurotas*, who perceiving the water to stand in the grounds, drew a Ditch from it to the Sea, which draining the earth, continued to be a River, bearing his name. He, dying without issue-Male, left his Kingdom to *Lacedæmon*, the son of *Jupiter*, and *Taygeta*, from which woman the Mount *Taygetus* took its name. For *Lacedæmon* married *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and when he came first to the Kingdom named the Countrey from himself, and to the Citie which he built gave his wives name; it being ever after most properly called *Sparta*, when any distinction was made betwixt Countrey and Citie; although it be also sometimes read *Lacedæmon*, as in (*b*) *Thucydides*, and *Latine* (*c*) Authors. As for the Inhabitants of both places, those of the Citie are by *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, and *Diodorus* called *Spartiati*, in opposition to those that lived up and down in the Countrey, comprehended under the name of *Lacedæmonians*. The

(*a*) *Pausanias in initio Laconicorum & Messenicorum.*

A.M. 2598.

Sparta, whence so called.

(*b*) *L. 1. Φὰς Δακεδαίμων*

(*c*) *Livius l. 38.*

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The Citie was built in the dayes of *Crotopus*, King of *Argos*, and *Amphytrion* of *Athens*, 303 years before the destruction of *Troy*, 711 before the first *Olympiad*. A. M. 2518.

2. *Amyclas* the son, and Successor of *Lacedæmon* (*d*) begat three sons, which are recorded; *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*, of which the later, as *Apollodorus* writeth, being for his beauty the delight of *Apollo*, was killed by him at unawares, when they were at play. *Argalus* succeeded his father, and left his Kingdom to his brother *Cynortas*, whose son and Successor was *Oebalus*, from whence the Countrey was also called * *Oebalia*, and *Castor* and *Pollux*, by *Statius*, *Oebalidæ fratres*. On his first wife he begat *Hypocoon*, and *Icarion*, and on his second *Gorgophone* (the daughter of *Perseus* by *Andromeda*, and widdow of *Perieres*) his son *Tyndareus*. The former and later after his death, contended about the succession, and *Tyndareus* having the worst of it, was constrained to banish himself for many years, till at length he was restored by *Hercules* (who slew *Hippocoon* and his ten sons, with a great number of the *Spartans*) but on this condition delivered was the Kingdom to him; to keep it for *Hercules* his own Children, and restore it when it should be demanded. *Tyndareus* of *Leda*, the daughter of *Thestius* an *Ætolian*, begat *Castor* and *Pollux* (called *Dioscuri*, as the supposed off-spring of *Jupiter*) and on her, or some other, a daughter named *Helena*. The two sons being famous in their lives, grew more renowned after their death, having the esteem of gods; and from them was named the constellation of *Gemini*. *Helena* was she that made such a broil in the World, being first stolne by *Theseus*, afterwards married to *Menelaus*, and from him stolne again by *Paris*, who kept her till the destruction of *Troy*, as hath been shewed. Her two brothers dying before their father, *Menelaus* with her obtained the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, through the special favour of *Tyndareus*, who from amongst 29 suters, (all Princes of *Greece*) made choice of him. Left those great ones should fall out amongst themselves, he bound them all with an Oath to be Defendants to whomsoever he would give her; which he did by the advice of *Ulysses*, upon promise to assist him in his sute being one of the number. This we do not find that he did; but in way of requital procured for him *Penelope*, the daughter of *Icarius*.

(*d*) *Pausan. ut supra.*

* *Servius ad Georg. 4.*

Tyndareus.

Apollod. l. 3. Pausan. A. M 2646. *Diodorus Siculus.*

Castor and Pollux.

Helena.

Menelaus.

A. M. 2809.

3. *Menelaus* on a slave begot two base sons; but by *Helena* had onely a daughter named *Hermione*, which he married first to *Orestes*, the son of his brother *Agamemnon*, and again taking her from him, gave her to *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*. It's thought that *Orestes* killed *Pyrrhus*; for after his death he presently resumed his wife, and *Menelaus* once dead, he added the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* to his other two of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*; for the *Lacedæmonians* were more willing to receive him as their Prince, than *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes* the bastard sons of *Menelaus*. *Tisamenus* his son succeeded him in his Kingdoms, out of all which he was outed by the *Heraclidæ*, or posterity of *Hercules*, as before was shewed, by the help of the *Dores*; with him the *Achæans* being also banished, who were Originally of *Pthiotis* in *Thessaly*; for *Achæus* their Progenitor was the son of *Xuthus*, Grand-son to *Deucalion* by his son *Hellen*. *Argos* fell to *Temenus* by lot; A. M. 2901. *Crespontes* got *Messene*; and *Lacedæmon* became the portion of *Procles* and *Eurysthenes* the sons of *Aristodemus*, who was slain at *Delphos* (for *Pausanias* judgeth this the most probable opinion) by the fraud of *Pylas*, when they were preparing for the expedition. Thenceforth the *Lacedæmonians* were accounted *Dores*; who, if formerly they were part of the *Achæans*, and going to *Troy*, at their return were expelled by those that remained at home, and so forced to seek out new seats, and received the name of *Dores* from their Captain, as *Plato* writeth; then had they full as much right to the Countrey as the *Heraclidæ* themselves, the title of whom we have formerly shewn. This change hapned 80 years after the destruction of *Troy*, as *Thucydides* gathereth; 327 before the first *Olympiad*, in the dyes of *Melanthus*, father to *Codrus* the last King of *Athens*, the year of the World 2901.

The descent of the *Heraclidæ*. *Procles* and *Eurysthenes* obtain *Sparta*.

4. The two brothers *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* were Twins, and that so

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like, as their mother not knowing them asunder, was ignorant which was the eldest, and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* made them both Kings with equal power: onely because *Eurysthenes* was first washed and fed, he was vulgarly accounted the elder; and though their families were of the same dignity, yet was his accounted something the more honourable. In their minority *Theras* their Uncle by the Mother's side managed the Kingdom for them, in obeying whom they ever agreed; but in nothing else, though Twins, and so like one another. This difference was in a manner propagated to their posterity, which continued on both sides for many Generations downwards by the names of *Eurysthenidæ* and *Proclidæ*, and being partakers in what is commonly accounted to bear no corrivals, no wonder it is that emulation should be continued, but much that for so long it kept within the bounds of civil concord. *Lege Herodot. l.6. c.52.*

Both Kings with equal power.

After these two followed their two sons: *Agis* for *Eurysthenes* (from whom the Kings of this family were also called *Agidæ*) and *Sous* for *Procles*. In their time it hapned that the Inhabitants of *Helos* (a Town built by *Helius* the youngest son of *Perseus*) were made slaves (both they and their posterity) to the *Lacedæmonian* State; for whereas they as well as others had formerly the freedom of the Citie, and were Members of the Commonwealth, *Agis* took away that privilege, and ordered them to pay Tribure to *Sparta*, which refusing to do, & standing out, they were thus punished; all other slaves to that State, though of what Original soever, being called after them *Helotæ*. *Plutarch. in Lycurgo.*

Helotæ made slaves. *Strabo l.8. pag.363. & 365.*

Agis dying, was succeeded by *Echestratus* his son; and *Sous* some years after, left for his Successor his son *Eurytion* (called otherwise *Eurypon*, and *Eurypho*n) from whom the Kings of that family were also named *Eurytionidæ*. *Echestratus* was followed by *Labotas* his son, and *Eurytion* by *Prytanis*, in whose reign the first quarrel arose betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*: *Labotas* being dead, *Doryssus* his son succeeded him the Kingdom, and in like manner after the death of *Prytanis*, *Eunomus* his son continued the succession of that family. *Eusch.*

5. After *Doryssus* followed *Agesilaus*, *Eunomus* of the family of *Procles* still continuing, who of a former wife begat *Polydectes*, and of a later *Lycurgus* born 150 years before the first *Olympiad*. *Archelaus*, the son of *Agesilaus* succeeded his father, and was accompanied in the Government by *Polydectes*, who dying without issue left his inheritance to *Lycurgus* his brother. *Lycurgus* then governed as King, but not long after his brothers wife proved to be with Child. She sent to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him, that if he would marry her she would make away the infant. He detesting from his heart such Villany, yet returned her no denial, but desired her not to practice any thing upon her self whereby she might come in danger, for when the Child was once born he would take care for the destruction of it: and by this deceit he drew her on till the time of her Travel. When that came he sent some to observe her, with command, if it were a Girle to deliver it to the women, but if a Boy, to bring it strait unto him. As he was supping with the Magistrates, a Boy was born and brought to him, who taking him in his arms, told the *Spartans* that there was their King, and presently put him in the Royal seat. And, because all men wonderfully rejoyced at so strange a thing, admiring his Magnanimity and Justice, he gave to the Child the name of *Charilaus*. A.M.3019. *Eusseb. in Chronico.* *Plutarch. ut supra.*

Lycurgus.

A.M. 3107.

Tutor to *Charilaus.*

6. Then as Tutor to this his young Nephew, he managed publick affairs for some eight moneths; but there wanted not those of the *Queens* kindred (especially her brother) who reproached him to his face, as intending no good to the Child, which she also now stuck not to say, incensed by his repulse in the matter of marriage. He took this in very ill part, and fearing that some inconvenience might follow these suspitions that were begotten by his adversaries in the breasts of several persons, resolved to cut them off by Travel, wherein he purposed to continue so long, till his brothers son should come to maturity, and had begotten an Heir for his Kingdom. He went first unto *Crete*, where he made observation of the Laws and Customes of that Commonwealth instituted by *Minos* (which afterwards he made his pattern) and *Lege Plutarchum & Strab. lib.10.pag.482.*

Travelleth.

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and whence he sent *Thaletas* an Eminent *Lyrick* Poet of those times, by his charming Verses to stir up the *Lacedæmonians* to Love and Unity. From *Crete* he passed over into *Asia* (that he might compare the luxury thereof with the *Cretian* severity, and as good Physick make up a temper out of both) where he found *Homer's* Verses, kept as it seemeth by the Sons of *Creophylus* (the Poet being dead not above thirty years before) which he then copied out, and bringing them home, first made them publick in *Greece*, though in great disorder; in which they continued till the dayes of *Pisistratus*. The *Egyptians* reported that he came down into their Countrey, and there learnt the distinction of *Military* men from *Artificers*, and those of *other* callings. But whilest he thus improved himself abroad; he was much wanted at home, and often earnestly sollicited to return, by all parties.

7. For great need there was of his presence to heal the distempers into which the State was now fall'n, the heady multitude having by its desire of loose liberty brought all things into confusion. The first Government till the coming in of the *Heraclidæ*, for any thing that can be found, was meerly absolute, and afterwards we do not find that the Regal power was diminished, till *Eurypon*, or *Eurytion* most imprudently let loose the reigns of Government. This gave occasion to the Rabble to fly high in disobedience, and contest with his Successors when they endeavoured the recovery of their old Authority. Many great tumults and seditions were hence raised, insomuch that *Eunomus* the Grand-son of *Eurypon*, father of *Lycurgus*, and fifth from *Procles*, was murdred in one of them with a butchers knife. These distempers increasing, and the Kings not being strong enough to rule the dissolute Rabble, nothing but absolute ruin and destruction was expected, when *Lycurgus* returning home (of whose prudence and integrity they had had formerly large demonstrations) alone seemed able to give any hope of better things. *Plutarch.*

8. He thought this opportunity was not be neglected, now that all were in so good a mind, and resolved to use his utmost indeavour for an alteration. Herein this was the scope he aimed at, to make Provision for equality, which he thought to be the best Nurse of Concord, and the Bulwark of all societies. To accustom the People from their tender years to obey the Laws and Magistrates, and hereby to render them more inclinable to live justly and frugally, to bridle all corrupt affections, indure labour and hardship, refuse no danger for the publick good, nor death it self if the case required. Having therefore a design to make a full evacuation of all bad humours, as he accounted them, and knowing how full of difficulty and danger this might prove to the body politick, mens minds much loathing so violent a Purgation, he considered that they were apt to be led by a shew of Religion, and having learnt how *Minos* pretended to have received his Laws from *Jupiter*, with whom he conversed in a Cave, he resolved to go to *Delphos*, and make use of that Oracle to the same advantage. There was he received with incouraging words, saluted, *Beloved of the gods a god, rather than a man*, and received in an Oracle the frame of a Commonwealth, which bringing home, he called *Rhetra* to gain the more Authority to it. At his return he first consulted with his intimate friends, and drew others on by degrees, till having made a party he ordered thirty principal persons to go Armed into the Market-place betimes in the morning, that they might thereby strike a terrour into their Adversaries. *Charilaus*, at this A.M.3122. much affrighted, as thinking it some plot against himself, fled to *Chalciacum* (the Temple of *Minerva* much spoken of) where he took Sanctuary; but understanding how things were, came forth and joyned himself to his Uncle, being of a most sweet and mild disposition.

At his return he anew modelleth the State.

9. The Rhetra according to which he framed his Model was of this tenour. *Let him build a Temple of* Jupiter Syllanius *and* Minerva Syllania: *Let him divide the People into* Phylæ *and* Obæ, *ordain thirty*

Sect. 5. Senators, *with the* Archageræ: *then let him call together the People betwixt* Babyces *and* Cnacion, *so let him propose concerning matters, or null them.* *Gamodan*, *Gorian*, &c. In these words of the Oracle, saith *Plutarch*, *Oba*, and *Phylæ* (that is Tribes) signifie certain parts, into which the People was to be divided: the Kings are called *Archagetæ*, as Captains: and to assemble the People, is in *Greek* expressed by *apollazein*, for that he attributed the beginning and cause of the Commonwealth to *Apollo Pythius*. *Babycas* and *Cnacion* is at this day called *Oenuus*. *Aristotle* writeth, that *Cnacion* is the name of the River, and *Babycas* of the Bridge. In the middle betwixt these the Concio was assembled, though there was neither Gallery nor any other accommodation, because he thought, that those things conduced nothing to Council, but rather hindred, for that Statues, Pictures, the attiring Rooms of Theatres, and withdrawing-rooms of the Court, being too curiously adorned, made those that met light and vain, diverting them with toys and idle thoughts. The multitude being assembled into one place, power was not granted no any of the People to propose: they could onely enact what the Senators and Kings had propounded. But in after times the common People perverting and wresting their suffrages, *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* then Kings, added this to the Rhetra: *But if the peop'e resolve upon any bad thing, let it be lawfull for the Senators and Kings to dissent*; that is, saith *Plutarch*, let them not ratifie it, but forthwith dismisse the Assembly; seeing the People depraveth the Decree, and altereth what is best. As for *Gamodan* and *Gorian*, *Plutarch* doth not interpret them, and it cannot be understood what they mean. Another Rhetra was this; that *they should use no written Laws*: another concerning expences, commanded, *that the roof of every house should be made with Axe onely, and the doors with a Saw*: and a third ordained, *that War should not be often made upon the same Enemies*: lest learning to defend themselves, they should thereby be made warlike: which afterwards was laid to the charge of *Agesilaus* in behalf of the *Thebans*.

The Kings. 10. Having prepared all things for his purpose, he dissolved the Government of his forefathers. For though he left two Kings as he found, with the same right of succession, yet took he away almost their whole power, instituting a Senate to restrain them, and be an equal poise betwixt them and the People, to reduce both parties into order. Without the Authority of this Senate the Kings could not decree nor undertake any thing of consequence. He ordered they should sit in the chiefest places as Members of the Senate, first speak their minds, and give their suffrages; but conclude nothing without consent of the Major part. All Magistrates, till the impudent *Ephori* took so much upon themselves rose up to, and did them reverence. Their imployment was to take care of Sacrifices, to command the *Pythii*, whereof two constantly attended them, to be sent to consult the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*; they took care of Ambassadors and other Strangers, of the causes of women that were Heirs; adoptious also they had charge of, so as none could be made without them. They gave answer to Ambassadors, and looked to the repairing of high-wayes. This was their condition at home, which amounting to no more than titulary Royalty, after that the present Kings had either given away their just right (as *Plutarch* telleth us, that *Charilaus* joyned with his Uncle) or were deprived of it by the treason and violence of *Lycurgus* and his party; the attempt of some men is as ridiculous as seditious, who taking it for granted that the Popular Villains, the *Ephori*, were 130 years after this set up by the People to restrain the Kings (which yet cannot be granted, though most have so thought) thence would draw a precedent to the disadvantage of true Royal Majesty. For these Kings were not real Kings as to Prerogatives of Majesty, being scarcely so much as a *Duke* of *Venice*.

Lege Plutarchum in Lycurgo. *Nic. Cragium ubbonem Emmium & Detisi. Dr. Heylin lib. cui titulus*, The Stumbling-block of Disobedience discovered, &c.

11. Abroad

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11. Abroad they were the Generals of Armies, which were left to their ordering, or disposal; so as no Council of War, or any in Commission could thwart their Commands; they onely receiving orders from the State, for their expeditions and returns. They had Judges to accompany them, a *General* of the Horse, four *Polemarchi*, besides *Colonels*, and other inferiour Officers, whose advice, as well as help, in the War they might use, but were at their own disposal, and obnoxious to none of them. And what is here spoken of a King, is to be extended to his *Protector*, *Guardian*, or *Tutor* in his minority, by the *Lacedæmonians* called *Prodicus*. Such were chosen to this trust and charge, as were neareſt of kin by the father's side, to the Orphans, and consequently the next Heirs, that whose was the hope, his also might be the burthen. This appeareth by several examples of *Lycurgus* himself, *Aristodemus*, and *Pausanius*, to be related in their due places; which though it be not admitted in other Commonwealths, and perhaps with good reason, yet these *Prodici* having all in their power, scarcely ever any of them was found to have plaid false, or, by treachery towards their Pupills, gone about to make way for their own preferment.

The Senate. 12. The *Senate* consisted of 28 persons, besides the Kings, not under 60 years of age. The first were such as had assisted *Lycurgus*, and been helpfull to him in the setlement, whom he ordered to continue for life, except they committed any offence worthy of esclusion, conceiving it not safe for this his Commonwealth, to have a frequent change of Senators, which the Kings might improve to their own interest. Into this second ranck of dignity, were none to be admitted, but such as had well deserved of the State by good Service or eminent virtue; that so it might be a reward to old men, and an incouragement to the younger sort, to be conformable to the Laws. They had in effect the whole executive power in their hands. They had the Supreme power of Judicature, wherein they proceded not rashly, but with great advice and delay, deferring judgement most commonly for some dayes, till they had heard both parties, and received the testimonies of witnesses: yet it was lawfull afterwards to appeal from them to the people. They were not liable to be called to an account for whatsoever they did; which immunity, as exceeding the moderation of a Commonwealth, (together with their suing to the people for their places, whereas able and honest men should be sought for) amongst other things is taxed by *Aristotle*.

Lege Plutarch. in Lycurgo. *Platon. de legib. l. 3.* *Xenoph. ut supra.* *Aristot. Polit. lib.* *Demosth. adversus Leptinem.* *Polit. l. 2. c. 8.*

13. A Reverend and most Learned man observeth, that whatever the Kings lost, the People got little by the alteration, being left out of all imployment in affairs of State, and forced to yield obedience unto thirty Masters, whereas before they had but two. For the Kings and Senate assembled, and dismissed them when they pleased, and propounded to them what they thought convenient. For the People so assembled it was not lawfull to propound any thing to be debated or determined, nor to deliver their opinion in the point propounded: there being nothing left to them but to testifie their assent to the Propositions made, either by the Kings or Senate. But the cunning flattery of the *Ephori* in after times much inlarged the power of the People. By the appointment of *Lycurgus* it met at the River *Cnacion* (afterwards called *Oenuus*) by the Bridge *Babycas*. Sometimes onely the *Spartans*, or Inhabitants of the Citie met together, and then it was called the *Lesser Assembly*; but otherwhiles the whole body of the *Lacedæmonians* gathered together out of all *Laconia*, that was free of the Commonwealth, which went by the name of *Greater Meeting* or *Assembly*, called then simply * *Ecclesia*.

Dr. Heylin. *Plutarch. in Lycugo.* *Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 3. & 6.* * Ἐκκλησία.

An equality of possessions. 14. Having reduced the Government to this Antimonarchical passe, he rightly judged it could not subsist without levelling. He therefore attempted a thing most difficult, and even beyond all hope of attaining. Many that had got much wealth in the late turbulent times, he perswaded to part with most of it, and to an equal division of the grounds, urging, that no inequality was to be amongst them, but what vice and virtue made; and what by arguments drawn from convenience, as others from necessity that lay upon them from the indigent and displeased multitude, he brought his design to perfection.

Plutarch. in vita Lycurgi. Et in Compar. Lycurgi & Numæ. Et in Agide & alibi.

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ction. Then divided he the grounds into 30000 *lots*, or equal portions, whereof 9000 he laid to the Citie of *Sparta* it self, (the number of Citizens amounting to so many) and distributed the rest to the other *Lacedæmonians* inhabiting the Countrey. Each portion contained so much as to maintain a family in a frugal way, and no more. To the Kings a larger quantity was assigned for the maintenance of their degree, so much as might serve with moderation, and not make them abound in riches.

Iron money.

15. That he might take away covetousnesse, and the desire of hoarding up wealth, he forbade the use of *Silver and Gold Coin*, putting in the room thereof *Iron* money, of which a great quantity amounting but to little value, no considerable payment could be made, without the help of an Horse or Waggon. Hereby it came to passe, that they were unfit to Traffick with other people, no Merchandize being imported, which he herein aimed at, as well as by another Law made expresly against the continuance of strangers in the Citie; fearing more the contagion of the mind in his people than that of the body. And either wayes to prevent Luxury, he forbade that any man should eat at home by himself, or with his family, or to make any private feasts, without some special occasion; but ordered them to sup together in common, without any distinction of Dignity or Fortune, by fifteen together. Each one sent in his Provision monethly; as Meal, Wine, Cheese, and Figs, with a little money to buy other victuals. If any had killed Venison, or offered Sacrifice, whereby any flesh was gotten, the ancient men left that to the younger sort, and contented themselves with Broaths, of which a black sort was most used, of no pleasant taste to such as were not accustomed to eat it. As for fish, and all kinds of delicate acates, they were utterly forbidden. None were to eat or drink beyond such a proportion as sufficed nature: the Kings indeed were allowed a double Messe, but this was, that they might have opportunity to pleasure and countenance others with part of it. All came to these publick meetings (which first were called *Andria* after the name of those of the *Cretians*, from whom *Lycurgus* borrowed this constitution, afterwards *Phyditia* and *Syssitia*) with their Arms, and after Supper were to go home without Torch or Candle, though never so dark, that they might learn, if need should be, to make the same shift when they lay abroad in the field. All stately buildings he forbade, and all Trades that tended any way to the maintenance of Luxury or Excesse.

Plutarch.

The *Phyditia*, or *Syssitia*.

16. But to have these customes durable, it being highly necessary to breed up the youth in suitable Discipline, he also provided for that in ample manner. The first thing previous to education was very unnatural and cruel; for the Infant as soon as born, was carried to the most ancient of that Tribe to be viewed; and if it was found any way deformed, weak, or sickly, whereby might be judged that it would rather prove burthensom than beneficial to the Commonwealth, then was it to be exposed upon the craggy places of the Hill *Taygetus*, there to take such quarter as wild beasts, fowls, hunger, and cold would afford it. But if it seemed strong, lusty, and worthy to live, then was it restored to its Parents to be nursed. And nursed it was very harshly, not used to any delicate, or costly feeding, and so used to darknesse and solitarinesse as not to be affrighted at them. When the Children were seven years old they were not committed to any mercenary School-masters, after the custom of other people, but to the care of the publick, being distributed into several Companies, over which some that were most fierce, hardy, and prudent amongst them were set as Captains, who governed them in their sports and exercises, and to whose correction they submitted. There were also most commonly some men present at their exercises, who would rebuke and chastice them, observing which had the most notable spirits; *Lycurgus* leaving it in charge to the *Lacedæmonians* to take care of other mens Children as of their own. All manner of wayes were they inured to labour and pains. Their hair was cut close to their heads, they went bare-footed from their Infancy, fought with one another naked, with as much earnestnesse as might be, and after a certain barbarous and cruel manner, were once a year whipped

Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

The education of boys.

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whipped at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, (to which goddess sacrifice could not be offered without mans bloud) till the bloud ran down in great abundance, their Parents beholding the sight. They would bear it with admirable patience and emulation, chearfully, (nay, many times with great delight which they took in excelling one another in patience) enduring the strokes unto death it self.

17. When they were past their Childhood, at twelve years of age, their labours and exercises were but increased, lest vice together with years should grow upon them. They were to be content with one Coat, both Winter and Summer, and slept by Companies together upon coarse, and uneasie beds. The antient men also oversaw them upon occasion, but the charge was committed to one of the principal, called thence *Pædonomus*, who had power to gather them together and correct them. Over several companies certain young men of twenty years of age, called *Irens*, were set, who, if no men were present, had command over them, exercised them in watches, lying in ambush, and other crafts of War, wherein if any were caught they were severely punished to make them the more wary for the future; as also if they were taken in theft, stealing with them being lawfull, and incouraged as an exercise for War, but to be surprized therein was punishable. The same *Irens* supping with them would make some sing, and others propose questions, in answering which they exercised their wits, accustoming them to make a short, clear, and witty answer, in the dexterity whereof the *Lacedæmonians* excelled all others; Orators with their long-winded speeches being utterly forbidden. When the *Iren* corrected them, there were men standing by to take notice of it, and if it was not rightly done, nor upon good grounds, he had the same punishment inflicted on him. Those boys performed several sorts of exercises; but amongst the rest those called *Platanista* (from the place thick set with *plain* Trees) were most eminent, in which with hands and feet, teeth, and nails, they fought in good earnest, to the putting out of eyes, and sometimes to the danger of life it self, none giving over, or shrinking one jot, than which no disgrace was esteemed more hainous. Such strict, and constant discipline under-went they all their minority, till they arrived at 30 years of age (before which time they married not, went not out to war, neither exercised any Office) so that the greatest trouble in the field afterwards seemed much more easie to be undergone.

Pædonemus.

Iren.

Plutarch. in Apothegmat. Laconicis.

The education of *Virgins.*

18. The education also of young women was agreeable to this of the other Sex, that by vigilancy, industry, and enduring labour, they might be furnished with courage and resolution against all evils, being married with more ease undergo the pains of Travel, and bring forth Children of the same constitution. According to their age they had exercises of sundry sorts; most of which they performed in publick, naked, and that not onely in the sight of *Kings* and *Senate*, but the young men also; which yet because of the *Laconick* modesty and temperance, with the custom of it, was not judged at all to contribute to vice, but rather to an innocent, and harmlesse emulation, and honest love. Their diet was such as might nourish them, and not any ill disposition in them. Such were their Cloaths, and all things else about them, as long as *Lycurgus* his constitutions were in force; and therefore the too great power of the women, their Luxury, and the many great inconveniences that thence arose to the State, objected so much by *Aristotle*, is to be ascribed to the married sort; & probable it is that this corruption crept in, in after-times, it being well nigh as easie for him to reform the women as to make this great alteration in the Commonwealth, though the contrary be asserted by the Philosopher, who as it seemeth was much satisfied in the wilfulnesse of that Sex. The set time for marriage of men was at 30. for women at 20 years, before which it was unlawfull; but if a man within some reasonable time after, betook him not to that estate, he was publickly disgraced by command of the Law-giver. Women had no portions; yet the Heirs carried with them their father's inheritance. No plurality of wives did he allow; and yet as for adultery it was not heard of in that Citie, against which neither did he make any Law, having already provided sufficiently against it by such strict constitutions.

Politic. lib. 2. cap. 7.

19. As

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Travel forbidden.

19. As he provided against the flocking of strangers to *Sparta*, so forbad he any Citizen, or Member of the Commonwealth to Travel, (except in any expedition of War) lest he should bring home with him the dissolute and effeminate customs of other places. Merchandizing was esteemed a base imployment, as meerly practiced for getting of wealth. Drunkennesse they rendred more abominable to Children by making their slaves drunk, that then they might behold them in that beastly condition. He that had been so unthrifty as not to be able to bear the charge of the *Phiditia* was excluded from all trust in the Commonwealth. To keep them vigilant, he commanded that the Cities should not be walled, they having sufficient leasure to look carefully to it; this being even their whole calling, with their heads and hands to attend publick affairs; the drudgery of Tilling their grounds, and gathering their fruits, being imposed upon the *Hilotæ*, or publick slaves, with other servile and Mechanick affairs. Those slaves it was not lawfull for any one privately to manumit, or sell out of *Laconia*, whereby increasing to so great a number, that they equalized, or exceeded that of their masters, they sometimes afforded occasion of great danger; upon which account this constitution is taxed by the *Philosopher*. For the lessening of their numbers a course was taken not altogether clear from a note of cruelty: Certain young men being sent about into the Countrey, who lying hid in the day time (whence this practice was called *Cryptia*) by night killed as many of them as they could light on.

Sparta unwalled.

The *Cryptia*.

20. Such was the form of the Commonwealth instituted by *Lycurgus*, which saved him the labour of erecting any other Courts of Justice than what have been already mentioned. For Gold and Silver being taken away, and the use thereof forbidden upon pain of death, controversies and sutes most commonly thence arising naturally fell of themselves. He forbad his Laws to be written in Tables, because he would have them rooted in the minds of the people, to which he thought the strict Discipline he erected might sufficiently conduce. After the thing was done, as it hath hapned usually in this kind, he was but ill rewarded; for such as had parted with their Silver, Gold, or Luxury, were so inraged as to throw stones at him, which to shun he was glad to betake himself to his heels, and looking back had an eye struck out by one *Arcander*, who yet afterwards repented him of the deed, and was very observant of him. * One telleth us he was cast out by publick rage; but he who hath handled the subject of his life with greatest industry, hath recorded, that when things began to be setled, and he saw the Commonwealth thus constituted able to support it self, he calling the people together, told them, that indeed all things were so already setled as to provide for vertue and happinesse, but one thing, and that of greatest consequence was yet behind, which was not to be enacted before first he had consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*. Wherefore he desired them to keep the Laws already made, and change nothing in them till his return with such answer as the Oracle would give him. All consenting, he took an Oath of the King's, Senate, and people, and began his journey. At *Delphos* he enquired whether the Laws already made, and established, were not sufficient for the vertue and safety of the State. It was answered they were, and that it should continue most glorious so long as it would stand to them. This answer then he sent to *Sparta*, but, resolving never to loose them from their Oath, he there made an end of himself by abstaining from all sustenance. Some have said that he died in *Crete*, and that he ordered his body to be burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Sea, lest his Relicks being brought back to *Sparta*, they should account themselves freed from the Oath. But * *Tertullian* writeth, that he famished himself, because the *Lacedæmonians* went about to alter his Laws.

Plutarch. ut supra.

* *Valerius Max. l. 5. c. 3. Ext. Exemp. 2.*

Kings, Senate, and people sworn to observe the Laws, and constitutions of *Lycurgus*.

His death.

* *Lo. Apologet.*

21. *Lycurgus* being dead, and the State setled after this great change, it renewed the War formerly begun with the *Argives*, and afterwards deluded with the ambignity of the Oracle, commenced another against the *Tegeata*, a people of *Arcadia*, by whom they were worsted, and *Charilaus* the King was taken prisoner, through the especial valour of the women: yet was he pre-

The War with the *Argives*.

Pausan in Arcadicis.

Herod. lib. 1.

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presently set at liberty, upon his oath never to fight more against them, which he but ill performed. After this they overthrew divers Cities, on which the *Achæans* had seized, some whereof made their peace, as *Pausanias* telleth us, and departed out of *Peloponnesus*. The Colleague of *Charilaus* (or *Charillus*) for some time was *Telectus*, whose death gave one occasion to the famous *Messenian* War. *Charilaus* was succeeded by *Nicander* his Son, and *Telectus* by *Alcamenes*. In * the 34th year of *Nicander*, was celebrated the first *Olympiad*, after the restitution of those Games by *Iphitus*, in which *Coræbus* a Cook of *Elis* got the Prize in the Course. These solemnities being of so great consequence in the knowledge of times, must not be passed over without some observation.

Pausan. in Messenicis.

The first *Olympiad*.

* *Clemens Strom. lib. 1.*

22. These exercises had in former times been held by divers others, as *Hercules* (both the *Idæan* and the son of *Amphytrion*, as some think) *Pelops*, *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others. After the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, *Oxylus* the *Ætolian* also (who as we said, was chosen their guide, and according to agreement, had the Country of *Elis* given to him) renewed the Games; but they were interrupted as formerly, or seldom observed, for about 300 years, till *Iphitus* the son of *Praxonidas*, and Nephew of *Hamon*, descended from him, and one of his Successors, again restored them; after which they never intermitted, but were kept up for many generations. But the occasion of the last restitution was this. *Greece* being almost ruined by seditions and pestilence, *Iphitus* inquired of the Oracle at *Delphos*, how those evils might be redressed: and it was answered, that it was expedient for him and the *Eleans* to restore the *Olympick Games*, whereupon he proclaimed them, and for the better celebration of them, procured a Truce to be made. The place whence they had their name was *Olympia*, a City situated in the territories of the *Pisæans*, upon the River *Alpheus*, upon which account the *Pisæans* contended a long time with the *Eleans* about their interest in them. There was a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, and a place for races and all sorts of exercises, filled with many goodly buildings which resembled another City. Near to the Town was also a place where the *Eleans* sate and judged of the controversies arising about Victories, to which Crowns were given. As long as the *Eleans* continued under a Monarchical Government, their Prince, of the posterity of *Oxylus*, was sole Judge; but afterwards there were two, chosen by the votes of the people, which were after increased to the number nine, then to ten, and last of all to twelve. This Solemnity was held once every fifth year beginning, so that from the commencing of one to the beginning of another, passed four entire years, by some mistaken for five, because of the commencement of the Games. The time was at the full of the Moon, the change whereof immediatly preceded the Summer solstice, in the moneth by them called *Hecatombæon*.

Pausan. in Eliacis.

The renewing of the *Olympick* Games.

A. M. 3219. *Ol.* 34.

23. Upon this occasion meetings and consultations were had, concerning the affairs of all *Greece*, besides the Inhabitants of which, many flocked from other Countries. Care was here taken concerning the form of the year, for the intercalation of a day at the end of every fourth. Charge was given to the Priests of the Temple, to take notice of every new Moon, especially of that wherewith the moneth *Hecatombæon* begin, and to proclaim it: they were also not onely to register the names of the *Victors* in the several sorts of Games, with other things that concerned them, but also whatsoever memorable thing occurred in the intervals. The account of time henceforth never failed, and the affairs of *Greece*, and other Countries, were known in a most certain order. And here the second interval of time amongst three reckoned by * *Varro*, received it's period. The *first* began with the beginning of things, and ended at the *Deluge*, called by him *unknown*; the *second* began where the first ended, and concluded with this restitution of the *Olympiads*, which he termed *Fabulous*, because the Storie thereof is mixed with Fables; and the *third* commencing with the first *Olympiad*, reached to his own time, which he name *Historical*, for that things done therein, were truly and

* *Vide censorinum de Die Natali. cap. 21.*

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clearly related. This happened 408 years after the destruction of *Troy*, 774 before the *Æra* of Christ. *A. M.* 3229.

A. M. 3256. *V. C.* 5. *Fothami* 10.

24. Towards the later end of the seventh *Olympiad*, a great change was made in the Government of *Lacedæmon*, by the bringing in of the *Ephori*, who, according to *Plutarch*, had their beginning 130 years after *Lycurgus*. It seemeth that for all the means used by him to gain an equality, and clip the power of the great ones, yet it again grew extravagant within this time, so that the people to provide against that of the Kings and Senate for the future, got these Officers created. Five they were in number (whereof one *Elatus* was the first) chosen every year by and out of the people, without any distinction of birth or wealth; insomuch, that sometimes the meanest sort of men were elected, which custom is noted as bad by *Aristotle*. But their use and end being onely to protect the liberty of the people, such, what ever they were, must be preferred, as made the greatest show of love to freedom, of a sharp and bold wit and aversnesse towards the power of the great ones. *Theopompus* the Son of *Nicander*, and Grandson to *Charilaus* was King at this time, who bringing in, or giving way to this Office, his wife rebuked him for so doing, saying, that he would leave the Kingdom to his Son of lesse value than he had it of his Father; to which he answered, that on the contrary, he should leave it so much the greater, by how much more durable. Indeed hereby it came to passe, as *Plutarch* observeth, that the Kingly power being lesse, was not subject to that envy which ruined the affairs of the Kings of *Messene* and *Argos*, who would not moderate their power, nor at all stoop to any popularity; and the government here being poised, continued longer, as freed from the intestine distempers of the neighbour Commonwealth. Yet it is also observed by * one, that the reason of the prosperity and long duration of the *Spartan* State, above that of the *Athenian* and others, is to bee ferched from it's so much partaking of *Aristocracy*, and the want of that influence which the heady multitude had into the greatest affaires elsewhere.

The bringing in of the *Ephori* into *Sparta*.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. *c.* 11.

Val. Maxim. lib. 4.

Plutarch. in vita Licurgi.

Plato de Legibus lib. 3.

Cicero de Legibus l.b. 3.

* *Machiavelli sopra la prima Decad. di Tito Livio.*

25. The general and most probable opinion is, that the *Ephori* were brought in in the time of *Theopompus*. So writeth *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*; yet (*a*) *Herodotus* having reckoned up several things performed by *Lycurgus* in the framing of his Commonwealth, at length addeth, *Further, Lycurgus ordained the Ephori and Elders*: of which opinion *Xenophon* seemeth also to have been in his Treatise of the *Lacedæmonian* Commonwealth. But though they were brought in during the reign of *Theopompus*, yet it is not agreed of who was the principal cause of their creation, because the end or design thereof is uncertain, though that ere now spoken of be generally received. (*b*) *Plato*, and *Plutarch* (as he confesseth) from him, will have them created to be as a bridle to the *power* of the Kings, for theirs it must needs be, which he calleth *hereditary*. *Cicero* also in his third Book of Laws testifieth, that the *Ephori* at *Sparta* were opposed against the *Kings*, as the Roman *Tribunes* against the *Consuls*, who as well as the *Senate* were, even at the first institution, feared by the Commons, for that they were the chief Patritian Magistrate at that time, and the animosities in that State were caused by the distinction of the two orders. *Valerius Maximus* maketh the time comparison betwixt *Ephori* and *Tribunes*, and maketh them instituted by *Theopompus* for this very end, whom *Plato* also seemeth upon the same account to call the third *Saviour* of the *Lacedæmonians*; so that he must have been at the least instrumental in their institution. *Aristotle* (*c*) accounteth this Magistracy as the nerves of the Commonwealth joyning the parts thereof together; because the people by virtue of it being partaker of Empire, was quiet; so that the people seemeth especially considered in this Office, by which in another place the Philosopher expresly saith *Theopompus* moderated the power of the Kings. But *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, as (*d*) *Plutarch* himself relateth the Story, affirmed in a speech to the people, that *Lycurgus* having added the *Senate* to the *Kings*, the Commonwealth was for a long time governed without any other Magistracy. Afterwards, when the *Messenian* War

(*a*) Ἔφορους τε κατέστησε, τῆς ἐξόδου ἐς χρηματισμὸν ἐόντας μέτρης Λακεδαιμονίων. *Herod. l.* 1. *cap.* 65.

(*b*) Ὁ περὶ τοῦ ἐφορικοῦ λόγος ἐστὶν, ἀφαιρεῖν τὴν ἐκ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας. *Plut. in Lycurgo.*

(*c*) Συνέχειν τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν τὸ εἶδος ἦν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις ἡ νεῦρα διὰ τοῦτο συνέχει τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν. *Arist. Polit. lib.* 2.

(*d*) *In Cleomene.*

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War was drawn out in length, the Kings because they were employed abroad, chose some of their friends to administer Justice, whom they left as their Deputies over the people: and those were called *Ephori* from their *inspection*. Being at first no other than Assistants to the Kings, by little and little they assumed power to themselves, and, no body aware of it, constituted a peculiar Office. Hereof, he said, a sign remained at that day, for that the King being called by the *Ephori*, refused to come once, and again; but at the third call came to them: besides, *Asteropus*, who first inlarged the bounds of this Office, was *Ephorus* many ages after.

Their power.

26. The power of those Magistrates, for what end soever constituted (as of others in other places) was moderate at the first, but in processe of time, as the ambition of them, and the confidence of the people thereupon increased, it exceeded the due and just bounds, and made the Government almost degenerate into a *Democracy*. They not onely consulted with the *Kings* and *Senate*, resolved about the affaires of State, and judged of controversies amongst the people; but afterwards grapled even the whole power into their hands, doing all things themselves that were of moment. They governed the *Assemblies* of the people, proposing and gathering suffrages, they made and disanulled leagues, ordered what forces were to be sent out, for which they also made provision, they rewarded or punished, according to their pleasure, other Magistrates, calling the very * Kings to account for their lives; insomuch that, as the *Philosopher* observeth, they obtained a kind of tyranny: the onely remedy was, that their Office was but annual, and being five in number, the designs and indeavours of one or two, were crossed and overthrown by the contrary party, nothing being done without the consent of the whole *College*. They rose not up, as other Magistrates, in presence of the Kings, with whom they mutually sware every moneth; the Kings that they would rule according to the Laws, and they in the name of the people to preserve their rule thus ordered, safe and entire to them. With their entring into their Office, the year began (constantly in Winter, as we learn from *Thucydides*) and from one of them as principal, the year was named (who thence was called *Eponymus*,) as from the *Archon* at *Athens*. At their first entrance they were wont to publish an Edict, that the men should take off all the hayr from their upper lips, and observe strictly all the Laws, lest they should be constrained to punish them, requiring obedience in a little, thereby to inure the people to it. In the Wars two of them used to go out with the Kings, to assist them in their Councils. They were wont to proclame open war against the publick slaves or *Helots*, giving liberty to kill them, and thence is to be derived that cruel custom of the *Cryptia*, rather than from any constitution of *Lycurgus*, as *Aristotle* thinketh. The cause thereof, as *Plutarch* judgeth, was the conspiring of these slaves against their Masters, during the *Messenian* War.

* *Agis.* *Pausanias.* *Vide Plutarch. & Corn. Nepot. lib.* 5. *Plutarch. in Cleomene ex Aristotele.*

The *Messenian* War.

27. In the second year of the ninth *Olympiad* this War began, though the ground of the quarrel had been partly laid several years before the bringing in of the *Ephori*. In the dayes of *Teleclus* Father to *Alcamenes* now King, there being a Temple of *Diana* in the borders, to which both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians* constantly resorted; it hapned that some *Spartan* Virgins, going thither, according to the custom, were abused by the *Messenians*, and *Teleclus* indeavouring to prevent the injury, was there slain: moreover, the Virgins for very shame and grief destroyed themselves, as the *Lacedæmonians* told the story. On the contrary, the *Messenians* pleaded, that at this Temple *Teleclus* lay in wait for the principal of their City, by sending thither young men, disguised in the habit of Virgins, with Poniards under their clothes; that hereupon the *Messenians* coming in to help their friends, slew *Teleclus*, and the counterfeits, for which at that time, the *Lacedæmonians* found not themselves so much concernd as to stir. However it was, grudges hence arose, or were rather heightned betwixt them; for the *Lacedæmonians* often complained, that in the division of the Territories obtained by the *Heraclidæ*, *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles*, their Kings, were cheated by their Uncle

Pausanius in Messenicis. *Strabo l.* 6, & 8. *Just. in lib.* 3.

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28. Animosities being raised upon these accounts, another thing hapned which increased them to that height as they brake out into open War. There was one *Polychares* a *Messenian*, who had got the victory in the course at the celebration of the fourth *Olympiad*. He let out some Cows to one *Evaphnus* a *Lacedæmonian*, on this condition, to have part of the profit. *Evaphnus* sold the Cows, and then coming to *Polychares*, told him that they, and their keepers were stolne from him; but while he was labouring to gain credit to his tale, some of the Herdsmen (who, as it seemeth, with the consent of *Evaphnus*, were taken away by force) escaped from the Merchants, and acquainted *Polychares* with the fraud, which now the other not able to deny, asked him pardon, told him for how much the Cattel were sold, and promised to send the money, if he would let his son accompany him to *Sparta*. He sent his son accordingly, but when they were come together into *Laconia*, *Evaphnus* most perfidiously murdred the young man, with the horridnesse of which fact *Polychares* grievously moved, came several times to *Sparta*, complaining bitterly, and with many tears to the *Kings* and *Ephori*, but found no Justice; insomuch that growing into a great rage against all *Lacedæmonians* in common, he killed them as enemies wheresoever he could meet them. *Pausan. ut supra.*

29. The *Lacedæmonians*, finding themselves concerned herein, sent to the *Messenians*, demanding *Polychares*. At that time *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, the sons of *Phintas* reigning at *Messene*, promised they would report the matter to the people, and know their minds therein. The multitude being called together, *Androcles* was much for the giving up of *Polychares*, but on the contrary *Antiochus* urged how unjust, and lamentable a thing it would be for him to be tormented before *Evaphnus*, and the contention grew so hot betwixt the brothers, that it came to blows. *Antiochus* his faction prevailing, *Androcles* with the chief of his party lost their lives. *Antiochus* then reigning alone wrote to the *Spartans*, offering to refer the businesse to the *Argives*, who were of the same stock with them both, or to the publick Council of the *Amphyctiones*; or else, if neither of these liked them, to the Senate of *Areopagus*. They returned no answer by the Messenger, and within a few moneths *Antiochus* died, and his son *Euphaes* succeeded him. Neither then did they send any message, nor yet renounced amity with the *Messenians*, but entring into secret consultations provided for the War, and bound themselves with an Oath never to return home till they had subdued *Messenia*. *Paus. Polybius l. 6.*

30. Being bound with this Oath, and having all things in a readinesse, under the conduct of *Alcamenes*, the son of *Teleclus*, they went out by night and fell upon *Aruphæa*, a Town upon the Borders, which by the suddennesse of the onset, no Watch being kept, but the Gates standing open, they easily took, and finding it a place for situation, and convenience of water fit for their purpose, put all to the sword, intending to use it as a Receptacle, and chief Fortresse in the War. After this they made excursions, and rather practised robberies than carried on a War, the *Messenians* declining the fight through the perswasion of *Euphaes*. But after four years, when they were now well exercised, and exceedingly incensed against the *Lacedæmonians*, he gave them leave to make inroads into *Laconia*, where they wasted all about *Taygetus*. He then lead down his Army into the Borders to fight, which opportunity the *Lacedæmonians* imbraced, and ingaged with the horse, and those foot that bare the light Armour. But *Euphaes* having provided matter for making a Trench, caused the place where his other Souldiers lay to be fortified (in them consisting his chief strength) so that, seeing they could not fight with them, and being unprovided to besiege the Camp, they returned home, where they had but cold welcom, because of this retreat made contrary to their solemn Oath. *Idem ibid.* A.M.3262. *Olymp.9.an.2. V.C. 11. Iotham. 16.*

31. The year after, for that the elder sort exceedingly upbraided them, they

Sect. 5. they returned into *Messenia* under conduct of both the Kings: *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicander*, and *Polydorus* of *Alcamenes*, now dead. There they were received by the enemy, and entertained in a great and bloudy battel, wherein both parties with much earnestnesse and contention demeaned themselves. The *Spartans* as they surpassed the other in skill, being trained up in exercises from their Childhood, so exceeded them also in numbers; but desperation and necessity made the *Messenians* valiant, as they abundantly shewed it, many breaking their Ranks on purpose to come to hand-stroaks with the enemy. In the main battel the victory continued doubtfull a long time; in the right wing *Euphaes* put *Theopompus* to flight, and in the left *Polydorus* did as much by the *Messenians*, and neither party would give the chace; *Euphaes* for that he thought he had already done enough, and *Polydorus* because the *Lacedæmonians* were deterred from it through their ignorance of the place, being in an enemies Countrey: so that fighting on even terms they were parted by the night. The day following neither side would fight, nor had the confidence to erect a Trophy; but made truce so long as to bury their dead.

32. After this battel none other succeeded for several years. The *Messenians*, for that their Countrey was the seat of War, were pressed with many difficulties. Their Garrisons had cost them so much money, as now they were rendred unable to pay their Army: their slaves fled daily to the *Lacedæmonians*, and a certain disease not much better than the plague, seized upon them, which though not exceeding deadly, yet joyntly with the other difficulties, caused great trouble and perturbation. After a serious debate concerning the main of their affairs, it was resolved, that most of the Towns lying upon the Sea should be dismantled as far remote, and *Ithome*, a Mountain as large as any within the *Isthmus* (whereupon stood a Town more antient than great) was to be fortified because of the natural strength thereof. When they had here setled themselves, they sent to *Delphos* to enquire concerning the event of the War. The Oracle (agreeable to the disposition of the enemy of mankind) required a Virgin of the stock of *Æpytus* to be sacrificed; whereupon all that belonged to that family were subjected to the lot, and the daughter of one *Lyciscus* was taken. She being to be offered, the sooth-sayer forbad it, alleging that she was not the daughter of *Lyciscus*, but brought in under-hand by his wife that was barren, and whil'st he was thus perswading the people, *Lyciscus* fled away with her to *Sparta*. All hereat exceedingly startled, *Aristodemus*, another of that family, voluntarily offered his own daughter; but a young man there present that was in love with her, and shortly intended marriage, stifly impugned it, and contended she was not in her fathers power, because betrothed to himself. Nor herewith prevailing he affirmed he had lien with her, and that she was with Child, whereat *Aristodemus* was so inraged, that he killed her with his own hand, and ripping up her belly, shewed plainly to all that there was no such matter. Yet the sooth-sayer avouched her death could not at all profit the State, and commanded some other to be offered; but *Euphaes* perswaded the people that the Oracle was already satisfied, and required not the life of any other.

Aristodemus killeth his daughter. A.M.3269. *Olymp.11. an.1. V.C. 18. Achazi 8.*

33. That rest which the *Lacedæmonians* had in this interval was presently turned into action with the *Argives* about *Thyrea*, a Town situate in the Borders of both Commonwealths. This fell out in the reign of *Theopompus*, whereat yet he was not present, partly by reason of his old age, and also for grief taken at the death of his son *Archidamus*. The controversie was brought before the *Amphyctiones*, who ordered that 300 on each side should decide it. Of the *Argives* two persons survived the Combat; but on the *Spartan* party onely one, by name *Othryades*, as good as many, who lived no longer than to make use of broken Spears instead of Crutches to sustain his body, then to gather together the Targets of the slain, and to erect a Trophy therewith, whereon he made an inscription with his own bloud. Because of this Trophy the *Amphyctiones* decreed the Town to the *Lacedæmonians*; *Paus. in Laconicis & Argolicis. Plutar. in Parallelis. & Herod. lib. 1. Suidas in voce Othryades.*

The *Lacedæmonians* make War upon the *Argives*.

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nians; but the *Argives*, for that two of their party survived, afterwards renewed the War to their own dammage.

That with the *Messenians* renewed.

34. The offering up of *Aristodemus* his daughter seemed to the *Messenians* to have done some good, the affairs of *Lacedæmon* appearing to be in a declining posture, and that State flower in its Enterprizes than formerly. But in the sixth year after the departure of *Lycifcus*, and the eighth from their removal to *Ithome*, the War was again renewed against them. Another battel was fought, but with the same successe as formerly. In the midst of the fight was the hottest contest, the most valiant on both sides betaking themselves thither, where *Euphaes* also venturing further, than either stood with his dignity or safety, against *Theopompus*, received many, and deadly wounds. Herewith being so weakned as he fell, the *Lacedæmonians* strove to take him, and a great conflict ensued; but one *Amander* so far resisting as to lose his own life in the quarrel, *Euphaes* was brought off, and died a few dayes after, having reigned 13 years, all which time he spent in the War against the *Lacedæmonians*. He dying Childlesse, a great controversie arose about the succession, for that several of the family of *Ægyptus* stood for the Kingdom, amongst whom was *Aristodemus*, who, though it was objected that having pollured his hands in the bloud of his daughter, he was not capable, was preferred before all others through the favour of the people. After his Election he sent Presents to the chief of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, whom he ingaged to his party. Assisted by some *Arcadians* he made encursions, and the *Lacedæmonians* did the same, proceeding to no greater extremity; but at length, in his fifth year, another battel was fought near to *Ithome*, wherein the *Messenians* were assisted by the three States ere now mentioned, and the *Spartans* by no other *Peloponnesians* than those of *Corinth*. The dispute was very sharp, and the event doubtfull, till the *Messenians*, having the upper ground, at last put their enemies to flight, of whom it is credible, as *Pausanias* onely writeth, that many miscarried.

Pausanias in Messenicis.

A. M. 3274. *Olymp.* 12. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 23. *Achazi* 13.

35. The *Lacedæmonians*, after this, almost despairing of successe, both parties sent to erquire at *Delphos*, concerning the issue of the War. The *Messenians* received an answer so ambiguous as could not be interpreted: that to the *Spartans* plainly signified, that as *Cresphontes* had obtained *Messene* by a wile in ordering the lots, so by wiles it was to be recovered. Several then they invented, but all were discovered, by the vigilancy, and cunning of *Aristodemus*. But the 20th year of the War approaching, the affairs of the *Messenians* began exceedingly to relapse, and the Oracle again consulted, answered, that whosoever could first dedicate a hundred Trestles (or three-footed stools) to *Jupiter* of *Ithome* should obtain *Messene*. The *Messinians* having the Temple within themselves, doubted not but to be able to do this first; yet the answer being brought to *Lacedæmon*, one *Oebalus* a crafty man there made 100 of Clay, and while the *Messenians* were busie about others of Wood (for their purses were not able to reach to brasse) disguised himself in the habit of a fowler, and carried them into the Temple. This struck the *Messenians* with great consternation, who were straightly besieged by this time, and hindred from getting in any provisions. *Aristodemus* was also tormented with sad dreams about his daughter, whereat sorely moved, and exceedingly afflicted with consideration that he should kill his Child for his Countrey's good, which notwithstanding was desperate, he slew himself at her Monument.

36. With this sad accident the *Messenians* were more grievously struck, and so despaired as to have thoughts of making their applications to the *Lacedæmonians*; but as yet not able to stoop, they made no overtures, though almost oppressed with famine: they chose them Captains in the room of *Aristodemus*, preparing to sallie out, and fight it out to the last man for their lives and fortunes. Yet at length distrusting their ability to do any thing that way, and considering themselves urged hard with the want of all necessaries, they left *Ithome*, and yielded in the fifth moneth after the death of *Aristodemus*, the 28th year of the War being almost finished, in the first of the fourteenth

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reenth *Olympiad*, the *Medontidæ* at *Athens* yet enjoying the power for ten years, in the dayes of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, and the time of the deportation of the ten Tribes. The Conquerours utterly demolished *Ithome*, and, having gotten easily the other Towns of *Messenia* into their power, imposed what Laws they pleased upon the Inhabitants, who were commanded to till their grounds, and send one half of the profits unto *Sparta*; to bind themselves by oath, to remain in perpetual fealty to the *Lacedæmonians*, and both men and women, when the Kings and Nobles of *Sparta* died, to attend upon their Funerals in mourning weeds; which things were injoyned them upon pain of death. As many as would not endure those hard conditions, and had hope of entertainment with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, went thither, and such as were Priests to *Eleusine*: all the rest of the multitude departed every one to his own seat, and so the first *Messenian* War ended.

The end of the first *Messenian* War.

A. M. 3282. *Olymp.* 14. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 31. Ezech. 8.

37. Whilst the *Lacedæmonians* were abroad, and lay under the obligation of their oath, never to return till the War should be finished, fearing, either through the suggestion of their wives, or their own recollection, that their posterity might fail, they chose out of their lustiest young men fifty in number, who coming out under age, were not liable to the oath, and sent them to *Sparta* to lye with their Wives and Virgins (or the Virgins onely) in a promiscuous manner, whence arose a generation called *Parthenia*, as the Sons of Virgins. But after that the war was finished, and the *Spartans* returned home, they looked upon them as a spurious brood, and as such contemned them; which these youths apprehending, and how they could not inherit any thing in the Commonwealth, entred into conspiracie with the *Hilots*, and made one *Philanthus* their Captain, whose Father *Aracus* had given the advice, to send the young Men to the Virgins. This plot being revealed by some of the slaves, they were expelled, and forced to seek out new seats; so that departing into *Italy*, they drove out the *Barbarians* and *Cretians*, who inhabited about *Tarentum*, and seizing upon that place, therein planted themselves.

Justin. ex Trogo l. 3.

The *Parthenia*.

Lege Strabon. l. 6. *p.* 278, 279, 280, 281.

38. The *Messenians* thus brought under the yoak, endured it, though with much repining, for 39 years; but then, besides their most hard and servile condition, wearied with the insolency of the *Spartans*, in the fourth year of the 23 *Olympiad*, a little after the nine *Annual Archons* were constituted at *Athens*, in the 40th after the taking of *Ithome*, they revolted, at the instigation of *Aristomenes* especially, a young man of a most active and couragious spirit, who had before hand solicited for assistance the *Arcadians* and *Argives* now being jealous of the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, and at open enmity with them. At this time *Anaxander* the Nephew of *Polydorus*, by his Son *Eurycrates*, and *Anaxidamus* the Son of *Zeuxidamus*, and Grandson to *Theopompus*, by his Son *Archidamus*, who died ere he came to reign, were Kings at *Sparta*.

The second *Messenian* War.

Pausan. in Messenicis. A. M. 3320. *V. C.* 69. *Manassis* 17.

39. *Aristomenes* managed the whole businesse for the *Messenians*, being of extraordinary abilities both of body and mind. He first ingaged with the *Spartans* at *Dera*, a Village of *Messenia*, where he is said to have behaved himself above the capacity of a man, and seeing he was of the Family of *Ægyptus*, was chosen *King* by the people. Refusing this title, he was created *General*, with absolute authority, and afterwards, at the Monument of the *Boar*, (a place in *Messenia*, where *Hercules* made a league with the Sons of *Nileus*) by the assistance of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Eleans*, overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, terrifying all where ever he came. In the pursuit he lost his Target, which whilst he was seeking, they had opportunity to escape. After this, he took and plundered a Town of *Laconia*, named *Pharæ*, whence retreating with much booty, he also overthrew *Anaxander* the King, who pursued him, and having in his intentions to march against *Sparta* it self, is said to have been deterred from it, by the apparitions of *Helena*, and her two brothers *Castor* and *Pollux*.

40. The *Lacedæmonians* much startled at this losse, thought to have put a period

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period to the War, but were again incouraged by the Verses of *Tyrtæus*, who perswaded them to fill up their armie with the *Helots*. A year or two before this, sending to consult the Oracle about the War; they had answer, that they must send to *Athens* for a Counsellor. The *Athenians* were unwilling in the least to promote their affairs, being jealous of their growing power, yet fearing also to do any thing crosse to the Oracle, they sent to them this *Tyrtæus* a School-master, lame on his feet, and not very sound in his brain. In the third year of the War, another battel was fought, at a place called the great *Ditch*, wherein the *Messenians* having no other associates than their friends of *Arcadia*, these also failed them at this time, through the treachery of their Captain; so that, left to themselves, and compassed in by their Enemies, most of them were slain, though *Aristomenes* omitted nothing worthy of a General, or common Soldier. Having gathered up the reliques of his Army, he perswaded the people to quit all inland Towns, and fortifying onely *Pylus* and *Methone* upon the Sea, to secure themselves in the hill *Ira*. Here they were presently besieged, and issuing out for booty, made depredations, both in *Laconia* and their own Country, which drew out an Edict from the *Lacedæmonian* State, that the borders of both Countries should, during the War, be left desolate; whereupon a dearth ensued at *Sparta*, and thence a Sedition, which *Tyrtæus* with his Poetry had work enough to suppresse.

Pausanias in Messenicis.

41. *Aristomenes* in the mean time, like some fierce and greedy Lyon, with 300 choice men at his heels, to the great fear of all men, ranged up and down the Country, and made continual excursions into the Enemies Country. At length he was taken and carried to *Sparta*, where condemned to death, he was thrown into a deep dungeon; the ordinary way of punishing capital offenders. Coming safe to the bottom, though others were killed by the fall, he perceived a Fox feeding upon some dead carkeises, whereat considering that this creature must have some hole to creep in at, he caught it by the tail, and defending himself from it's teeth by the other hand, it led him to the hole, which being but little, he so inlarged with his hands, as contrary to the belief and expectation of all men, he returned safe to his Companions. Presently after his return, he fell upon the Camp of the *Corinthians*, who assisted the *Spartans* in the Siege, and lay carelessly, without any watch, and killing the Captains, plundered their Tents. Not long after a Truce was made for fourty dayes, during which, he wandring abroad too carelessly, was entrapped by some *Cretians*, who assisted also in the Siege, and being bound with the thongs of their quivers, was carried into a Village, to the house of a certain widdow. This woman, understanding who he was, cast in her head how to deliver him, which she effected, by giving his Keepers so much drink, that they falling asleep, with one of their daggers he cut the thongs. Being loosed, he stabbed the *Cretians* and escaped; and afterwards, to requite the womans kindnesse, married her to his Son *Gorgus*.

42. Ten years the Siege of *Ira* continued, the *Messenians* enjoying the grounds at the foot of the Mountain, as far as the River *Neda*, thereby being better provided for to hold out. But in the eleventh, when *Aristomenes* was renderd by a wound incapable of taking such care about the watch as he had been wont, in a rainy and dark night the sentinels, secure of him, betook themselves to their own homes. Amongst those there was one, whose wife in his absence entertained a certain Herdsman as a Lover, who belonged to *Emperamus* a *Lacedæmonian* now at the Siege. He being hid by his Paramour upon her husband's coming, heard the man tell the Story, how he and his fellows had forsaken their charge, and slipping away, therewith acquainted his Master. Both the *Spartan* Kings were absent at this time, but *Emperamus*, unwilling to let slip so fair an opportunity, led the Army thither, and got into the Fortresse before he was discovered. When the matter was perceived, a great contest there was betwixt the parties; but *Aristomenes* seeing there was no hope of doing any good, and willing to save what was left of the afflicted *Messenians*, obtained liberty to depart; and so *Ira* being taken

A.M. 3337. *Ol.* 28. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 86. *Manassis* 34.

The end of the second War.

Sect. 5.

taken the War ended, after it had lasted sixteen years; in the first of the 28th *Olympiad*, when *Autosthenes* was *Archon* at *Athens*, A. M. 3337.

43. When the *Arcadians* understood of the taking of *Ira*, they desired of *Aristocrates* their King to be led out, either to restore their friends, or die with them; but he having formerly betrai'd them at the *great Ditch*, was now also corrupted with money, and refused to do it, alleging there was none left to whom they could give assistance. Yet when it was clearly known that they were alive, they sent some before to comfort them, then met them with clothes, and meat, as far as the Hill *Lycæus*, and kindly invited them to live amongst them. *Aristomenes* boyling with hatred and revenge against the *Lacedæmonians*, chose out of the Company 500 men, whom he knew to be no whit desirous to outlive the fortune of their Country, and asked them in the hearing of *Aristocrates* (not knowing any thing of his treachery) and the *Arcadians*, whether they would venture their lives with him. Upon their answer that they would, he acquainted them with his design, to march straight for *Sparta*, which if he could surprize, now that all it's strength was imployed in the plunder of *Messenia*, then should he make an even exchange with the *Lacedæmonians*; but, if not, death would be the worst that could happen. Besides the *Messenians*, 300 *Arcadians* gave their names to this Expedition; but being stayed by reason that the entrails of the beast were not propitious, *Aristocrates* had time to give notice of the design to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The treachery was discovered after the return of the Messenger, by some that suspected it, and the letter sent back from *Anaxander*, was red in the Assembly of the *Arcadians*, wherein thanks was given to *Aristocrates*, as well for the help he afforded the *Lacedæmonians* at the *great Ditch*, as for this timely notice. Hereat the multitude was so inraged, as they stoned him out of hand, cast him out unburied, and erected a monument to his infamy, with this note, that *Perjury cannot escape God*. They exhorted also the *Messenians* to throw stones at him, who looked upon *Aristomenes*, as expecting directions from him; but he onely fixed his eyes on the ground and wept.

Aristocrates punished for his treachery.

44. The *Messenians* desired of *Aristomenes* to lead them out, to seek some new place to inhabit; but he denied it, resolving to spend his dayes in doing as much mischief as he could to the *Lacedæmonians*: onely his son *Gorgus* and *Manticlus* he offered to them. Those that had kept *Pylus* and *Methone*, with others which lived on the Sea-coasts, went by ship to *Cyllene*, the haven of the *Eleans*, to seek out the rest. The following Spring several places being proposed to go to, *Anaxilas* who then reigned at *Rhegium*, and was descended of one *Alcidamidas* a *Messenian* (that after the taking of *Ithome* in the former War, betook himself thither) sent some to convey them into *Italy*. After their arrival, he told them he had continual War with the *Zancleans*, a people of *Sicilie*, that inhabited a fruitful and pleasant Soil, which if they would help him to conquer, he would put it into their hands. He then besieged them by Sea, and the *Messenians* by Land, whereby being distressed, and the greater part of the wall now cast down, they fled to the altars of their gods. *Anaxilus* would have had them slain, and their wives and children sold; but the other unwilling to commit such cruelty against any *Greeks*, (for such they were, the Town being first inhabited by Rivers, and afterwards by others from several parts of *Greece*) gave them liberty to continue, and incorporating themselves into their body, changed the name of the place from *Zancle* into *Messene*. *Aristomenes* for some time continuing in *Greece*, married his daughters very honourably, whereof *Demagetus*, Prince of *Rhodes* at that time, took the youngest to wife, having been advised by the Oracle, to make choice of that man's daughter who was the best in all *Greece*. He carried his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he intended to go to *Ardys* the son of *Gyges*, then reigning in *Lydia*, and thence to *Ecbatane*, to *Phraortes* King of the *Medes*; but death prevented him, and he finished his dayes in that Island, being found in the number of those few, that lived and dyed in great glory.

The *Messenians* passe into *Sicily*.

A. M. 3339. *Ol.* 28. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 88. *Manassis* 36.

Sect. 6.

Such as continued in *Messenia* made slaves.

45. *Messenia* thus subdued by the *Lacedæmonians* was tilled by the common slaves, amongst whom such of the inhabitants as there still remained were inrolled, and became a proverb for their hard bondage; being worse used than any, because, as some think, the War was carried on with them, not for *glory and Empire*, but for *life and safety*, not with *a contention which people should rule*, but *whether should be preserved*. The accession of this Countrey to their demesnes very much increased the power of *Lacedæmon*, and so they held it for two hundred years, till an opportunity was offered for the old inhabitants, in despight of them, to return. This thing being brought to passe long after, must be referred to another place: as also (because what further hapned betwixt the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and this Commonwealth, is not very material) whatsoever we have further to observe concerning the *Lacedæmonians*.

SECT. VI.

The most antient Kingdom of Corinth.

Corinth first called *Ephyra*, and built by *Sisyphus*.

1. THis Citie, seated in the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*, had first the name of *Ephyra*, and was built by *Sisyphus* (whose posterity reigned here some 428 years) in the dayes of *Cecrops*, the first King of *Athens*, and a little before *Deucalions* Flood, about the 2486 year of the World. He married *Merope*, the daughter of *Atlas*, by which he had four sons, *Glaucus*, *Ornytion*, *Thersander*, and *Almas*; was accounted a very wise, and prudent man, feigned also to have returned to life again, that he might chastize his wife for not having performed what was due to his memory. After he was once got up he would not return of a long time to Hell, where he is also said by the Poets to roll a great stone up an Hill, which continually rumbling down again keepeth him in constant toil, having this punishment inflicted on him for discovering to *Asopus* his daughter stolne away by *Jupiter*. *Glaucus* his eldest son was the father of *Bellerophon*, and first celebrated Games in the *Isthmus*. *Ornytion* begat *Phocus*, who led a Colony into, and gave name to the Countrey called *Phocis* after him, and *Thoas* a younger son that continued at *Corinth*. *Thersander* had two sons, *Coronus* and *Haliartus*, who being adopted by *Athamas* their Uncle on the father's side, then reigning in *Bœotia*, (after he had lost his own two sons *Phryxus* and *Helles*, and his daughter *Ino* with her two sons) gave name to two places in that Countrey. *Almus* (called otherwise *Halmus* and *Olmus*) the youngest son of *Sisyphus* had part of the Countrey of the *Orchomenians* bestowed on him by *Eteocles* the King, and from him *Almon*, or *Olmon*, a place of *Bœotia*, was so named.

Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

Euseb. in Chron. A. M. 2486.

Bellerophontes.

2. *Bellerophontes*, having committed man-slaughter at *Corinth*, was forced to fly thence, and went to *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, whose wife *Sthenoboea* enamoured of his beauty tempted him to lie with her; but he had the modesty to deny her, wherewith she was so incensed as to accuse him to her husband of an intended rape. *Prætus* taking it in great disdain to be so used by his Guest, yet would not kill him, but sent him to *Iolas*, King of *Lycia* his wives father with Letters, wherein he desired him to make the bearer away. To fulfill his requeſt, *Iolas* first caused him to fight with the *Chimæra*, a Monster that vomited fire, not doubting of his destruction thereby; but he mounting the horse *Pegasus*, slew the Monster. Then he sent him against the *Solymi* and *Amazons*, whom he Conquered; then caused some of the strongest young men he could procure to ly in ambush, and fall on him, which also he having slain, *Iolas* admiring his valour gave him his daughter *Philonoe* to wife, and when he died, left him his Successor in the Kingdom of *Lycia*. Concerning this *Chimæra*, what should be meant thereby is scarce discernable. (a) Some have understood by it a *Mountain* in *Lycia*, the top whereof vo-

Apollodorus. A. M. 2660.

The *Chimæra.*

(a) *Servius in Virgil Æneiad. l. 6.*

Sect. 6.

vomited forth fire, the middle part had Pastures full of Goats, and the foot, or bottom, abounded with Serpents. 'Tis conceived he might make this Mountain habitable, and thence be said to have slain the *Chimæra*, which had a mouth like a *Lyon*, middle parts as a *Goat*, and the hinder parts like a *Dragon*. (b) Others again say that *Bellerophontes* gave occasion to this fable by killing one *Chimærus* a Sea Captain, who infested the *Lycians* with piracy, the story being thence raised, for that *Chimærus* his ship had a *Lyon* painted on the prow, and a *Dragon* on the deck, and *Bellerophon's* Vessel called *Pegasus*, might have a winged horse for its sign. A third (c) sort think three kinds of enemies to be signified by this Monster: the *Solymi*, *Amazons*, and *Lycians*; the former being for their valour compared to a *Lyon*, the next for their nimbleneſſe in climbing of Rocks to a *Goat*, and the last to a *Dragon*, for their craftineſſe in ambushes. Lastly, a (d) modern, and most learned Writer judgeth the three gods of the *Solymi*, whom *Bellerophon* overthrew, to have been painted in their Ensigns; resembling a *Lyon*, *Goat*, and *Dragon*, like the three heads of the Monster, as 'tis described by *Hesiod*.

(b) *Plutarch de virtutibus mulierum.*

(c) *Homer Iliad. 3. Eust. & Isac. in Lycoph. p. 6.*

(d) *Lege Bochartì Canaan. lib. 1. c. 6.*

3. *Bellerophontes* being driven from *Corinth*, *Thoas* the son of *Ornytion* obtained the Kingdom, whom succeeded *Deiophon* his son, then followed *Propodas*, whose two sons *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas* reigning both together, *Aletes* the son of *Hippotes* (son to *Antiochus*, and Nephew to *Hercules*) came down and subdued the Kingdom. The *Heraclida* having, before this, obtained *Peloponnesus*, reserved this part for him, who consulting the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, was answered, that he should then obtain it, *when a clod of Earth should be given him*. At his return this was fulfilled; for begging some meat of an Herdsman, he, having nothing to give him, offered him a *clod*, which he gladly accepted, saying, *Aletes acceepteth of a clod*, which became a proverb. Who gave the name of *Corinth* to the Citie is uncertain; but however, *Aletes* out of gratitude to the Oracle, named it *Corinth of Jupiter*, which gave occasion to the multitude to believe that *Corinth* the King that built it, was the son of *Jupiter*, wherein they so gloried, and so often vaunted of it, that nothing became more ridiculous, and they were laughed at for it throughout *Greece*. After *Aletes* the eldest of the family succeeded for several Generations. The first was *Ixion*, who reigned 37 years, the next *Agilaus*, who ruled as many, *Prumnis* 35. and * *Bacchis* full so many, who was so famous, that where as he, and all his Ancestors were called *Heraclidæ*, his Successors from him had the name of *Bacchiadæ*. The first after him was *Agelas*, who governed thirty years, the next *Eudemus*, who reigned 25. then came *Aristomedes*, who having ruled 35. left a Child behind him, which his brother *Algemon*, whom he had appointed Guardian, deposed, and held the Kingdom himself sixteen years. After him followed *Alexander* for 25. whom *Telestes* the son of *Aristomedes* slew, and obtained his fathers Kingdom, which he held twelve years. He was also slain by *Arieus* and *Perantas* his Kinsmen, and then *Automenes* reigned one year, which being expired, the *Bachidæ*, more than 200 in number, seized on the Kingdom, and Governed in common; onely every year they created a *Prytanis* out of their own body to be in the room of the King, and so they continued 90 years in the way of an *Aristocracy*.

Aletes.

Δὸς Κόρινθος.

Pausan. ut prius.

Vide Simsonum ad A. M. 2914.

* A. M. 3048.

The *Bacchiadæ.*

Euseb. in Chronico & Excerpta Diodori; per Georgium Monach. inter. lib. 5. & 10.

4. During this term, in the fourth year of the eleventh *Olympiad*, the *Corinthians* being powerfull at Sea, sent out a Colony into the Island of *Sicily* under conduct of *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, which, expelling the *Siculi* out of that quarter, founded the Citie *Syracuse*. More people flocking thither out of *Peloponnesus*, this Citie grew, and increased exceedingly; so that it became not onely the principal of all in *Sicily*, but the greatest, and most beautifull of all *Greece*, as *Cicero* witnesseth, and in its due place will be further discovered. Much about the same time was there another Colony sent into the Island *Phæacus*, lying nigh to *Epirus*, at a little distance from the Continent, conducted thither by *Cherserates* another of the posterity of *Hercules*. *Homer* in his *Odyss.* Maketh this Island inhabited in the *Trojan*

Colonies of the *Corinthians.*

A. M. 3272. *Olymp. 11. an. 4. V. C. 21. Achan 11.*

Sect. 6. times, by the *Phæacians* a most noble people, over whom reigned *Alcinous* the son of *Nausithous*, who received *Ulysses* after his long wandrings, and helped him in his journey home to *Ithaca*. He mentioneth his Royal seat, called *Scheria*, (which *Pliny* from him affirmeth also to have been the name of the Island, as well as *Phæacia*) and saith, the inhabitants were much given to Navigation, and most skilfull therein. In the soyl of this *Scheria*, the old inhabitants being expelled, this new Colony planted it self, which taking the name of *Corcyra*, the whole Island came thence to be so called. The Citie, much befriended by the Commodiousnesse of the Haven, and the conveniency of the place for Sea matters, grew in a short time to be very considerable; so as it founded of it self two Cities, viz. that of *Epidamnus*, as we have it from *Thucydides*, (by the *Romans* called *Dyrrachium*) and *Apollonia*, as *Strabo* writeth; both of them seated in that part of *Illyricum*, inhabited by the *Taulantians*. The form of this Commonwealth was (agreeable to the constitution of all Colonies) like to that of *Corinth* the *Metropolis*, which then was Governed by the *Bacchiadæ* in an *Oligarchical* way. When *Corinth* was afflicted by Tyrants, *Corcyra* felt also their influence upon its infancy; but at length it grew to that height, as to renounce such obedience as the other challenged, whence great and tedious Commotions were produced in *Greece*.

5. The *Bacchiadæ* neither communicated the Government nor marriage to any other person than of their own family, till one of their women being lame, and upon that account despised by them all of her own stock, had thereby an occasion given to break the custom. She (named *Labda*) married *Eetion* (the son of *Echecrates*, and Nephew to *Anassus* of the *Petrean* Tribe) who, having no Children by her, or any other, went to *Delphos*, and inquired of the Oracle concerning issue. He received an answer to this effect; that he should have a son, who like a stone would fall upon the *Oligarchy*, and breaking it in pieces, amend the State of *Corinth*. This coming to the ears of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had an Oracle before much to the same purpose, though under general terms, they resolved to hold their peace, and kill *Eetions* Child as soon as it should be born. And as soon as his wife was delivered, they sent ten of their Company to destroy it, whom the mother presented with a sight of the Babe, thinking they had come to Congratulate her husband about its birth. They had agreed amongst themselves, that whosoever first came at the Infant should knock out his brains, but the Child smiling in his face, who first took it in his Arms, he was so moved with compassion, as he would not kill it, but delivered it to one of his fellows, who touched with the same compassion gave it to another, till it passed through all their hands unhurt. Being gone out, and standing at the door, they blamed one another exceedingly, especially the first, whose part it was to kill it, and in they returned now to do the deed; but the mother, hearing their discourse, hid the Infant under a *Bussell*, or such like instrument of measuring Corn, so that not finding it they returned, giving out they had done their errand, and so the Child thus preserved was named *Cypselus*, from the measure under which he was hid, in the *Greek* tongue called *Cypsele*. *Herod. lib. 5. cap. 90. &c.* *Cypselus.* *Kυψέλη.*

6. When he was come to man's estate, relying upon another Oracle (whereby he was plainly bidden to be King of *Corinth*, and his Children after him, but not his Nephews) he invaded the Tyranny, which to establish, many he deprived of their estates, but many more of their lives. He first lulled the people asleep with good language, and thereby getting all into his hands, made himself Lord of the Citie; his power he preserved by removing those out of the way whom it most concerned; but once established, he grew exceeding mild and fair, with good words, and no ill deeds, drawing the people into such a respect of him, that all his time he stood not in need of any Guard; a rare thing in men of his condition, which *Gelo* at *Syracuse* onely imitated. This change happed at *Corinth* in the 2 year of the 31 *Olympiad*, in the dayes of *Phraortes*, King of the *Medes*, and *Ardys* Grand-father to *Crœsus*, King of *Lydia*, 20 years after the second *Messenian* War, and 30 after A.M. 3350. *Consule Arist. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.*

after the nine *Annual Archons* were established at *Athens*, A. M. 3350. Upon his seizing the power, *Demaratus*, a man eminent amongst the *Bacchidæ*, and very rich, fled into *Italy*, and seated himself in *Hetruria*, where, of a woman of that Countrey he begat two sons, *Aruns* and *Lucumon*, the later whereof became King of *Rome*, by the name of *Tarquinius*. Sect. 6. A.M. 3350. *Dionys. Halycarn & Livius. l. 1.*

Periander. 7. *Cypselus* having enjoyed the principality of *Corinth* and *Corcyra* the space of thirty years, then died, and left it to his son *Periander*. He was much unlike his father, of a cruel disposition (if we believe *Aristotle* rather than *Socicles* in *Herodotus*) insomuch as not trusting the good will of his people, he got a guard of 300 men about him, and would rather be feared than loved of his Subjects; yet being hardy and warlike, he held the power longer than he. *Herodotus*, out of *Socicles* relateth, that at first he was very mild and curteous, till by acquaintance with *Thrasybulus* the Tyrant of *Miletus*, he altered his humour; for sending to him for his advice, how he migh best order his affairs in Government, he returned no answer to the Messenger, but carrying him out into a plot of Corn, fell a plucking off the tallest and most eminent ears, till he had well nigh marred the whole plot. The Messenger returning told *Periander* what he had seen, who easily guessed, that the most eminent and powerful Citizens were to be removed out of the way; but * *Aristotle* maketh him the author of this counsel to *Thrasybulus*. *Laertius* saith, he grew more cruel after it was known that he lay with his Mother *Cratea*. *Herodotus & Aristot.* * *Polit. l. 3. c. 9. & l. 5. c. 10.*

8. He married *Melissa* the daughter of *Procles* (or *Patrocles*) tyrant of *Epidaurus*, on whom he begat *Cypselus* and *Lycophron*, whereof the elder was very blockish and stupid. At the instigation of his whores, he afterwards killed his wife, kicking her when she was great with childe, then lay with her when she was dead, and calling together the *Corinthian* women, as well adorned as possible, to celebrate the feast of *Juno*, caused his guard to strip them all naked, and made a parentation to *Melissa* of all their clothes and ornaments. *Lycophron* his youngest son, who onely was capable of Government, moved by *Procles* his Grand-Father, grew exceeding froward and refractory because of his Mother's death; insomuch as, differences and distasts increasing, *Periander* banished him, first his house, then forbad all his Subjects to speak to, or comfort him, and at length forced him into *Corcyra*. But after some years growing old, infirm, and unfit for businesse, he sent for him home, offering to passe over all to him; but by no arguments or intreaties could he move him to return, till he offered to change places, and devest himself of all power. Now, when this was agreed on, the *Corcyræans* fearing above all things to have *Periander* come amongst them, to prevent it, killed the young man. *Periander* to be revenged, took away from them 300 of their choicest Boyes, which he sent to *Valiattes* King of *Lydia* his friend and allie to be gelded; but they being driven upon the Island *Samus*, the Inhabitants took such pity both on them and their relations, as to send them home safe, and disappointed the Tyrant. This so vexed him, now almost eighty years old, that he dyed of grief, though by some he be reckoned amongst the seven Wise Men of *Greece*. *Suidas* out of most antient Authors delivereth this character of him; That he was an harsh and cruel Tyrant, very martial, scarce being ever out of War, very powerful at Sea, having so convenient Havens both upon the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Gulfs. He reigned nigh forty years, and dyed in the fourth of the 48th *Olympiad*, seven after the establishment of *Solon*'s Laws, A. M. 3420. *Laertius in vita Periandri, & Herod. ut supra.* A. M. 3420. *Olymp. 48. an. 4. V. C. 169. Nabuch. 24.*

Psammetichus. 9. *Periander* being dead, his Tyranny as it were tottered for three years and some six moneths, during which time *Psammetichus* the son of *Gordius*, brother to *Periander*, or rather something akin to him, held it; as appeareth by (e) *Aristotle*, who onely hath preserved his name to us from utter oblivion. After his removal the power of one man was laid aside, and the people put themselves into a Free-State, which continued as long as the liberty of *Greece* it self. The form thereof is not described to us by any antient Author; onely this we know from (f) *Plutarch*, that it was inclining more to *Oligarchy*

(e) *Politic. l. 5. c. 12.* (f) *In Timoleonte & Dione.*

Sect. 7. *Oligarchy* than that of *Tyrants*; the power of the multitude being more bounded. Yet, for certain, the Government was popular, things of greatest consequence never being resolved on, without the consent and decree of the people, (which kept those of highest concernment in its own power) and, if any other in the World, was a friend to Antimonarchical liberty, and an utter enemy to Monarchy, where ever it was found in *Greece*. For this City undertook many times great Wars for this very cause, and not out of any ambitious design, as is clear in the case of the *Syracusians*, and others; so that a Captain out of it was most desirable upon such an occasion; as may hereafter be discovered.

SECT. VII.

The antient Kingdom of Thebes.

1. *Bœotia* had on the West *Phocis*, on the East the *Euboean* Sea, on the North the Eastern *Locri*, and on the South *Attica* and *Megara*. The chief seat and Metropolis of this Country was *Thebes*, the builder of which is not certainly known. *Calydnus* is reported first to have reigned here; whence by a Poet of *Chalcis*, it is called the *Tower of Calydnus*, and in *Hesychius*, *Calydnæan* is the same with *Antient*. After him was *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, from whom *Thebes* by the Poets is called *Ogygian*, and that great *Ogygian* Deluge is named, which is said to have happened in his time, 1020 years before the first *Olympiad*, in the dayes of *Phoroneus* King of *Argos*, (as *Africanus* gathereth) and so overwhelmed all the region of *Attica*, that it made it inhabitable for 200 years, as *Pererius* noteth. *Pausanias* writeth, that he was King of the *Ectenæ*, the first Inhabitants of *Thebais*, and that from his son *Eleusine* a famous Town in *Attica* took both Original and name, as some were of opinion. These *Ectenæ* are reported to have been consumed by Pestilence, whom succeeded the *Hyantes* and *Aonæ*, that continued in those parts, together with the *Temmices* (who came from *Sanium*) and the *Leleges*, till *Cadmus* coming to *Greece*, made himself Master of this place, in the dayes of *Corax* King of *Sicyon*, and *Danaus* of *Argos*, 347 years after the beginning of *Ogyges*.

Calydnus.

Ogyges. A. M. 2244.

In Bœoticis & Atticis.

Cadmus.

2. This *Cadmus*, according to the tradition of the *Greeks*, was son to *Agenor* the brother of *Belus*, Uncle to *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, who coming out of *Ægypt* into *Phœnice* some 36 years before, on his wife *Telphassa* begat three sons; *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix*, and a daughter named *Europa*. This *Europa*, *Jupiter* stole, and carried over Sea into *Crete*, in the likeness of a Bull, where he begat on her *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Asterius* King of the Island afterwards married her, and having no children of his own, adopted her sons. *Herodotus* telleth us that some *Greeks* (*Asterius* perhaps, or some for him) in revenge for what the Nation had formerly suffered from the *Asiaticks* in stealing away *Ino*, went to *Tyre*, and thence stole *Europa* the Kings daughter, bringing her away in a ship, whose ensign was a *Bull*, whence occasion was given to feign, that she was carried over upon a *Bull's back*.

Apollod. lib. 2.

Diod. l. 4. p. 183.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

3. *Agenor* sent out his three sons to seek their Sister, charging them never to return without her into *Phœnicia*. *Cadmus* sailed first into the Island *Callisthe*, (lying betwixt *Crete* and *Callisthe*) where he left a Colony, and thence into *Thasus* (so named from *Thasus* one of his Companions, and head of another Colony left there) and at length into *Greece*, where, in *Bœotia*, being past all hope of finding his sister, and consequently of returning into *Phœnicia*, by the command of an Oracle he founded *Thebes*; or re-edifying what was formerly built by *Ogyges*, anew laid the foundation of the *Castle*, which, ever after, from him retained the name of *Cadmea*. The *Hyantæ* beaten by his Forces, fled the night following into *Phocis*; but the *Æonæ*, upon their submission, were suffered to continue and imbodie themselves

Diod. lib. 4. p. 147.

Pausan. l. 9. A. M. 2355.

Strabo l. 9. p. 401.

selves amongst the *Phœnicians*. Here he married *Harmonia* the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, agreeable to which alliance, the gods are said to have come down unto *Cadmea* to the wedding. Out of *Phœnicia* he first brought letters into *Greece*, giving them their peculiar names and characters, fitted for the language of the place, and thence they were called *Phœnician*, though afterwards *Pelasgian*, because the use of them was, after they were brought over, first made known to the *Pelasgi*.

Sect. 7.

Diod. l. 3. p. 140. Lib. 5. p. 227, 228. Multi alii.

4. Of *Harmonia*, *Cadmus* begot *Polydorus* his son, and four daughters, *Semele*, *Ino*, *Antonoe*, and *Agavê*. On *Semele* *Jupiter* enamoured begot *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, who found out Wine and Ale, and travelled throughout the then known World, to reduce men to civility. This he did with an Army both of men and women, and after an Expedition of three years returned out of *India*, first triumphing upon an Elephant. *Ino* was married to *Athamas* the son of *Æolus* and grand-son of *Hellen*, to whom she bore *Actæon* that was devoured by his own Dogs. *Agave* became the wife of *Eetion*, to whom she bore *Pentheus*. After *Cadmus* had reigned some time at *Thebes*, he was called by the *Enchelee*, who had Wars at that time with the *Illyrians*, and were bidden by the Oracle to send for him and *Harmonia* to be their Captains. He left then the Kingdom of *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and having subdued the *Illyrians*, reigned over them, and begot another son called *Illyrius*, who either gave or took name from that people. The Poets feigned *Cadmus* and his wife, to have been turned here into *Snakes*, because they seem to have forgot their former civility, and learnt barbarism.

Idem l. 3. p. 147.

Apollod.

Polydorus.

5. This is the sum of what the *Greeks* have delivered concerning *Cadmus*. But, though they, for their own credit, made him the son of a King, yet the *Sidonians*, whose Country-man he was, denie this, alleging that being their King's Cook, he fled away with *Harmonia*, a certain minstrel. His time, as it is computed, falleth in with that of *Joshua*, so that he seemeth to have led into *Greece* a Colony of those *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, who were outed of their habitations by the *Israelites*. His family may be gathered to have been that of the *Kadmonites*, mentioned by *Moses*, who were the same with the *Hivites*, and called *Cadmonim*, or *Orientals*, because they possessed Mount *Hermon*, the most Eastern part of *Canaan*, taken for the *East*, as *Thabor* for the *West*. Hence came it to passe, that *Cadmus* his wife was called *Harmonia*, or *Hermione*, and apparent why they were feigned to be turned into *Snakes*, because an *Hivite* in the *Syrian* language signifieth a *Serpent*. That he first brought letters into *Greece* is most probable, 1. Because the antientest *Greek* letters, in most things, are like to the old *Phœnician*, which the *Samaritans* at this day use. 2. Their names are plainly *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew*, as may be instanced in *Alpha*, *Beta*, &c. of which the *Greeks* were not ignorant, as appeareth out of *Varro*. For *Crates* the Philosopher, disputing in *Greece* about some points of Grammar, demanded why they said not *Alpha Alphatos* as well as *Gramma Grammatos*, to which the *Grecians* answered, that the names were not theirs, but barbarous; and *Plutarch* rendered this reason, why *Alpha* is set before the rest by the *Phœnicians*, because they called an *Oxe* by that name. 3. The *Greeks* kept the same order of letters as the *Phœnicians* did, being most antient, as appeareth by some acrostick Verses of *David* and *Jeremiah*. *Cadmus* brought over the Rites of *Bacchus* into *Greece*, and thereupon is feigned to be Grand-father to him, who lived many Ages before, and indeed was *Nimrod*. To this City built or re-edified by him, he gave the name of *Thebes*, of which name there was a place in *Canaan* mentioned by the Book of (a) *Judges*, and by (b) *Josephus* also written *Thebe*, in the plural number; so that an end may be put to that controversie about the original of the word, which betokeneth *mud* or *dirt*. But concerning all this, *Bochartus* is to be consulted, in the first Book of that admirable Work intituled *Canaan*.

What the Sidonians said of Cadmus.

(a) *Cap. 9. 50.* (b) *Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 9.*

6. *Polydorus*, succeeding his Father, married *Nycteis* the daughter of *Nycteus*, by which he had a son named *Labdacus*, whom, dying before he came

Labdacus.

SECT. 7.

came at age, he * left to the tuition of his father-in-law. *Nycteus* had another daughter, *Antiope* by name, which *Epopeus* King of *Sicyonia* stole away, whence a War insued, wherein both of them received mortal wounds, and *Nycteus* dying, left the tuition of the young King to his brother *Lycus*. After *Labdacus* came at age, *Lycus* restored faithfully the Kingdom to him, wherefore the King dying also not long after, and leaving his son *Laius* a Child but of one year old, having experience of his faithfulneſſe, he committed him to his protection. Afterwards *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the sons of *Antiope*, invaded *Thebais* in revenge for their mother's hard usage and Captivity, ſhe having been taken by *Lycus* in *Sicyon*, or delivered up to him by *Lamedon* King of that Citie, when he led down thither an Army, at the deſire of his dying brother, to revenge him upon her and *Epopeus*, as we before ſhewed. *Lycus* meeting them in the field was ſlain in battel, *Thebes* loſt, and the Child *Laius* had miſcarried, but that ſome well-wiſhers to his ſtock withdrew him out of the danger, leſt the poſterity of *Cadmus* ſhould be utterly extinct. *Amphion* then and *Zethus* obtained the Kingdom; ſaid by *Homer* to have built *Thebes*, which muſt be meant of the lower Citie diſtinct from *Cadmea*. *Amphion* was ſo excellent a Muſician, that he is ſaid to have made ſtones to follow him, wherewith he built Towers about the Citie. He married *Niobe*, the daughter of *Tantalus*, and ſiſter to *Pelops*, which brought him many Children, but boaſting her ſelf more fruitfull than *Latona* her ſelf, procured the deſtruction of them all. For *Apollo* was commanded to kill the Boyes, and *Diana* the Girles, whereat ſhe was ſtruck with ſuch ſtupidity, as ſhe is feigned to be turned into a ſtone; and *Amphion* with all his family at length died of the peſtilence. *Zethus* having his young ſon killed at unawares by the mother, pined away for grief; ſo that both brothers being dead, and their families ruined, the *Thebans* reſtored the Kingdom to *Laius* the ſon of *Labdacus*.

* A.M.2601.

Pauſan. in Bœoticis & Corinth.

Laius.

Diodor. l.4. p.191.

7. *Laius* married *Jocaſte*, the daughter of *Menœceus*, but was admoniſhed by the Oracle to beget no Children, becauſe elſe he ſhould be killed by his ſon; which puniſhment *Pelops* had prayed might fall on him for ſtealing his ſon *Chryſippus*, begotten on a Concubine. Notwithſtanding this he had a ſon, but as ſoon as he was born he thruſt his feet in Iron fetters, and expoſed him as a prey to wild beaſts. Yet, either by thoſe that had this charge, or others that found him, he was carried to *Polybus*, King of *Corinth*, who cauſed his feet to be healed (from the ſwelling of which he had the name of *Oedipus*) and brought him up. Many years after when he was grown, *Laius*, either hearing ſome rumor concerning him, or carried by natural affection, went to enquire of the Oracle what had hapned to his ſon, and at the ſame time it chanced that *Oedipus*, having heard of ſome deſign againſt himſelf, went thither alſo to enquire who were his true Parents. They met in *Phocis*, where *Laius* bidding the other ſomewhat imperiouſly to give way, *Oedipus* moved with choler killed him, being utterly ignorant who he was.

Apollod.

Diodorus l.4. p.185.

A.M. 2695.

A.M. 2722.

Creon.

Oedipus.

8. *Laius* being dead, *Creon* the brother of *Jocaſte* (called alſo *Epicaſte*) ſeized upon his Kingdom, and kept it for ſome time, till *Oedipus* explained the ridle of *Sphinx*. 'Tis Munſter, which the *Bœotians* alſo called *Phix*, is feigned to have had an head and face like a woman, the hinder parts like a Lyon, and wings as a Bird, and keeping upon the Hill *Phicion*, or *Phiceon* (ſo named from her) ſhe propoſed ridles, which whoſoever could unridle ſhould have *Jocaſte* in marriage with the Kingdom; but if not, ſhe preſently devoured them. Her ridle to *Oedipus* was this: *what is it that which goeth both on two Legs, three, and four?* Many having loſt their lives for a miſinterpretation, he expounded it to be meant of a man, who when an Infant creepeth on hands and feet, when arrived at ripeneſſe of age goeth upright on legs, and when he cometh to be old uſeth a ſtaff. Some think her a deformed, and ſavage kind of woman, that living on prey uſed to lie in wait for paſſengers. But *Pauſanias* writing that ſhe was the Baſtard daughter of *Laius*, others judge her to have been for her wiſdom preferred to determine the pretences of ſuch as claimed the Kingdom, and that thoſe who were

Apollodorus.

Plutarch. in lib. quòd bruta ratione utuntur.

Unridleth the ridle of *Sphinx.*

A.M.2758.

SECT. 7.

were caſt in the tryal ſhe puniſhed with death; which cruelty the Poets deteſting raiſed the fable. Becauſe of her abilities, this kind of Monſter was made by * the *Ægyptians* an Hieroglyphick of *wiſedom and ſtrength*, in both wich *Plutarch* maketh her to have excelled.

* *Clemens Strom. l. 5.*

9. *Oedipus* then married *Jocaſta* his own mother, not knowing what ſhe was to him, and obtained the Kingdom of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* telleth us that he had two ſons by her, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, with as many daughters, but others ſay he had them by *Euryganea*, the daughter of *Hyperphas*. At length all came to light; both that he had killed his father, and married his own mother, whereupon ſhe preſently hanged her ſelf, and his ſons kept him up cloſe for the filthineſſe of the thing, as ſome ſay, though others will have him driven from *Thebes*, and that going to *Theſeus* King of *Athens*, he there died a little after. *Polynices*, while his father was yet living, went to *Argos*, where he married *Argia*, the daughter of *Adraſtus*; but after his death returned to *Thebes* to ſucceed him in the Kingdom. The two brothers then agreed to reign by turns; but *Eteocles*, having the firſt courſe, refuſed to yield up his power at the time prefixed; ſo that *Polynices* was glad to return to *Argos*. At the ſame time there happned to be with *Adraſtus* one *Tydeus*, the ſon of *Oeneus*, who having killed a man in *Ætolia*, fled alſo to him: both theſe he kindly received, and by direction of the Oracle making them his ſons-in-law, promiſed to reſtore them to their Countreys and Eſtates. Beginning firſt with *Polynices*, he ſent *Tydeus* in Ambaſſage to *Eteocles*, who cauſed fifty men to lie in wait for him by the way, but he killed them all, and returned ſafe to *Argos*. *Adraſtus*, to revenge the injury, made all poſſible preparation for a War, and invited all the beſt Souldiers from all quarters to the expedition. Seven Eminent Captains gave their names, whereof *Amphiaraus*, who had married *Eriphile*, the ſiſter of *Adraſtus*, was Chief, though of ſo ancient a thing as this *Theban*-war, there can be little certainty.

Pauſan.

Diodorus.

Apollod.

Eteocles & Polynices.

The *Theban* War.

10. Having each of them his ſeveral Army (or Company rather) they marched to *Thebes*, which they beſieged, and divided themſelves according to the Gates of the Citie. *Eteocles* made all preparations for defence, aſſigning to every Gate its Officer, and conſulted *Tireſias* a Prophet, then blind, concerning the event of the War. He anſwered, that the *Thebans* ſhould overcome, if *Menœceus*, the ſon of *Creon*, would devote himſelf as a ſacrifice to *Mars*, which he preſently did, killing himſelf before the Gates. The *Thebans* then made a ſally, but were beaten back to the Walls, which, when the *Argives* approched, *Capaneus*, one of the ſeven Captains, firſt of all others ſet to Ladders, and mounted; but he being killed, the other retreated, and many of them were ſlain in the purſute. After this it was agreed that the two brothers, in a ſingle Combat, ſhould decide the quarrel, and ſo doing they mutually fell by the hands of each other: then followed a very ſharp fight wherein all the Captains that followed *Adraſtus* were ſlain, and he onely eſcaped by the ſwifteneſſe of his Horſe *Arion*. Yet this victory coſt the *Thebans* ſo dear, that being themſelves almoſt ruined, hence *Cadmea victoria* became a proverb. This War fell out 28 years before that of *Troy*.

A.M. 2785.

Diod. l. 4. p.177.

Laodamus.

11. *Eteocles* leaving behind him a young ſon, named *Laodamus*, *Creon*, the brother of *Jocaſta*, aſſumed the Guardianſhip of him, and would not ſuffer the *Argives* to be buried, till *Theſeus*, and the *Athenians* procured it. Ten years after the War, when *Laodamus* was now grown up, the ſons of thoſe Captains that had been ſlain, called *Epigoni*, made an expedition againſt *Thebes* to revenge the death of their fathers. Conſulting before-hand the Oracle of *Delphos* about the ſucceſſe, they were bidden to chuſe *Alcmeon*, the ſon of *Amphiaraus*, for their General, which having done, and marching into *Thebais*, they waſted all the Countrey round about the Citie. Hereupon the *Thebans* made a ſally, and a ſharp conflict inſued, wherein *Laodamus* ſlew *Ægialeus*, the ſon of *Adraſtus*, and was himſelf killed by *Alcmeon*, though *Pauſanias* ſaith he eſcaped out of the fight, and fled to the *Illyrians*. After this the Citie was taken, and with other plunder, *Tireſias* the Propher was ſent as a preſent towards *Delphos*; but drinking by the way preſently died.

The expedition of the *Epigoni.*

A.M.2795.

Pauſan.

SECT. I.

Therſander.

This is he, who is ſaid to have experienced both Sexes, and lived ſeven Generations; even from the dayes of *Cadmus* to this time. The *Epigoni* having taken the Citie, and either ſlain, or driven away *Laodamus*, placed *Therſander*, the ſon of *Polynices* in the Kingdom, who ſailed with *Agamemnon* towards *Troy* as General of the *Bœotians*, and was killed in *Myſia* by *Telephus*, as was before ſhewed. The *Bœotians* choſe *Peneleus* for their Captain, becauſe his ſon *Tiſamenus* was then but young, and he was alſo ſlain in the War by *Eurypbylus*, the ſon of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Achilles*, brought Auxiliary forces out of *Myſia* unto *Priamus*.

Peneleus.

Tiſamenus.
Autheſion.
Damaſichthon.
Ptolomæus.
Xanthus.

12. *Peneleus* being dead, *Tiſamenus*, the ſon of *Therſander*, reigned at *Thebes*. His ſon *Anteſion* left this place, and went to the *Dorienſes*; wherefore *Damaſichthon*, the Nephew of *Peneleus*, and ſon of *Opheltas*, was choſen in his room. After him followed *Ptolomæus*, and then *Xanthus* the laſt King of all, who was ſlain by *Melanthus* the *Meſſenian* in a ſingle Combat, in behalf of the *Athenians*, about *Celæne*, a place ſituate upon the Borders, as we have * already ſhewed. This hapned 56 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, 24 before the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, 57 before the death of *Codrus* the laſt *Athenian* King, 252 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A. M. 2877. After his death, together with the poſſeſſion of *Celænæ*, the *Thebans* quitted the Government of Kings, it ſeeming good to them no longer to be Governed by a ſingle perſon, but by many, as *Pauſanias* writeth, from whom yet it appeareth not what kind of rule was erected; whether an *Oligarchy* at firſt, or the whole power was aſſumed by the people, which we know aſſuredly exerciſed it in after times, in a *Democratical* way. Such was the Goverment when the *Perſians* had obtained the Empire of the *Eaſt*, and *Greece* it ſelf moſt flouriſhed; at which time, in the entire Hiſtory of this Countrey we ſhall hear further of the *Thebans*.

Pauſanias ut ſupra.

* *chap. 5. Sect. 4. Parag. 15.*

A. M. 2877.

CHAP. VI.

The Original, and Kingdom of *Rome*, Contemporary with the *Babylonian* Empire.

SECT. I.

The Original of the Citie of Rome.

The antient inhabitants of Latium.

1. THe Citie of *Rome* was ſeated in *Latium*, the *Weſtern* tract of *Italy*, upon the River *Tiber*. The ſoyl, for as much as can be known, (ſaith *Dionyſius*) was firſt inhabited by the *Siculi*, who held many other places of that Countrey. Theſe were expelled by the *Aborigines*, who being the poſterity of the *Oenotrians* (who ſeized upon that Tract lying near *Tarentum*) were Conſecrated firſt to the gods, & according to the cuſtom of the Countrey, then ſent out to ſeek them new ſeats, and fortunes. The *Oenotrians* came out of *Lycaonia* (afterwards called *Arcadia*) to ſeek a more commodious habitation under conduct of *Oenotrus*, the ſon of *Lycaon*, from whom they received their name. Theſe *Aborigines* here ſetled, were forced to admit of ſome *Pelaſgians* to live amongſt them that fled from *Hæmonia* (ſince called *Theſſaly*) where, for ſome time they had continued, and afterwards certain *Arcadians* who followed *Evander*, ſon to *Mercury*, and the Nymph *Themis*, from a Town of that Countrey called *Palantium*, which name they gave to an Hill on which they fixed, afterwards reckoned amongſt the ſeven belonging to the Citie. Not long after, the *Greeks* will have *Hercules* come into theſe parts, as he was returning home from his expedition into *Spain*, and the Weſtern Regions, and here to have left ſome *Peloponneſians*, who ſetled themſelves upon the *Hill* called then *Saturnius*, and afterwards *Capitolinus*, at what time *Faunus* reigned over the *Aborigines*.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſeus l. 1.

2. The

SECT. I.

Picus.

2. The Father of *Faunus* is ſaid to be *Picus* the ſon of *Saturn*, who flying out of *Crete* from his ſon *Jupiter*, came into this Country, and here hiding himſelf, gave occaſion for the Region to be called *Latium*. Some ſay the Father of *Picus* was rightly called *Sterces*, and Sirnamed *Saturn*, from whom the *Laurentine* Kingdom took it's beginning, named from *Laurentum* the Town, and that from *Laurus* or *Laurel*. *Picus* had this name from this Bird *Picus* (a *Wood-pecker*) which he uſed, by it's flying to foretel things to come, as *Feſtus* noteth out of *Verrius*. *Plutarch* ſaith, that he was by the ſorceries of his wife changed into this Bird, in the likeneſſe of which he gave forth Oracles, and anſwered queſtions; and agreeable hereto, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* compareth this Bird with the Dove of *Dodona*, as performing that to the *Aborigines*, which it did to the *Theſprotes*. But *Servius* thinketh all this feigned, becauſe *Picus* was a Soothſayer, and obſerved the flying of this kind of Bird; and *Bochartus* telleth us, that *Piccea* in the *Phœnician* dialect ſignifieth a *Seer* or *Prophet*; whence, as *Phix* amongſt the *Bœotians* was taken for a cunning woman, ſo he for his ſkill in ſuch matters, might, according to the termination of *Latin* words, have the name of *Picus*. This man, who in *Suidas* hath the name of *Jupiter*, (except *Jupiter* of *Crete*, that ſtole *Io*, was called *Picus*) begat *Faunus* or *Fatuus*; and a daughter named *Fauna*, and *Fatua*, which being in a furie would alſo foretel things to come; whence ſuch as were thus taken, were ſaid *Fatuari*. Being killed by *Faunus* her brother and husband, as it ſeemeth, ſhe was worſhipped as a goddeſſe, and called *Bona Dea*, becauſe ſhe was ſo modeſt, that never any man ſaw her except her husband. *Dionyſius* maketh this *Faunus* the ſon of *Mars*. He is feigned to have ſerved under *Bacchus* in his Expedition into the Eaſt; and this is their reaſon, becauſe indeed he was the ſame with *Pan*, the conſtant companion of *Bacchus*. (a) One writeth that he was called alſo *Sylvanus Invius*, and *Pan* by ſome. (b) Another ſaith, his name in *Latin* was *Invius*, and in *Greek* *Pan*. So that his reigning in *Latium* was a meer Fable, invented by ſome who knew not that he was the ſame with *Pan* the *Arcadian*, whoſe Worſhip was brought into *Italy* by *Evander*.

Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei. lib. 18. cap. 15.

Faunus.

(a) *Aur. Victor de Orig. gentis Rom.*
(b) *Servius in Æn. l. 6.*

Latinus.

3. After him reigned *Latinus*, as the ſtory goeth, whom *Feſtus* maketh his ſon, but others, as we have it from *Dionyſius*, fathered on *Hercules*, who begat him on a certain *Hyperborean* Virgin, which having received as an Hoſtage from her Father, he kept untouched till he came into *Latium*, and afterwards gave her in marriage unto *Faunus*, therefore accounted the Father of *Latinus*. Fifty five years after the departure of *Hercules*, and in the 35th of the reign of *Latinus*, *Æneas* with his wandring *Trojans* arrived at *Laurentum*, not far from the Mouth of *Tiber*. *Livie* ſaith, it is moſt certain, that *Troy* being taken, the *Græcians* raged againſt the other Inhabitants, but abſtained from *Antenor* and *Æneas* (the ſon of *Anchiſes*, who was ſon to *Capys*, and grand-ſon to *Aſſaracus*, the brother of *Ilus* King of *Troy*) both for the friendſhip which had paſt betwixt them and their families, and becauſe they were ever for peace and the reſtitution of *Helena*. But *Dionyſius* relateth out of *Hellanicus*, that the lower part of the City being taken, *Æneas* with his aſſociates that came from *Ophrynium* and *Dardanus*, to the aid of *Ilium*, timely perceiving it, retired into the Caſtle, where were the Idols and much treaſure, protected by the moſt valiant Soldiers. Hither alſo betook themſelves ſuch as eſcaped the fury of fire and ſword; and they eaſily repelled the force of the Enemy; but *Æneas* conſidering that the City could no way be preſerved, reſolved to quit the Caſtle as might ſtand with the ſafety of the Company. He therefore ſent out with a guard the aged an infirm, in the mean time diverting the Enemy, and then marched out in order of battel, when *Neoptolemus* and the *Achæans* had now taken part of the Fortifications. Whilſt the *Greeks* were buſied in plunder, they all eſcaped to the Mount *Ida*, where, fortifying themſelves, the ſame night others flocked to them out of *Dardanus*, *Opyhrynium*, and the reſt of the *Trojan* Towns, expecting till the Enemy ſatisfied with the deſtruction of *Ilium*, would draw off and return into his own Country.

Æneas with with the *Trojans* arrive in *Italy*.

A. M. 2821.

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4. But the *Achæans* having wasted the City, and lesser Towns, provided also to storm the Hills; when a Treaty was desired by the *Trojans*. It was there agreed, that *Æneas* and his Companions, with such things as they had, should depart out of the Country under safe conduct; whereupon he first sent away his eldest son *Ascanius*, with part of his associates (whereof the greater number was *Phrygians*) to the Lake *Ascanius*, for that he was desired by the Inhabitants of that Country to be their King. He continued not long with them, for the *Seamandrida*, with others of the family of *Hector*, now dismissed out of *Greece* by *Neoptolemus* the son of *Achilles*, coming to him, he returned with them to *Troy*, and restored them to their Father's Principality. *Æneas* with the rest of his children, *Anchises* his Father, and his household, passed over the *Hellespont* into a *Peninsula* called *Pallene*, whence he sailed to the Island *Delus*, thence to another named *Cythera*, over against *Peloponnesus*. Touching at the promontory *Cinæthium* (so called for that *Cinæthus* a *Trojan* was here buried) they renewed their friendship with the *Arcadians* their kinsfolk, and passed on to the Island *Zacynthus*, which was so named from *Zacynthus* one of the sons of *Dardanus*. Thence they came to *Actium*, and so to *Ambracia*, from which Bay *Anchises* directed his course towards *Batrotus* an Haven of *Epirus*, and *Æneas* by land went two dayes journey to the Oracle of *Dodoria*, which having consulted about new Seats, in four dayes he came to the Navy at *Batrotus*. From this Haven sailing towards *Italy*, they touched upon some parts thereof, but passing into the Straights of *Sicilie*, they fell also upon that Island, where leaving part of their Company, they passed over and landed at *Laurentum*, the place appointed to put an end to these wandrings. This account *Dionysius* giveth us, as most probable, amongst others which he briefly toucheth. *Alexander* the *Ephesian*, as he is cited by *Aurelius Victor*, wrote that *Ilium* being betrayed by *Antenor*, *Æneas* took his Father upon his back, with his gods, and his little son in his hand, and thus loaded made towards *Ida*, whither being suffered to come by the *Greeks* (who were much moved at his piety) he there built ships, and by the advice of an Oracle came into *Italy*. The piety of *Æneas* is much spoken of, and commended by many; and amongst others, by the pen of *Xenophon*, that *Attick Muse*; but some wrote that he joyned with *Antenor* in betraying the City.

5. The *Trojans* landing at *Laurentum*, there pitched their Tents in the place called *Troy* from this occasion, distant from the Sea about half a mile. Taking their dinner on the ground, some laid their meat on *Parsley*, that there grew, or, as some said, on *crusts of Bread*, which afterwards they did also eat up, and then understood that they had fulfilled the Oracle, which bad them go so far Westward, as till they should eat up their Tables, and then take the conduct of a *Sow*, which they should follow, till she lay down, and in that very place build a City. Now was *Latinus* busie in War against the *Rutuli* his neighbours, as some wrote, he was first overcome by *Æneas*, and then made peace with him; but others say, he first sent to expostulate the injury offered him by these strangers in the invasion of his Kingdom, and then, understanding who they were, agreed to give them all the ground lying five miles about the Hill where the Sow lay down, upon their ingagement to assist him in his War against the *Rutuli*. This accord made, and Hostages delivered on both sides, they soon utterly subdued the *Rutuli*, and then built up the *Trojan* City which was called *Lavinium*, as the *Romans* said, from the daughter of *Latinus*. *Virgil* too much indulging his Poetick fancie, in imitation of *Homer*, bringeth *Æneas* into *Italy* not till the eighth year after the destruction of *Troy*. But *Dionysius* and *Solinus* (out of the Annals of *Cassius Hemina*) write, that he arrived at *Laurentum* in the second year, and the later saith, with no more than 600 followers.

Dionys. l. 1. *Livius l. 1.*

— Nam te jam septima portat Omnibus errantem terris & fluctibus æstas. An. 1.

Æneas succeedeth *Latinus.*

6. *Æneas* in the third year after his departure from *Troy*, and the second of his abode in *Italy*, reigned onely over the *Trojans*, but the next brought him also the Kingdom of the *Aborigines*, by the right of his wife *Lavinia*, daughter to *Latinus* now deceased, and the favour he had purchased of this people,

A. M. 3824.

SECT. I.

people, by his conduct against the *Rutuli*. For they had again revolted through the procurement of a certain fugitive named *Turnus*, who being the Nephew of *Amata*, *Latinus* his wife, out of indignation that a stranger should be preferred to the marriage of *Lavinia*, before him, at the instigation of *Amata* and others, revolted to the *Rutuli* with a party of men which he commanded. *Livie* maketh him King of the *Rutuli*, and to have made War upon *Latinus*, because he had first made him a promise of his daughter. The *Aborigenes* had the victory, but lost *Latinus* in the battel. *Dionysius* saith, that *Turnus* was now also slain with many others, but *Livie* will have him again to renew the War, and to call in *Mezentius* King of the *Hetrusians*, who was already jealous of the growing power of the *Greeks*. *Æneas*, to oblige his new Subjects, caused both them and his own Country-men, to be called by the common name of *Latini*; but ingaging in another great and bloody battel with *Mezentius*, which night onely interrupted, he was never seen more, by some thought to be taken up to Heaven, and by others drowned in the River *Numicon*. This happened to him in the fourth year of his reign over the *Latines*, and the seventh after the destruction of *Troy*. He was honoured by a Chapel dedicated to him, under the title of *Jupiter Indiges*.

Ascanius.

7. *Ascanius* his son succeeded him, who before was called *Euryleon*, till his name came to be changed in their flight from *Troy*, as *Dionysius* writeth. Some thought him the same with the eldest son of *Æneas* by *Creusa*, and called *Iulus*, from whom the family of the *Julii* took it's name; but others accounted him younger. *Mezentius* grew very high upon the death of *Æneas*, and besieging *Lavinium*, forced the *Latines* to submit themselves; but requiring all their wine to be yearly sent as a tribute into *Hetruria*, they would not endure so harsh terms, and encouraging themselves, fell upon their Enemies at unawares, and, killing *Lausus* the King's son amongst many others, forced him to submit to equal conditions. Thirty years after the founding of *Lavinium*, *Ascanius* led out a new Colony, and built another City called * *Alba Longa*, whither he betook himself, leaving the old to his Mother *Lavinia*, who, if his own Parent, managed the Kingdom for him in his nonage. He died in the 28th year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Sylvius*, whom some make his son, others his brother, saying, that *Lavinia* being left with child by *Æneas*, for fear of *Ascanius* fled into the Woods, and there was delivered of this child, who from the place of his birth had the name of *Sylvius*. *Iulus* the eldest son of *Ascanius* contended with him for the Kingdom; but the people conceiving it to belong to him of right, as the Nephew of *Latinus*, gave the Priesthood to the other, in whose family it thenceforth continued. From *Sylvius* all his Successors were Sirnamed *Sylvii*; whereof the first (after he had reigned 29 years) was *Æneas Sylvius* his son. *Æneas* having reigned so many, left *Latinus* his Successor, whom after 51 followed *Alba* for 39. After *Alba*, *Capetus* reigned 26 years, *Capys* 28, *Calpetus*, or *Carpentus*, 13, and then *Tiberinus* eight, who being drowned in the River *Albula*, bestowed on it the name of *Tiber*. After him *Agrippa* reigned 24 years, then *Alladius* (called also *Aremulus* and *Romulus Sylvius*) 19, who was very wicked and tyrannical, insomuch that he would counterfeit Thunder, desirous to be accounted a god by his Subjects, and justly perished by Thunder and inundation through excessive rains. *Aventinus* succeeded him, who gave name to one of the seven Hills, and after 37 left *Procas Sylvius* his Successor.

Alba Longa built.

A. M. 2852. *ante Rom.* 400.

Ascanius his Successors in *Alba.*

*A. M. 3081.

8. *Procas* the thirteenth King of *Alba* left two Sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*, whereof the later and younger violently thrust his brother from the Kingdom, and that he might have no posterity to revenge the injury, caused his son to be made away in a pretended hunting, and his daughter *Rhea* to be devoted to the service of *Vesta*, and a single life. In the fourth year of her Priesthood, as she was going to fetch water for the service of the goddesse, she was light upon by some one and ravished: some said by one of her lovers, others by *Amulius* himself, who came disguised upon her, rather out of desire

A. M. 3209. *Oziæ* 14.

SECT. 1.

desire to make an occasion against her, than for any affection; but for credit of the cause the fact is laid upon *Mars*, in whose grove it was committed, and who came to her as 'tis said in a terrible manner with Thunder and Lightning.

Rhea the daughter of *Numitor* bring-eth forth Twins.

Rhea (called also *Sylvia* and *Ilia*) conceived with two boyes, and when they were born, she was either put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison, and they were thrown into the River. At the fall of the water they were left upon the dry ground, and a Wolf moved with their cries came and suckled them with her teats, till they were taken notice of by *Faustulus* the King's Herdsman, who brought them home to his wife *Acca Laurentia*, that had been newly brought to bed of a stilborn Child. Some thought that *Numitor*, aware of his brother's intention to make them away, caused other two to be brought in their rooms, and gave his two Nephews to be nourished by this *Faustulus*. Others write that this *Acca Laurentia* was but the Paramour of the Herdsman, and for the naughtinesse of her life called *Lupa* (*Lupanaria* amongst the *Romans* signifying brothel houses, and *Lupa* a Strumpet) whence the fable arose that the Children were nourished by a Wolf. Their names were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

A. M. 3235. *Olymp. 2. an. 4. Olxiæ* 40.

Romulus and *Remus*

9. The boyes grown up proved active and courageous suitably to their birth, but being educated as was agreeable with the fortune and employment of their Foster-father, they had occasion to fall out with the Herdsmen of *Numitor*, and *Remus* being taken prisoner was carried before the King. Now did *Faustulus* reveal the whole matter to *Romulus* concerning their Original, who got together a company of Herdsmen, and therewith falling upon the Palace slew *Amulius*, and restored their Grand-father to the Kingdom. After things were setled at *Alba*, the young men had a desire to build a Citie in the place where they had been brought up, which their Grand-father well approving gave them the ground, with such of his subjects as he knew to be of his brothers faction, and all others that of their own accord would willingly go out in this new Colony. Most of the *Trojans* gave their names (whereof continued to the time of *Dionysius* almost 50 families) the inhabitants of the place also as many as were left about *Palantium* and *Saturnia* were taken in, and the multitude divided into two parts, that by emulation the work might proceed with greater expedition. But what was intended for a laudable contention grew to a greater inconvenience; for hereby were two factions made, which preferring the brothers each before the other raised in them ambitious desire of preheminence. This soon appeared in that they could not agree about the place; *Romulus* would have the *Palatine* Hill (or *Palantian*) to be taken in, and *Remus* contended for *Remuria*, though on the other they were educated. The matter was brought before their Grand-father, who advised them to go apart, and observe the flying of Birds; and to whom happed the most lucky flight, he should be accounted the Author of the Colony. *Romulus* went to the *Palatine* Hill, and *Remus* to the *Aventine* near adjoyning. *Remus* first had six vultures come flying by him; but *Romulus* his flock doubled the number, so that both of them were saluted King, and neither would give place to the other.

Dionys.

Lead out a Colony.

Remus killed.

10. The contention grew so sharp as to proceed to a fight, wherein *Remus* had the worst of it, and was slain; which *Dionysius* thinketh the most probable opinion. Others write that he scoffed at the lowness of the Wall which his brother had made, saying, it would easily be passed over by Enemies, and therewith leaped over it himself, for which he was presently killed by one *Celer*, who oversaw the work. *Romulus* compassed in the *Palatine* Hill, and made that the Rudiments of the Citie, with an *Heifer* and a young *Bullock* joyned together plowing up a furrow where the Wall should be reared, which use was afterwards observed by the *Romans*, both in the building, and razing of Cities. This is the most common, and received opinion about the Original of *Rome*, which some make built at another time, and by other founders. *Cephalon Gergithius* a most antient Historian wrote that it was built in the second age after the *Trojan* War, by *Romus*, one of the four sons of *Æneas*; with whom many other Authors agreed. Others made the founder

Several opinions concerning the builder of *Rome*.

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founder of it to be *Æneas* himself, whom they will have come in company with *Ulysses* into *Italy*. *Aristotle* the Philosopher wrote, that part of the *Achaans* themselves, in their return from *Troy*, were by Tempests driven upon *Italy*, and forced to plant themselves in *Latium*. *Callias* the Historian, who Recorded the Acts of *Agathocles*, mentioned a *Trojan* woman, called *Roma*, that being married to *Latinus*, King of the *Aborigenes*, bare to him two sons, *Remus* and *Romulus*, who building the Citie, named it *Rome* after their mother. *Xenagoras* reckoned up three sons of *Ulysses* by *Circe*; *Romus*, *Antias*, and *Ardea*, all which built Cities of their own name. *Dionysius* of *Chalcis*, with others, would have this *Romus* to be the son of *Ascanius*; some of *Emethion*, and some of *Italus* by *Electra* the daughter of *Lasinus*. Besides these, many other *Greek* Authors dissented about the founders of the Citie.

11. Neither have *Roman* Writers agreed amongst themselves. Some of them would have the sons of *Æneas* to be founders of the Citie, *viz.* *Romulus* and *Remus*; others, his Nephews by his daughter, which he gave up as Hostages to *Latinus*, King of the *Aborigines*. Some write how *Ascanius* being left Heir by his father, divided his inheritance with *Romulus* and *Remus* his brethren: he himself built *Alba* and other Towns, *Romulus Capua*, so called from *Capys* his great Grand-father, *Anchisa* from *Anchises* his Grand-father, and that place afterwards called *Janiculum*, which he named after his father *Æneas*; then lastly, *Rome* after his own name, which being afterwards desolate, the *Albans* repeopled by a Colony led thither by *Romulus* and *Remus*. According to this History, this Citie should have been twice founded: First, not long after the *Trojan* times, and then again in the fifteenth age after; but more than this, *Antiochus* of *Syracuse* mentioned a third *Rome* that must have been before the War of *Troy*, writing, that from *Rome* came a certain *Sicilian* fugitive to *Morges*, the son of *Italus*, King of *Italy*. By reason of this uncertainty of the founders, some, whose prejudice against the Empire of the Citie moved them with envy, accounted it no other than a receptacle, and fortresse of Barbarians, Fugitives, and Vagabounds, and were ready to call into question the History of *Romulus*, as a meer invention made to hide the despicable Original of so great a Commonwealth.

Several opinions concerning the time of the building.

12. Whether it was a new Plantation, or reparation of an old Town, there is great variety of opinions concerning the time thereof. *Timæus* the *Sicilian* made its foundation contemporary with that of *Carthage*, and the 38 year before the first *Olympiad*: But of those which seem to approach nearer to truth, some place the foundation of it in the sixth *Olympiad*; whereof *Velleius Paterculus* assigneth the *first* year, others the *third*; and *Varro*, from the opinion of *Tarcutius* a most excellent Mathematician, the fourth: which opinion is followed by many Authors of great note (besides *Augustus*, *Claudius*, *Severus*, and *Philip*, Emperours in their *Secular* Games) as *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Gellius*, *Censorinus*, *Onuphrius*, *Cæsar Baronius*, *Torniellus*, *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Jacobus Cappellus*. *Solinus* will have *Pomponius Atticus*, and *Cicero*, to reckon from the third year of this *Olympiad*; but as *Pliny*, *Paterculus* and *Livy*, so *Cicero* varieth, sometimes counting from the Calends of *January* of the foregoing, one while of this, and another of the following year. M. *Porcius Cato* knowing that *Rome* was built something before the seventh *Olympiad*, not standing upon minute and scrupulous deductions, began the *Æra* of the Citie from the first of *January* that fell in the first year of that *Olympiad*; and so the year of his own Consulship he said to be the 758 year of the Citie. This *Æra* is followed by the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Solinus*, *Eusebius*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, (who taketh pains to prove the account good) *Polybius*, *Sigonius*, *Pighius*, *Orco*, *Goltzius*, *Isaacus Casaubonus* upon *Polybius*, and others. *Fabius Pictor* wrote that *Rome* was built in the eighth *Olympiad*, the reason whereof, as *Cappellus* thinketh, is, because *Romulus* might then have finished the Wall and Ditch; some deriving the *Æra* of a building from laying of a foundation, and others from the finishing of the structure. Lastly, *L. Cincius*, as *Dionysius* informeth us, held that the Citie

was

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was built in the second year of the twelfth *Olympiad*. In this great variety of opinions we have rather more reason to approve that of *Varro* the most learned of all *Romans*, which placeth the beginning of *Rome* in the fourth year of the sixth *Olympiad*, the sixth of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, about the time that the *Ephori* were made at *Sparta*, in the dayes of *Charops* the first *Archon* at *Athens* for ten years. A.M.3252.

A.M.3252. *Ol.6. an.4. Jotham 6. Pekachi 7.*

SECT. II.

From the building of the Citie to the destruction of the Kingdom, the space of 245 years.

The founding of *Rome*.

1. *Romulus* being 18 years old, laid the foundation of the Walls on the (*a*) eleventh day before the *Calends* of *May*, (which answereth to the fourth of *October*, after the *Julian* account) betwixt the hours of two and three, The Sun being in *Libra*, and the Moon in *Taurus*; *Jupiter* in *Pisces*; *Saturn*, *Venus*, *Mars*, and *Mercury* in *Scorpio*, according to the Computation of *Tarrutius* the most noble of Mathematicians. (*b*) *Varro*, (*c*) *Ovid*, and several others write that *Rome* was founded on the *Parilia*, or *Palilia*. *Festus* telleth us that *Parilia* were so called a *Pariendo*, from *bringing forth*; those Stars in the head of *Taurus*, (or which make up the head of themselves as *Gellius* criticizeth against *Tiro*) named *Hyades*, and under which *Rome* was founded, being also called *Parilicium*, and *Palilicium Sydus*. *Servius* noteth that *Pales* was the *Roman* Goddesse of fodder, to whom a solemnity being observed on the eleventh of the Calends of *May*, it had the name of *Parilia*. *Cappellus* thinketh that according to the mind of *Tarrutius*, the first year of the Citie commenced from the first of *January*, and *Capricorn*, in the new Moon, three moneths after the foundation was laid.

(*a*) *Solinus cap.2.* *Cicero de divin. lib.2.* *Plutarch in Romulo.* (*b*) *De re Rustica l.2. c.1.* (*c*) *Lib. 4. Fast. Vide Joseph. Scalig. de Emend. temp. l.5. pag.362.*

The number of the Colony.

2. The number of the Colony amounted scarce to 300 horsmen, and 3000 foot, wherewith *Romulus* (which some make but the diminutive of *Romus* his true name) planted this new Citie, called *Rome* after himself. To increase the number of his Citizens, he opened a Sanctuary to all malefactors, and discontented persons, which then resorted to him in great numbers from the Countreys adjoyning. Setting about the frame of the Commonwealth by his Grandfathers advice, he remitted it to the choice of the people what kind of Government they would have, whereby obtaining the Kingdom in way of gift his power became the more plausible. He divided the people into three *Tribes*, every Tribe into ten *Curiæ*, and every *Curia* into ten parts or *Decuriæ*, over all which he appointed Officers. According to the number of the *Curiæ* he divided the grounds into thirty parts, onely excepting one portion for publick use, and another for superstitious Ceremonies. He made a distinction of his people according to honour and dignity, giving to the better sort the name of *Patres*, either for that they were elder, had Children, for the Nobility of their stock, or if detractors may be heard, he therefore named these *Patricii*, because they alone could shew their fathers, the other multitude being a rable of fugitives that had no free and ingenuous parentage; wherefore when an Assembly of the people was called by the King, the *Patricians* were by a Cryer cited by their own, and fathers name, but the inferiour sort, or *Plebeians*, were gathered together by the sound of Ox horns. Having distinguished his subjects into these two ranks he ordered what each should do. The *Patritii* were to take care of superstition, bear Offices of Magistracy, administer Justice, and Govern the Commonwealth together with the King: The *Plebeians* till the fields, feed Cattel, and exercise trades; Lest by their medling in the Government, and by mutual contention of the poorer and richer sort, such seditions might arise as were too visible in other Commonwealths.

Dionys.lib.2. *Livius lib.1.*

The division and distinction of Citizens.

3. To bind each to the other, he commended to the *Patricians* certain of the *Plebeians*, whom they should protect and countenance; liberty being given to the common sort to make choice of whom they would for their *Patrons*. This custome of *Patron* and *Client* was very ancient in *Greece*, especially amongst the *Thessalians* and *Athenians*, where yet the *Clients* were very imperiously used, their *Patrons* imposing on them services ill beseeming freemen, and bearing them like slaves, if they disobeyed their commands: The *Athenians* called them *Thetæ* for their service, and the *Thessalians* *Penestæ*, upbraiding them with their fortune. But *Romulus* refined the use of *Patronage*, rendring it profitable unto both. *Patrons* by him were ordered to advise their *Clients* concerning Law, of which they were ignorant, and take care of them as well absent as present, as their own children, in what concerned mony and contracts, undertaking sutes for them when oppressed, and procuring them quiet both as to publick and private businesse. On the other hand it was the duty of *Clients*, to help their *Patrons* with money in the marriage of their daughters, if need should be, and redeem them, or their sons if taken captive: to bear the charges of private sutes, or publick fines, and that at their own cost in way of gratitude; to assist them with their purses in defraying the charge of Magistracy, or honourable employments. This was common to both: that neither ought to accuse the other, to give any testimony or suffrage, or to be reckoned amongst his Enemies: which if any one did, he was held guilty of treason by *Romulus* his Law, and it was lawful for any one to kill him. Hereby, for many Ages, this *Patronage* continued in force, and was as effectual for love and mutual help as consanguinity or alliance: it was the glory of the Nobility to have many Clients devolved upon them from their Ancestors, and obtained by their own virtue. But not onely the *Plebeians* in the City found themselves secured by this *Patronage*, but in processe of time all Colonies, associate Cities, and such as were subdued by war, had their *Patrons*, to whom many times the *Senate* would remit such controversies as were brought before it from the said Cities, or Commonwealths, and ratifie their judgement. Lastly, such firm concord followed this constitution of *Romulus*, that, for 730 years, as *Dionysius* reckoneth, though many and great contests arose betwixt the Nobility and Commons about the Commonwealth (as is usual in all both great and little States) yet it never came to blood or slaughter, but, mutually yielding and granting, all controversies were composed by civil expostulations; till *Caius Grachus*, *Tribune* of the people, overthrew the peace of the City; after which, they neither spared to kill and banish one another, nor to commit any other wickednesse, whereby they might compasse Victory and their own devices.

Patrons and Clients.

Dionysius.

4. After this, *Romulus* resolved to chuse a Senate, which should assist him in the Government, and from amongst the *Patricians* selected 100 after this manner. Out of them all he first made choice of one particular man, to whom, when he was constrained to be absent in the wars, he committed the Government of the City: Then he commanded every *Tribe* to chuse three men, such as were eminent for birth and wisdom; and every *Curia* to elect three out of the *Patricians*. This number he called a *Senate*, either for their age, or virtue; or because, as *Festus* will have it, nothing was done without their permission, the Senate being named a *Sinendo*. Perceiving after this, that he stood in need of a Guard for his own person, he caused the *Curiæ* by their suffrages, to chuse him out 300 young men, (ten out of each) whom he called *Celeres* from their readinesse to execute his commands, as most have written, or according to *Valerius Antias*, from their Captain, whose name was *Celer*. Under him were three Centurions, and other inferiour Officers: this Company with their Spears defended the King in the City, and received his orders: in battels were the first leaders and the keepers of his body, beginning the fight first, and retreating last of all; which custom *Dionysius* thinketh *Romulus* to have taken from the *Lacedæmonians*. Things being thus appointed, he limited unto all their work and honours. The *King's* duty was *to take care of their superstition; to look to the preservation of the Laws and Customs, either natural or written; to decide the most weighty causes betwixt*

Idem.

The *Senate*.

Celeres.

The Office of King.

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man and man, and refer those of lesser consequence to the Senate, into which he was also to have an inspection. He was to call together the Senate, assemble the people, first to speak his opinion, and ratifie what was approved by the major part. This was the King's work at home, who *in the Wars had absolute authority.* To the *Senate* this honour and power was given, *to debate and resolve about such things as the King propounded, which were decreed by the greater number of voices,* as agreeable to the constitution of *Lacedæmon,* as our Author observeth. To the *People* he committed three things: *to create Magistrates, make Laws, and resolve about War what was propounded by the King*; yet so, as that the authority of the Senate interposed. All the whole multitude together gave not their votes, but the *Curiæ* apart, and whatsoever seemed good to most, was referred to the *Senate,* which custom was afterwards changed, when the *Senate* did not confirm the Decrees of the *People,* but the *People* the resolves of the *Senate.*

Senate.

People.

5. For the increase of the City, besides the opening of a *Sanctuary* (which *Dionysius* ranketh after this settlement of the civil policy) he forbad, when any Town was taken, that prisoners of ripe age should be slain or sold, or their grounds left untilled; but commanded a Colony to be sent from *Rome,* to which part of them should be assigned, and some of the strangers to be admitted to the freedom of the City; which device our Author esteemeth of great weight and consequence. He made many good and profitable Laws, whereof most were unwritten. He ordained in reference to marriage, that the wife should be partaker of all that was her husband's, when chast and modest. If he died intestate, she was his absolute Heir, and if he left children, equally with them. When she offended, she was left to his disposal for punishment, who admitted his kindred to judge with him concerning the fault, if she either violated chastity, or drank wine, which *Romulus* utterly condemned as an incentive to wantonnesse. So effectual became this constitution to the preservation of the conjugal knot, that for 520 years there happened not any divorce in *Rome,* till in the 137th *Olympiad,* when *Marcus Pomponius* and *Caius Papirius* were Consuls, *Sp. Carvilius* an eminent man, put away his wife; and then, though he sware to the Censors, that he did it onely to provide for posterity, yet was he ever hated by the people. He gave to Fathers absolute power over their Sons, and that for all their lives, either to imprison, beat, carry away bound to rustick labours, or kill; although the son bore the greatest Office in the Commonwealth, or publickly commended and honoured. By virtue of this Law, some eminent Persons making Orations to the People in opposition to the Senate, in the midst of popular applause, have by their Parents been pulled down from their seats, and led away to be punished according to their pleasure; and as they passed along the Forum, none could deliver or rescue them; nor the *Consul, Tribune,* nor *multitude* it self, which they had flattered. And because of this absolute paternal dominion, several valiant men have been put to death for their valour shewed in some way against the Enemy, contrary to the direction or command of their Fathers.

Prisoners to be preserved.

Laws in reference to marriage.

Consule Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

Parents and their Children, &c.

6. He compelled parents to educate all their male children and their eldest daughters: he permitted a child younger than three years to be made away, if it was born defective in some member or monstrous; and yet then was it not to be exposed without approbation of the five next neighbours. If any one broke this Law, he, besides other punishment, forfeited half of his goods. The Father was permitted by the Law-giver to sell his Son, and that three times over, if it hapned that he recovered his liberty: a greater power than was had over slaves, who if once made free, thenceforth so continued. All sordid Arts, and such as were subservient to luxury he forbad, which being left to slaves and strangers, for a long time the *Romans* scorned to meddle with. Two courses of life onely he enjoined them, *Warfare* and *Husbandrie,* allowing a Market once in nine dayes. He divided equally to them the grounds, slaves, and money, taken from the Enemy. Concerning injuries, he presently decided all controversies, or referred them unto others, inflicting

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flicting punishment acording to the crime; and seeing the people to be by fear best retained in order, he set up his Judgment-seat in the most conspicuous place of the *Forum,* where his guard of 300 *Celeres,* and twelve *Sergeants,* or *Lictors,* carrying rods and axes, and in the view of all men, either bearing or putting to death Malefactors, made a terrible shew. This is the form of the Commonwealth, as *Romulus* first established it, much admired by *Dionysius* above all the constitutions of his own Country-men the *Grecians,* whose Religion also (as giving occasion to the vulgar sort to contemn their gods involved in such misfortunes, or to abstain from no iniquity and filthinesse to which they heard that their deities were also abnoxious) he esteemeth vain, frivolous, and dangerous, in comparison of that which was instituted by the *Roman* Law-giver.

7. *Romulus,* considering that there were several powerful Nations round about him, which with evil eyes beheld the growth of his City, bethought with himself how he might contract amity with them. Concluding, that affinity was the onely means; by the advice and consent of the Senate, he resolved upon a course to provide wives for his Subjects. He caused at the suggestion of his Grand-father *Numitor,* a Solemn Feast, and exercises in honour of *Neptune,* to be proclaimed throughout the Country, to which many flocking with their wives and children, upon sign given, his men laid hold on such Virgins as were come to see, and violently carried them to their houses. The number of them amounted to 683, for which *Romulus* chose out so many husbands, and married them after their own Country Rites, making them covenant a Society or Communion of fire and water, which custom continued for many Ages. Some write that this happened in the first year of *Romulus,* but others assign the fourth of his reign for it, which scarce could be done till matters were something setled. Some delivered, that scarcity of women was the cause of this rape: others thought, that by it an occasion was onely sought for War; but a third party will have, that by this violent act an affinity with the neighbouring Cities was endeavoured.

The Rape of the *Sabine* Virgins.

8. Some were grievously moved, and others put a good construction upon the businesse: but at length the matter brake out into a manyfold War, of which that with the *Sabines* was most grievous. The Cities *Canina, Antemna* and *Crustumium* first began, after they could not perswade the *Sabines* to joyn with them. The two former, inhabited by the *Aborigines, Romulus* presently subdued, and afterwards the later also, which was a Colony of *Alba*; the grounds were divided betwixt some *Romans,* sent thither to plant, and the old Inhabitants, of which such, as would, were made free of the City, and without losse of their former estates, reckoned amongst the Tribes and *Curiæ,* to the number of 3000; so that now, the *Roman* footmen were increased to 6000 men. Upon the Victory over *Canina* and *Antemna,* he first triumphed, and designed a plot for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius* (so called from *Romulus* his bringing home in triumph the spoils of *Acron* the King of *Canina,* whom he slew; The spoiles were named by the *Romans Opima Spolia*) The plot of ground was about 15 foot long, and this was the original of the *Capitol.* Having obtained a great name for his valour and clemency, many eminent men went over to him with their families, amongst whom was *Celius,* who give name to an hill in the City: and some whole people committed themselves to his protection (having taken example from the *Medullini*) and received Colonies from *Rome.* This successe the *Sabines* sore repined at, laying now the blame one upon another, that they had not withstood the beginnings of the *Roman* greatnesse: wherefore they resolved to correct their former carelessnesse by double diligence, and assembling together at *Cures,* their Metropolis, decreed War against *Rome* for the spring following, and made choise of *T. Tatius* their King to be General. *Romulus* made all possible provision for resistance, fortifying the *Capitoline,* and *Aventine* hills. *Lucumo* from *Solonium,* a City of *Hetruria,* brought Auxiliary forces, and *Numitor* was not wanting to the assistance of his Grand-son.

Romulus his defensive wars.

9. The *Sabines* having demanded restitution of their Virgins, and to have

Sect. 2. the authors of the injury delivered up (that they might have a more specious pretence for their actions) received no satisfactory answer, and therefore both parties drew out into the field. The *Sabines* brought 25000 foot, and almost 1000 horse, and the *Roman* Army contained 20000 foot, and 800 horse, a very great number for a new builded City. *Tatius* pitched his Tents betwixt the *Quirinal* and *Capitolian* hill, where seeing all places strongly fortified, and small hopes for him to attempt any great matters, as he despaired of doing any good, one *Tarpeia*, the daughter of *Tarpeius* who kept the *Capitol*, called to his men from above, and covenanted with them to betray the place into their hands. Concerning the wages she was to receive, several stories, or fables, are related. It is said, that she required to have what they wore on their left arms, meaning their bracelets, but when she let them in, they threw their Targets which they carried on their left arms upon her, and therewith pressed her to death. Being Masters of the *Capitol*, they had thereby great advantage to continue the War at their pleasure, and first some light Skirmishes insued; but at length they resolved to do their utmost on both sides, and for several dayes continued the fight, so long as till night severed them, for the most part with equal successe. This made the *Sabines* seriously bethink themselves, whether they had best carry on the War or retreat; and the *Romans* were rather more to seek how to hold out; yet neither party would stoop to desire a Treaty. Whilst they remained in this anxious condition, those *Sabine* women that were married to the *Romans*, and the cause of the War, through the perswasion of *Hersilia*, one of the principal amongst them, became mediators, and made peace betwixt these Fathers and Sons in Law, after the War had lasted six years. The conditions were, that *Romulus* and *Tatius* should reign at *Rome*, with equal prerogative: that the City from *Romulus* should be called *Rome*, but the Citizens *Quirites* from *Cures* the native place of *Tatius*. Such of the *Sabines* as would, were made free of *Rome*, and a respect was had of those Matrons that procured the peace, that they which would live with their husbands, should bee exempted from all work and service, besides spinning and making of Cloath.

The end of *Sabine* War.

A. M. 2363. *V. C.* 12. *Achazi* 2.

10. Some write, that from thirty of these women which undertook this reconciliation, to perpetuate their memories, the *Tribes* were named; but *Terentius Varro* denied it, alleging that they had names before, and that by this honour given to thirty the rest of the women were not passed by and discouraged. For five years the two Kings reigned peaceably together, and joyntly subdued the *Camerini*, a Colony of the *Albans*; but in the sixth, it hapned that some of *Tatius* his friends plundring the *Lavinians*, and by him being protected, notwithstanding *Romulus* and the *Senate* judged they were to be given up: moreover killing the Ambassadors sent to demand them, wherein they were also born out by him; when he went to *Lavinium* to sacrifize, or perswade the injured persons to be quiet, the friends of the Ambassadors fell upon and knocked him in the head. *Romulus* to his great contentment thus freed from his partner, made satisfaction to the injured, and burying *Tatius* at *Rome* very honourably, subdued *Fidene*, a Town five miles off, which had seized on provisions coming to *Rome* in a time of famine. Thither he sent some of his own to inhabit, according to his custom, and then punished the *Crustumini*, who had killed those Planters which hee sent amongst them; and over them he obtained his second triumph. The *Veii*, a most powerful people of *Hetruria* inhabiting a City no lesse than *Athens*, situated upon a craggy Rock, at some twelve miles distance from *Rome*, found themselves concerned in what the *Fidenates* suffered, and by an Embassie required the *Romans* thence to remove their Garrison, and restore the Inhabitants to their whole demesens. This being denied, they met at *Fidene*, and there fought two bloody battels, wherein *Romulus* had the better, and triumphed the third time. *Plutarch* writeth, that the *Veientes* ridiculously challenged *Fidene* to belong to them, and receiving a scornful answer from *Romulus*, divided themselves into two parts, whereof with one they fought the

Tatius killed.

The *Veii* overcome.

Sect. 2. the *Fidenate*, and with the other went to meet *Romulus*, who slew of them above 8000, with the losse of 2000 of his own men. In the next battel he is fabulously reported to have killed 7000 with his own hand, being half the number that was slain. The *Veientes* now betook themselves to intreaties, and entred into a League with the *Romans* for an hundred years, on these conditions: to quit a great part of their grounds, with the Salt-pits near the River, and give up fifty Hostages of their most considerable families. *Romulus* triumphed over them on the *Ides* of *October*, leading with him their Captain an aged man, who had badly performed his office, for which he was afterwards personated by an old man in all Triumphs.

11. This was the last War managed by *Romulus*, who being grown exceeding high and tyrannical upon his successe, inlarged his prerogative beyond those bounds he had formerly set to it, and made use onely of the *Senate* to ratifie his commands. Hereby hee contracted the hatred of that Order, (though the Soldiers loved him) which brought him to an untimely death. Some think he was torn in pieces in the *Senate* house, and the *Senators* by peece-meal carried out his body under their gowns, so that it was never seen. Others wrote, that having drawn out the people to the place called *Capræ Palus*, and there making an Oration to them, a sodain darknesse and Tempest hapned, wherein he vanished and departed from amongst mortals. The *Senators* took occasion from the secrecy of their fact, and concealment of his body, to perswade the multitude that he was taken up amongst the gods; and *Julius Proculus*, a man of prime Nobility and credit amongst the *Patricians*, put all out of doubt, by swearing most religiously, that he appeared to him in the high-way, and told him, that *it pleased the gods, from whom he came, so long to let him continue amongst men, till he had founded a City, whose Empire and glory should excel, and then again that he should return to heaven. He bade him farewel, and tell the* Romans, *that if they did but use temperance and valour, they should in power excel all mortals. And he would be a propitious god unto them, under the name of* Quirinus. He lived 55 years, and reigned 27, in which space he much advanced the Sate of the City, which who first planted with him, were not much above 2000 foot, and scarce 300 horse, but when he died, he left of the one kind 46000, and almost 1000 of the other sort. After his Grand-fathers death, he succeeded in the Kingdom of *Alba*, which he governed by *Deputies*, continuing his residence at *Rome*. The day on which he died, was the *Nones* of *Quintilis* (afterwards called *July*) which answereth to the 26th of *May*, as the Callendar was reformed by *Julius Cæsar*. It was named *Nona Caprotina*, from the place where he vanished, and *Fuga Populi*, because the people astonished at the King's death took them to their heels. *Tarrutius* the Mathematician observed, that the life of this Prince was signalized by three Eclypses of the Sun: one at his conception, which is also the first that is observed by Authors; another the same day de founded *Rome*, and the third on the day of his death; concerning which, for that the calculation of the former is rather founded upon Astrological than Astronomical Principles, *Jacobus Cappellus* is to be consulted.

Romulus grown tyrannical,

Is made away by the *Senators*.

Called *Quirinus*.

12. *Romulus* dying childlesse, the *Senate* for a years space retained the power in their own hands, which is called an *Inter-regnum*. They governed by their courses, each man five dayes; but the People murmuring, and giving out, that for one tyrant they had got an hundred, at length they resolved that a King should be chosen. The *Sabines* thought it reasonable he should be of their Nation, not having had any since *Tatius*, and the other were averse to a stranger, being desirous he should be some one of the *Patricians*; but at length the Fathers fixed upon *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine*, a man of almost forty years of age, and the most considerable for knowledg and ability of that time, who by consent of the People was advanced to the Government. At first he excused himself; but sollicited by his Father, and *Marcius* his kindsman, not to let slip so fair an oportunity of his own and Countrie's preferment, he accepted of it. He thought it policy to raise that City by Laws

An *Inter-regnum* for a year.

Numa.

A. M. 3291. *V. C.* 40. *Ezechiæ* 17. *Olymp.* 16. *an.* 3.

SECT. 2. Laws, and religious customs which had been founded by force and Arms, and to soften the Genius of it by diversion from warfare, it being as necessary to employ a people well at home as exercise them abroad. He built a Temple to *Janus*, which was to stand open in time of War, and be shut in peace, as it continued all his reign. But it onely hapned so to be twice from his time to that of *Tiberius Cæsar*. The *first* occasion was in the Consulship of *Titus Manlius*, and *Marcus Attilius*, after the ending of the first *Punick* War; and the *second* in *Augustus* his reign, after he had subdued *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, at what time there was an Universal peace. *Numa* disbanded the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, as standing in no need of them. To the two *Flamens* of *Jupiter* and *Mars* he added the third of *Romulus*. To him is also ascribed the bringing in of the *Pontifes*, whereof he himself was one, and the Original of which name is so much controverted. He also ordained the *Vestal Nuns*, and the *Feciales* a sort of Priests which judged concerning the equity of War, and denounced it. His religion much suited, in the manner and strictnesse thereof, with that of the *Pythagoreans*, which caused the report of his being Contemporary, and conversing with *Pythagoras*; although this Philosopher was born 100 years after his death. The reason of this mistake, besides the ignorance of the times, was his familiarity with *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, who gave him advice concerning the ordering of his Kingdom, travelling in *Italy* in the sixteenth *Olympiad*, the third year of which was the beginning of *Numa's* reign, according to *Plutarch*.

His religion much suiting with that of the *Pythagoreans*.

13. As *Pythagoras* taught that the principle of all things is not to be perceived by sense, or lyable to motion, but invisible, immortal, and to be apprehended by the understanding alone, so *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to use the Image of any God which represented him after the form of a man, or any other living Creature. Neither in these antient times was there any painted, carved, or molten image amongst them: but for the first 170 years, though they built Temples and Sacred places, yet had they no image at all, because they thought it wickednesse to liken more excellent things to those below them, and thought God no otherwise to be perceived than by the mind. *Numa* divided those grounds amongst the poorer sort which *Romulus* had gained in his Wars, causing his subjects to apply themselves to husbandry, to cultivate their minds as well as the earth; and that he might take away the distinction of *Roman*, and *Sabine*, which threatned the State with endlesse emulation and prejudice, he distinguished them all according to their trades and occupations, making every Art a particular Company and Fellowship. He abated the rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the power of Fathers over their Children, ordaining it should not be lawfull for them to sell such sons as by their leave had married, because it was unjust that a woman which had married a free-man should be constrained to live with a slave. He reformed the year which in the time of *Romulus* was quite out of all order: some moneths had fewer then 20 dayes, some had 35. and some above: the variety of the several courses of Sun and Moon was not understood; but onely this aimed at, that the year should consist of 360 dayes.

He reformeth the year.

14. *Numa* considering that a Solar year exceeded the Lunar by eleven dayes (the one consisting of 354. and the other of 365) doubled these eleven dayes, and every other year, inserted a moneth after *February*, consisting of 22 dayes, and by the *Romans* called *Mercedonius*, because at that time wages were wont to be paid. He changed the order of the moneths, assigning to *March* (formerly the first) the *third* place; to *January* the *first*, and *February* the *second*; whereof this was the *last*, and the other the 11th in the dayes of *Romulus*. Many have been of opinion, that *Numa* added *January* and *February* to the rest of the moneths, and that formerly the *Romans* had but 10. which appeareth by the name of *December*, the last moneth, and because the *fifth* and *sixth* moneths from *March* were called *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*. Thus *March* must have been the beginning of the year, which *Romulus* so named from *Mars* his supposed father. The *second* was *April*, so

so called from *Venus*, as some thought (because her superstitious worship was performed in it, when the women were Crowned with Myrtle as they washed) or, as others gathered, from the opening of Plants at that time of the year. The *third* was *May*, named from *Maia*, and sacred to *Mercury*; the *fourth* was *June* from *Juno* as some thought, others deriving the names of these two from *Majores* and *Juniores*, the *Elder* and *younger*. The rest had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was from *Julius Cæsar* called *July*, *Sextilis Augustus* from *Augustus*. *September* and *October*, the Emperour *Domitian* changed into his own names, but presently after he was killed they recovered their former. Onely the two last ever retained their first appellations. Of those moneths which *Numa* either added, or ranked, *February* was so called from the expiations which used to be in it, signified by the word *Februa*: then they were wont to make parentations to the dead, and celebrate the *Lupercalia*, certain Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Pan*, much like to the Sacrifice of Expiations. *January* was named of *Janus*, which *Numa* seemeth to have set before *March*, because he would shew that Civil vertue is ever to be preferred before what is exercised in War: For *Janus* was accounted one of the most antient Gods, or Kings, (from whom reigning in *Italy*, some make the *Romans* descended) very studious for civil society and humane converse, and who changed the course of mans life from brutish and savage to an humane and gentle kind. He is therefore feigned to be double faced, because he brought in another fashion of life than what formerly had been, and had a Temple built by *Numa* with two doors, that were shut in peace, and open in war as was before said. These things *Plutarch* relateth in the life of *Numa*. SECT. 2.

15. But *Livie*, and other considerable Authors, (*a*) *Solinus*, (*b*) *Macrobius*, and (*c*) *Censorinus*, write that the first *Roman* year consisted but of ten moneths and 304 dayes; six of the moneths having 30 dayes, and the other four 31 apiece. But this account differing from the course of the Sun, *Numa*, to make them agree, added 51 dayes to the year. That he might make up the twelve moneths; from the six, consisting of thirty dayes, he took one day apiece, and therewith made up 57. which were divided into two moneths, whereof the one contained 29. and the other 28 dayes, and so the year began to have 355. Of this opinion, besides *Junius Granhanus* and *Fulvius*, both *Varro* and *Suetonius* were, as appeareth out of *Censorinus*. Yet *Licinius Macer* and *Lucius Fenestella*, by the same testimony, (two antient Writers of *Annals*) delivered that the first *Roman* year consisted of 12 moneths, agreeable to the former opinion related by *Plutarch*. This a * noble pair of modern Criticks prove to have been the truer opinion, affirming that *January* and *February* were not added by *Numa*, but transferred from the end to the beginning of the year, and endeavouring to shew that they who would have the year but to consist of 10 moneths make it no shorter than they that are for 12. distinguishing it not so much in number as placing of dayes; for the *Romans* in *Romulus* his time filled up the year, either by assigning more dayes than thirty to the moneths, or adding so many in the end thereof as seemed to be wanting. But it sufficeth to have touched these things for the direction of beginners.

(*a*) *C.* 3.
(*b*) *Satur. lib.* 1. *c.* 12.
(*c*) *c.* 20.

* *Joseph Scaliger de Emendatione Temp. lib.* 2. *&* *Lydyatus de variis annorum formis cap.* 17.

16. *Numa*, to gain credit and obedience to his constitutions, feigned that he had converse with the Goddesse *Egeria*. He married *Tatia*, daughter to *Tatius* the King, by which he had a daughter named *Pompilia*. Some said he neither had any other wife nor any more Children: but others both as to wife and children dissented from them. He lived above 80. reigned 43 years, and at his death was buried with great honour. His body was not burned (which he forbad) but buried in a stone Coffin under the *Janiculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies laid by him in another, which being twelve written in *Latine*, and as many in the *Greek* tongue, were 400 years after, when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Marcus Bæbius* were Consuls, by water wrought out of the earth, and for that it was thought wickednesse to have such things discovered

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vered to the multitude, (from which he also kept them, after the fashion of the *Pythagoreans*, not communicating discipline by writing but onely by word of mouth) burned by command of the *Senate*. He kept the State in constant peace, and his ability herein contributed to the general quiet of *Italy*; so that, by the example of his reign, *Plutarch* judgeth that saying of *Plato* to be verified: that the onely means whereby men should be made happy, would be, to have a Philosophical mind, and regal power concur in a Prince, who would make vertue superiour to dishonesty. But the fortune of the succeeding Kings added to the lustre of his glory: For of the five which followed, the last was cast out, and died in exile, and none of the rest obtained a natural and quiet end, according to *Plutarch*.

Tullus Hostilius.

17. *Numa* being dead, and the Government devolved upon the Senate, after several *Interreges*, at length *Tullus Hostilius* was created King, by the Universal consent of the Citie. His Grand-father was that *Hostilius*, who most gallantly behaved himself against the *Sabines* at the *Cittadel*, and married of that Nation the daughter of *Hersilia*. After much valour shewn he was slain in battel, and left a young son, who at ripeness of age, of a noble Matrone, begat this *Tullus Hostilius* the *third* King of *Rome*, whose beginning, according to the account of *Dionysius*, was in the second year of the 27th *Olympiad* wherein *Eurybates* the *Athenian* was *Victor*, when *Leostratus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the 83 year of the Citie, and the 31 of *Manasses* King of *Judah*. At his first beginning he purchased the favour of the poorer sort by dividing unto them, man by man, that portion of Land which the two former Kings had kept to bear their charges, saying, that his own inheritance would suffice for his own expences. Left these should want room he took in the Hill *Celius*, where such as wanted habitation, and now had gotten grounds, built them houses, and he also dwelt himself. He was not onely of a different temper from *Numa*, but as *Livie* describeth him, more fiery than *Romulus*, being as well moved by his proper inclination as the glory of his Grand-father, so that he fought, and greedily imbraced all occasions for War. It was not long ere one was presented from the *Albans*, who made depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and were again robbed by the *Romans*. At that time *Caius Cluilius* Governed *Alba*, who envying the growth of *Rome*, sought to stir up division, and raise War betwixt the two Cities. *Dionysius* writeth, that for this end he privately procured some to prey upon the *Romans*, knowing they would revenge the injury, and when they did so upon such as they could take, he perswaded the *Albans* that they had received a great affront, and excited them to take up Arms.

A. M. 3333. *V. C.* 82. *Olymp.* 27. an. 1.

His War with the Albans.

18. Ambassadors were sent to *Rome* to demand restitution, and such as had been Authors of the injury to be given up into their hands. This *Hostilius* being aware of, and knowing that they who first refused to make satisfaction would bear the Odium of the War, caused some of his friends kindly to entertain the Ambassadors, pretending he was by necessary occasions hindred from giving them audience, till he first sent some of his own to *Alba* to demand restitution. They received a sharp repulse from *Cluilius*, whereof *Hostilius* having notice, then gave audience to the *Albans*, told them how those that he sent, had already received such an answer as argued the league quite broken; whereupon he denounced a just, and necessary War against the *Albans*, which he would carry on not onely with his domestick forces, but by the aid of his other subjects and dependents. Both parties then made all possible preparations, and drew out their forces to a place afterwards called the *Ditch of Cluilius*, some five miles distant from *Rome*. When they expected suddenly to decide the quarrel, *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent, whether by some secret practice upon himself, by grief, or any other means is uncertain. Into his place was chosen *Metius Suffetius*, a man of a turbulent spirit, and scarce able for warlike matters, but thought fit for the place because as great an incendiary as his predecessor. Yet sensible of danger that hung over his head from the *Fidenates*, (who gaped after the destruction of both) he drew out the War in length, and fearfull

Dionysius l. 3. *Livius l.* 1.

Sect. 2.

full to lose all, was inclinable to a present composure. *Hostilius* was now also not averse to a determination of the business, being desirous to punish the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who, formerly overcome by *Romulus*, had submitted to the obedience of *Rome*, and in the dayes of *Numa* taken occasion of his peaceable Grovernment, to provide for the absolute shaking off of the yoak. This time they thought to present them with a fit opportunity; for gathering together at *Fidena* they were ready, when the *Albans* and *Romans* should in battel have weakened each other, to fall upon both.

19. This plot discovered, wrought so upon both the Captains, that they came to a conference, wherein much being alleged for the justice and right of both parties, at length it was agreed, that three persons on each side should by combat decide the quarrel, and that City, whose Champions should have the better, obtain preheminence and command over the other. Whiles every Officer desired to be one of the three, *Suffetius* bethought himself of two ternions of brothers that were most fit, as he thought, to take it upon them. One *Seguinius* of *Alba* had two daughters, whereof one he married to *Curiatius* his fellow Citizen, and the other to *Horatus* a *Roman*. It hapened that both being with child at the same time, brought forth, each of them three sons at the first birth, which their Parents educated as the hope of their Families: to these it was that *Suffetius* thought the Combat concerning Principality was to be committed, being of equal years, strength, and courage. The motion was imbraced by the parties, who dispensed with their private affection (no whit unsuitable to their consanguinity) now that the honour and welfare of their Country was concerned. In the Combat two of the *Horatii* were slain first, and the third left to deal with three adversaries, spirited afresh by the great advantage they had of him; but warily retreating, so as he might have but one upon him at a time, he slew them all, and *Rome* in him remained Conqueror. As he returned into the City, he was met by his Sister, that fell upon him with chiding and outragious words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his Cousin-germans, whereof one was contracted to her. Now elevated by his successe, and transported with a certain kind of Ecstatical love to his Country, he killed her in the place, as one that preferring private respect before publick good, was unworthy to live. Hereof he was accused, and *Tullus* neither thinking it seemly to quit or condemn him, as some say, created the *Duumviri* for capital Judgement, who condemned him; but, if so, there lying appeal from these Officers to the People, the multitude granted his life to the tears of his Father, who not onely took not ill his daughters death, but esteemed it an heroick act, and gave her an ignominious burial.

The Horatii and Curiatii.

20. *Hostilius* dealt moderately with the *Albans*, but *Metius Suffetius* their *Dictator*, or *King*, thinking his credit much impaired by the event of the Combat, sought how he might betray the *Romans*, and wrest the power out of their hands. He dealt therefore underhand with the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who now called to account for their double-dealings, brake out into open rebellion, and by promise of assistance, incouraged them in their enterprize. And when the *Romans* and the other came to ingage, he resolved to stand neuter till he saw wich party had the better, intending then to cloze with it. The *Romans* were discouraged to see their friends stand aloof, suspecting the treachery, which *Tullus* also apprehending, gave out, that it was by his order, as meaning by some stratagem to surprize the Enemy, upon which report the *Fidenates* and their companions were discouraged, and at length by the *Romans*, who resumed their courage, put to the rout. After the Victory, he called the *Albans* together, and laying open the treachery of *Suffetius* (which favoured the more of Treason, because he had trusted him as his inward friend, and kept him three years in his place) caused him to be pulled in pieces; having beforehand sent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who rased the City, and translated the Inhabitants thereof to *Rome*, after it had stood about 487 years, according to the account of *Dionysius*, which is to be preferred before the other of *Livie*, or that of *L. Florus*, an Author not

Sect. 2. not to be relied on, either as to Chronology or order, and disposition of matters; to say no more.

21. To this end came *Alba* through the power of it's own Colony, having flourished with riches, numbers of Inhabitants, and been the Mother of thirty *Latin* Towns. After this, *Tullus*, having brought fully under the *Fidenates*, moved War against the *Sabines*, for robbing such *Romans* as used to traffick into the Country, and refused to make restitution of the goods: he overthrew them at the Wood called *Malitiosa Sylva*, and forced them to beg peace. Now also the *Latines* and *Romans* fell out, because they refused to yield obedience to these, who challenged it as due to their City, which had conquered the *Metropolis*. The War was managed for five years, with great moderation; onely, besides continual depredations, *Hostilius* punished *Medallia* for an example, which in the time of *Romulus* had received a *Roman* Colony. Otherwise no battel was fought, nor any Town taken and plundred, which made both inclinable to peace. But at this time *Tullus Hostilius* died, having reigned 32 years; some say by Lightning, with his whole Family, for neglect of the Religion instituted by *Numa*; but most believed him taken away by the practices of his Successor, though *Dionysius* holdeth their opinion to be improbable.

Alba destroyed.

A. M. 3051. *V. C.* 100. *Olymp.* 31. *an.* 4. *Manassis* 48.

Livie. *Pliny.* *Plutarch.*

22. After the death of *Tullus*, the state fell into an *Inter-regnum*, according to the custom, and, by the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, *Ancus Marcius* was elected King, who being confirmed by the people, began his reign in the second year of the 35th *Olympiad*, wherein *Spharus* the *Lacedemonian* was Victor, at what time *Damasias* was annual *Archon* at *Athens*. He (who according to what *Festus* writeth, had the Sirname of *Ancus* from his crooked arm, which he could not strech out in length) was Grand-son to *Numa*, by his daughter *Pompilia*. She was married to *Marcius*, the son of that *Marcius*, who being the kinsman of *Numa*, came with him to *Rome*, after he had earnestly perswaded him to take upon him the Kingdom, being elected into the Senate, after the King's death, stood in competition with *Hostilius* for his place, and missing of it laid violent hands on himself. *Marcius* his son marrying *Pompilia* the daughter of *Numa* (whether by *Tatia* or *Lucretia*, is uncertain) begot on her this *Ancus Marcius*, who was five years old at the death of both his Grand-fathers. *Ancus* considering that much of the superstition brought in by *Numa* was neglected, set himself to restore the use thereof, alleging to the people, that the diseases, Pestilence, and other innumerable calamities, which had lately fallen upon the City, together with the disastrous end of *Hostilius*, proceeded from neglect of their gods. He advised them to return to Husbandry, and other peaceable imployments, neglecting violence, and the profit that cometh by War. The State being thus restored, he thought as his Grand-father had lived, so to passe his time free from all War and molestation; but he found his expectation crossed, for that he was compelled to be a warriour against his will, and was never free from peril and tumult. Scarce had he began to reign, and had modelled the Commonwealth, when the *Latines* contemning him as a sluggard, and unfit for military imployment, made depredations upon the *Roman* Territories. Making preparation for War, *Livie* writeth, that he first denounced it, sending to the *Latins* beforehand, and now constituted the Office of the *Feciales*, the Rules whereof he took from the *Equicoli* an antient people.

Ancus Marcius.

A. M. 3366. *V. C.* 115. *Olymp.* 35. *an.* 2. *Josiæ* 6.

Livius l. 1.

Plutarch in Numa.

23. He surprized *Politorium* a Town of the *Latines*, the Inhabitants of which, he translated to *Rome*, where, (for that the antient *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Cœlian* had been given to the new Denizons of *Alba*) to them was granted the *Aventine* hill to inhabit, other neighbours being added, when, within a while, *Tileue* and *Sicania* were taken. The *Latines* much concerned at this losse, conspired against him for the Spring following; but at several times he defeated their united powers, and forced them to ask peace; so did he the *Fidenates*, *Volsci*, *Veientes*, and such *Sabines* as, not yet having felt the strength of *Rome*, sorely repined at the successe of an upstart City. He laid a wooden bridge over the River

Livius lib. 1.

Dionys. l. 3.

River *Tiber*, and fortified the *Janiculum* on the other side with a wall, having by a bridge united it to the City: and in the midle of *Rome* he made a prison for Malefactors. Neither did he onely extend the *Pomarium* or *Area* of the City, but inlarged it's dominion. For having taken from the *Veientes* the *Mesian* Forrest, his Territories reached to the Sea, upon which, at the mouth of *Tiber*, he built a Town called *Ostia*, to secure the profit of Navigation unto his subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ship, were in lesser Vessels conveyed to the City. *Ancus Marcius* reigned 24 years, coming behind the commendations of none of his Predecessors, either for the glory of Peace or War. Sect. 2.

24. *Ancus* being dead (of a natural death, as should seem by Historians, save that *Plutarch*, as was said, included him in the number of those four that came to untimely ends) the *Senate* received power from the People to order the affairs of the Commonwealth, and created certain *Interreges*, who holding the *Assemblies* for election, *L. Tarquinius* was chosen King, and began his reign about the second year of the 41th *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleonidas* the *Theban* was Victor, *Emoebides* being *Archon* at *Athens*, the 139th of the City, and the 30th of *Josiah* King of *Judah*. This man being of forein extraction, what his Originall was, why hee came to *Rome*, and how he attained to the Kingdom is to be confidered. There was a *Corinthian*, *Demaratus* by name, of the race of the *Bacchiadæ*, who trafficking much into *Hetruria*, changed his Merchandise for *Tuscan* Commodities, and thereby growing very wealthy, when troubles arose at home by means of *Cypselus* his Tyranny, with all his goods sailed from *Corinth*, and fixed himself at *Tarquinia* a City of *Hetruria*, where marrying a noble Matron, of her he begat two sons called by the *Hetruscan* names of *Aruns* and *Lucumon*. *Aruns* died without hope of issue. *Demaratus* for grief followed him not long after, so that *Lucumo* possessed of the whole Inheritance, began to elevate his designs, and to look after some place of Magistracy in his Country. Here he received a repulse, not being able to procure any mean Office, at which sorely disdaining, he heard that *Rome* received strangers with great courtesie, and gave them free admission unto honours. He then resolved to remove thither with his goods and friends, and after his arrival, was much made of by *Ancus*, to whom offering his Patrimony for the publick good, as exceeding that of a private man, he received freedom of the City, for himself and followers, with ground to build houses, and for their sustenance. Now he changed his name from *Lucumon* to *Lucius*, and his wife from *Tanaquil* to *Gaia Cæcilia*, and from the place of his birth superadded that of *Tarquinius*. During the reign of *Ancus*, who chose him into the *Senate*, he flourished in great esteem with him, and in the favour of the people; in War no man shewing himself more hardy, nor in Council more dextrous, prudent, or successful; and his integrity seemed such unto the King, that he left him Guardian to his two sons, whereof both were under age, and one but yet an infant.

The pedigree of Tarquinius Priscus.

A. M. 3390. *V. C.* 139. *Ol.* 41. *an.* 2. *Josiæ* 30.

Festus in voce Gaia.

25. He took advantage at the minority of the eldest, as yet scarce fourteen years old, whom sending out of the way, under pretence of hunting, he made a Speech to the People, saith *Livie*, wherein he plainly begged the Kingdom, drawing to his private interest the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, whom being meer strangers, they had chosen to reign over them; whereas he was not absolutely such, having lived a good space in *Rome*, and been trained up both in civil and military affairs, under *Ancus*: He urged then his liberality towards them; which things not being meerly pretended, he obtained his end, and was the first that came to the Government through his own ambitious seeking.

He obtaineth the Kingdom.

His Wars.

His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took several Towns, and amongst the rest *Collatia*, over which he placed Governour his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius*, the posthume issue of his brother, and Sirnamed *Egerius* from his poverty (having no Patrimony) and *Collatinus* from this place, which Sirname continued to his Posterity. Having forced the *Latines* to beg peace, notwithstanding their supplies out of *Hetruria*, he turned his Armes

SECT. 2. against the *Sabines*, whom after he had also forced to submit, all *Hetruria* combined against him, because he retained such prisoners as he had taken of the Auxiliaries sent by them to the *Sabines*. It was decreed amongst them, that what Town soever refused to joyn against him should not be accounted of their body, and they presently possessed themselves of *Fidenæ* a *Roman* Colony. But he so ordered the matter, that overthrowing them in sundry battels, and preparing for another expedition, they were humbled; to purchase peace owned him for their Prince, and as tokens of fealty, and allegiance, sent him the Ensigns of Soveraignty wherewith their Kings had wont to be adorn'd. These were a *Crown of Gold*, an *Ivory Chair*, *a Scepter on the top of which was an Eagle*, *a Coat of purple wrought with Gold*, *and a purple Gown pinked*; like to the Roabs of the *Lydian*, and *Persian* Kings, save that it was not four-square, but of a semicircular figure. Some write also that they sent 12 *Axes* for so many Cities, it being their custom for every Magistrate in his own Town to have an Axe with Rods carried before him, and in a common expedition twelve to be born before their General. Others contended that *Romulus* used these Axes and Rods as a Badge of his Authority to punish Offenders; but *Dionysius* repliieth, that *Romulus* might learn this custom of the *Hetruscans*, and if not, yet might *Tarquinius* have these sent to him, seeing the people of *Rome* afterwards used to send Diadems, and Scepters to such Kings as they confirmed; which these Princes received, although they had worn the same Ornaments before.

26. In nine years he finished the *Hetruscan* War, and then fell again upon the *Sabines* (who alone contended with the *Romans* for superiority) a warlike Nation, possessing a large and fertile Countrey not far distant from *Rome*. Over them he obtained his third Triumph, and providing for another expedition they prevented him by their intreaties, giving up themselves fully into his power, whom he received on the same terms as formerly he had done the *Hetruscans*. These were his military actions. At the beginning of his reign, that he might bind the people to him, he chose out an hundred of the *Plebeians*, who for valour, or wisdom, were most eminent, and added them to the *Senate*, which now first consisted of 300. *Romulus* at the beginning chose an 100 out of the first planters, then added an 100 more of the most noble of the *Sabines*, which with these of *Tarquinius* were called *Patres conscripti*, and the last *Patres minorum gentium*. *Zonaras* agreeth with *Dionysius* concerning the number of *Senators* made by *Romulus*, adding, that *Tatius* and he at first consulted with their *Senators* apart, but at length they were joyned together; so that those are not to be heard, who will have but 200 in all during the time of the Kings, and 100 afterwards added by *Brutus*. He increased the number of the *Vestal Nuns* from four to seven, adorned the *forum*, built the Walls of the Citie (before patched up in haste) with 4 square stones, whereof each was a Cart-load. He caused the common sinks to be made for voiding the filth of the Citie into *Tiber*; a work so admirable, that *Dionysius* thinketh, from the *magnificence* of it, as from the *Aqueducts*, and the *high cawsed wayes*, the amplitude of the *Roman* Empire appeared: and this is manifested from what C. *Aquilius* wrote, that those sinks being once stopped, the *Censors* spent 1000 Talents in cleansing of them. In the *Circus Maximus* (a place dedicated to the beholding of Games, and exercises, betwixt the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills) he caused seats to be raised for spectators, whereas before, all stood; and he distinguished their places according to their dignity.

He encreaseth the *Senate*.

The *Vestal Nuns*.

Cloacæ, or Common sinks.

27. *Tarquinius* intended to add three Centuries of horsmen, named after himself, and his friends, to the former three instituted by *Romulus*. That King first chose 200 out of the three *Tribes*, or Legions, and, after the taking in of the *Sabines*, increased the Legions, so that each contained 4000. (whence it was called *Quadrata*, as *Festus* observeth) yet afterwards a Legion comprised full so many men as were found convenient for the service of the Commonwealth. But he was forbidden by *Attius Nevius* to change the constitution of *Romulus*, and therefore, without increase of the *Centuries*, doubled the

Attius Nevius.

the number of the men. This *Nevius* was the most famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever knew, and so well versed in his Art, as he never missed in his predictions. *Tarquinius* on a time, to try him, asked if that was possible to be done which he had in his thoughts, who answering *yea*, he laughed him to scorn, saying that he had thought of cutting a Wherstone with a Razor which he held in his hand; but *Nevius* still replying he should do it, and bidding him to strike hard, he cut thorow it. This much inhanced the reputation of his skill, and he flourished thenceforth with great honour, till at length he was suddenly missing, and his body never could be found, which turned to the disquiet of *Tarquinius*. For the sons of *Ancus Marcius*, now grown men, grudged him their fathers Kingdom, and often thought of thrusting him out, expecting much from martial men, who generally bore love to their fathers memory. Now they accused him to the people of having made away the *Augur* (because he had contradicted his devices) and created him some trouble, till *Tullius* his son-in-law answered the objections, and cleared him of the Calumny. Missing of their design this way, they counterfeited repentance; and being easily reconciled to the old man, out of respect to their father, cloaked their malice for three years. Then they clothed two of their companions like Shepherds, who going to the Court, and pretending to be fain out, did beat each other, and called loud upon the King for Justice, having at their backs other Conspirators apparelled also in rustick weeds, who offered to give Testimony on both sides. Being called in to the King they wounded him to death, and betaking themselves to their heels were caught, confessed who were authors of the plot, and received their just reward. To this end came *Tarquinius* (sirnamed *Priscus*, after his Grand-son of the same name had obtained the Kingdom) about 80 years old, when he had reigned 38 years, and done many and great good Offices for the Commonwealth.

SECT. 2.

Tarquinius murdered.

28. *Tarquinius Priscus* being dead, *Servius Tullius* his son-in-law succeeded him in the fourth year of the 50th *Olympiad*, wherein *Epitelides* the Laconian was Victor, when *Archestratides* was *Archon* at *Athens*: concerning whose Original, and private life, something is first to be spoken. A certain man of *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, of Royal bloud, was slain when *Tarquinius* took the place, and left his wife *Ocrisia* big with Child, which woman *Tarquinius* gave to his Queen *Tanaquil*. *Ocrisia* then was delivered of a son in the Kings house, named *Tullius*, and sirnamed *Servius* by her in remembrance of her bondage. When being an Infant he lay in the Cradle a flame of fire is said to have appeared, and incompassed his head, which raised great expectation of him in *Tanaquil* a woman skilfull in the mysteries of her Countrey. She brought her husband into a great opinion of him, so that he was educated by them, and answering what had been conceived of him at length was made their son-in-law: then abroad he had Command in the Army, and at home managed publick Affairs for the King when grown old, in all things behaving himself with such integrity, valour, and prudence, as purchased him the love of all the people. Now whereas *Tarquinius* had at his death no sons (as *Dionysius* maketh most manifest) but left two Grand-sons both Infants, *Tanaquil* having a desire that *Tullius* should succeed him, kept his death private for some time, till he had procured the people to banish the *Marcii*, giving out that the King, dangerously wounded though not dead, had referred all businesse to him according to his custom. Being secure of the faction of the *Marcii*, he then carried out *Tarquinius* to be buried, as newly dead, and as *Tutor* to the young Children, executed the Office of King, which *Tanaquil* out of the window had told the people, was her husband's will, when yet she feigned him to be living. But the *Patricians* grudging *Tullius* this honour, consoired how, the next time he assembled the *Senate*, they might constrain him to leave off all the royal enfigns, and then go to an Election according to the usual manner.

Servius Tullius his descent and education.

Dionysius l.4.
Livius l.1.
Florus l.1. c.6.

29. He coming to the knowledge hereof Assembled the people, and producing the two boyes, pleaded their case and his own: he promised them to pay all their debts, and divide to those that wanted the publick grounds.

Hereby

SECT. 2. Hereby retaining the power under the notion *Guardian*; The *Patritians* were sore agrieved thereat, but the wiſeſt ſort thought it not good to ſtir, though they plainly ſaw the Authority of the *Senate* much infringed. For they conſidered, that if they ſhould make a King of their own body, the people would not approve the choice, and if it were referred to the multitude, *Tullius* would aſſuredly be the man: wherefore they thought it more wiſdom to ſuffer him to reign in an unlawfull manner, that ſo they might ever have ſome juſt pretence againſt him, than by ſtirring in the matter to procure him a legal Title. But he prevented this their deſign, going with his mother, mother-in-law, and all his kindred in mourning habits unto the *Forum*, where he ſhewed the people how lamentable his condition was through the plots of the *Patritians* againſt him, which he deſerved no otherwayes than by his good deeds towards the commonality: he laid to their charge that they would call in the *Marcii* that had murdred *Tarquinius*, and expoſe his poſterity, who had ſo well deſerved of the State together with himſelf, to the ſame cruelty, and in concluſion, offering to lay down all, if ſuch was the pleaſure of the people, and undergo any hardſhip rather than be troubleſom, he offered to deſcend from the Tribunal. A great clamour then aroſe mixed with prayers and tears of thoſe that beſought him to retain the Government, and preſently ſome that were provided before-hand began to cry out that he was to be choſen King, and the *Curiæ* were to be called to the Vote, which thing was inſtantly reſolved by the multitude. He gladly took hold of the opportunity, thanked them that they were mindfull of the benefits received from him, promiſed larger if he were elected King, and appointed a day for the *Comitia*, or *Aſſembly*, whereof he intended to have preſent thoſe alſo that were abroad in the Countrey. At the day appointed for the *Aſſembly* of the *Curiæ* (called *Curiata Comitia*) he was choſen King by the ſuffrages of them all, and ſo in deſpight of the *Conſcript Fathers*, who refuſed to confirm the choice, as the manner was, obtained the principality.

Obtaineth the Kingdom.

30. Preſently after his ſetlement he accompliſhed his promiſe concerning the diviſion of the publick Land to ſuch as were forced to preſerve themſelves by dayly labour in other mens grounds; and in the *Curiata Comitia* preferred fifty Laws concerning contracts and injuries. He added two Hills to the former five: viz. the *Viminal* and *Eſquiline*, in the later whereof he lived himſelf, and was the laſt man that inlarged the *Pomœria* of the Citie, the Wall whereof was never any further ſtretched out, though very large Suburbs were afterwards added. After he had compaſſed all the ſeven Hills within one Wall, he diſtinguiſhed the Citie into four parts, and inſtead of three, made four Tribes. And as *Romulus* diſtinguiſhed the people according to their Seats and Communion in Sacrifices into *Tribes* and *Curiæ*, ſo *Servius* making every one give an account how much he was worth, according to their riches divided them into ſix Ranks, or *Claſſes*. Of theſe, the firſt and higheſt conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 110000 Aſſes (each of which anſwereth to *ob.* 9. of our money) the next four decreaſed in value a fourth part, and in the laſt were contained all ſuch whoſe Eſtates were of little, or no value. A.M.3427. *V.C.*76. *Olymp.*50. *an.*3. *Nebuch.*31.

The *Cenſus.*

31. The *Claſſes* he did alſo ſo ſubdivide into *Centuries*, as 192 were made in all; his deſign herein being to know certainly how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treaſure might be ſupplied for Wars, or other occaſions. He alſo firſt ordained the *Luſtrum* (ſo named a *Luendo*, (from *paying*) ſaith *Varro*, as *Fluſtrum* a *Fluendo*) to be celebrated after this *Cenſus*, or value of each according to their ſubſtance. On a certain day after the valuation he enacted that all the Citizens ſhould meet in their Armour in the *Campus Martius*, every one in his ſeveral *Claſſis* and *Century*; where by ſacrifice the Citie was expiated, or *Luſtrated*. This ſolemnity was termed *Solitaurilia*, (or rather *Suovetaurilia*), becauſe an *Hog*, *Sheep*, and *Ox* were ſacrificed, as we read in *Quintilian*. Theſe things being performed, the *Luſtrum* was finiſhed, which, becauſe of continual change of mens Eſtates, he ordained ſhould be reiterated every five years, ſo that he (who begun it according to *Lipſius* in his twelfth year) celebrated it himſelf four times, according to *Valerius Maximus*. Every fifth year the *Tribute* or *Taxe* (called *Cenſus*) was *paid* and thence *Luſtrum* ſeemeth to have had it's name. After the baniſhment of the Kings, the Conſuls managed this buſineſſe, till the *Cenſors* (Magiſtrates proper to the work) were brought in. Laſtly, *Joſeph Scaliger* telleth us, we muſt diſtinguiſh the old *Roman Luſtrum* from the later, or *Julian*, which is onely a Syſteme of four *Julian* years, whereof the laſt conſiſteth of 366 dayes abſolutely without any overplus of hours. For the *Old* and *Proper* Luſtrum contained five years complete, which that cited by *Cicero*, concerning the *Cenſors*, out of the Laws of the twelve tables, *Let them be two*, *Let them obtain the Magiſtracy for five years*, maketh manifeſt; ſo that this *Luſtrum* cannot anſwer to an *Olympiad*, properly ſo called; of which beginners are to take notice. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. *De legibus l.* 3.

Luſtrum.

*De Lingua Latina lib.*5.

*Lib.*II. *cap.*5.

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32. Of the ſix *Claſſes*, which contained 193 *Centuries*, the *firſt* and richeſt was divided into 98; the *Equites* or *Horſmen* being counted in: the *ſecond* into 22, taking in *Artificers*; the *third* into 20: the *fourth* 22: the *fifth* 30, and the *ſixth* and laſt of the poorer ſort, made up but one *Century*. Men and moneys being levied, according to theſe *Centuries*, and not by poll (each *Century* ſuch a quantity) it came to paſſe, that the richeſt being fewer, yet divided into more *Centuries* (here the word is not to be taken for 100 perſons preciſely, being made uſe of onely to expreſſe ſuch a diviſion) were never free from warfare, and contributed alſo more money than the reſt: they that were but moderately or meanly provided of wealth, being exceeded by the other in twenty *Centuries*, went to the War by turns, and paid but little Tribute: and they that had not any eſtate to ſpeak on, underwent no burthens. This ſeemed very juſt and equal to him, that they who were moſt concernd, ſhould take moſt pains, and bear the greateſt coſt; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themſelves in the Wars without any pay from the publick. But the richer ſort ſomething grieved to undergo all charge and danger, for the preſervation of others as well as themſelves, *Servius* ſufficiently ſatiſfied and required, by giving them in a manner the whole prerogative in matters of State, the poorer being almoſt wholly removed from any power in the Commonwealth, though at firſt they did not perceive it. *Dionyſ.at ſupra.*

The *Centuries* and *Cexturiata Comitia.*

33. This ſecret lay in the *Comitia* or *Aſſemblies*, where the people reſolved about the moſt important affairs; theſe three things being in their power, viz. *Creation of Magiſtrates* as well *Military* as *Civil*, *making or abrogating Laws*, and *decreeing Peace or War*; concerning which things the ſuffrages of the ſeveral *Curiæ* were wont to be gathered, and the vote of the poreſt availed as much as that of the richeſt perſon: whence the poorer ſort being much more numerous than the rich, ever prevailed by their Multitudes. *Tullius* underſtanding this, inſtead of thoſe of the *Curiæ*, called the *Comitia* of the *Centuries* upon ſuch occaſions. Firſt of all were called the *Centuries* of the firſt or richeſt *Claſſis*, viz. the 18 of *Knights* or *Horſmen*, and the 80 of *Footmen*, which being three more in number than all the reſt beſides, if they all agreed they overcame in number, and there was no need of calling any of the others to the vote. If they diſagreed, the 22 *Centuries* of the ſecond *Claſſis* were called, and if need were, the third *Claſſis*, and the fourth, till 97 *Centuries* agreed in their ſuffrages. If this hapned not after the calling of the fifth; (192 *Centuries* being divided equally in number, and of ſeveral opinions) then was the ſixth *Claſſis* called conteining the laſt *Centurie*, free from Tributes and War; and to which ſide it joyned, that overcame.

34. This rarely hapned, and was almoſt impoſſible, the *Comitia* being ended moſt commonly by the firſt call; but, however, ſeldom came it to the fourth *Claſſis*, ſo that the two laſt were ſupervacaneous. By this conſtitution the poorer ſort were deceived, thinking it enough that every man, as well one as another, gave his ſuffrage, and not conſidering that the ſuffrage of the whole *Centurie* was but one, whether it contained more or fewer perſons in it. But at length, ſeeing themſelves freed from danger and charge, they were content, and the richer injoying ſuch priviledges for their pains and coſt, were well

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well satisfied; and this order was kept for many Ages, till afterwards, by the violent actings of some, the common sort got more power, as *Dionysius* himself observed the innovation to have broken in, in his time. At the first *Lustrum* were found 84700 Citizens; but to increase their number, hee brought in the custom of making Slaves free of the Commonwealth, whom being before manumitted or set free, he distributed into the four Tribes of the City.

The custom of manumiting Slaves.

35. These Slaves were either made or born such, as *Justinian* the Emperor distingisheth them. The former sort were either taken in War (then properly called *Mancipia*), or bought of the publick, or of some private man. The later, were those that were born either of both Parents being such, or of the Mother onely. At first they obtained their liberty *gratis*, by well deserving some way of their Masters, or some by payment of money earned by their honest labours, they having a certain *Peculium*, though all was said to belong to their Masters. But in processe of time, when the *Romans* degenerated from their former worth and honour, some by Roberies, others by breaking of houses and other villanies, got money, whereby they purchased their freedom. Some by helping their Masters in these things obtained liberty as a reward; others on condition to let them enjoy the monthly allowance of Corn out of the publick purse, or other Largesses conferred by Princes upon poor Citizens. Sometimes they were manumitted through the levity and vain-glory of their Lords; some having by their Testaments set at liberty all their Slaves, to obtain a fame of clemency after their death, and that their Funerals might be celebrated by a great train of such as wore caps upon that occasion; in which pomp a thousand Rogues have been seen, who much better deserved hanging. This was laid to the charge of the Mistresse of the World, that challenging the Empire over all, she should defile her self with such impure Citizens, which custom might have been reformed, as *Dionysius* observeth, by the care of the *Censors*, who inquiring into the lives of *Senators* and *Knights*, never considered what persons were unfit to be admitted *Free-men*.

Tullius cliperh the King's power.

36. *Tullius* not onely clipped the power of the *Patritians* and *Senate*, but took away half of the King's Prerogative also Whereas the former Princes called before themselves all controversies, and took cognisance of crimes as well committed against particular persons as the publick, he separated these causes, making himself Judge of such as respected the Commonwealth, and referring the quarrels of private persons unto others, to whom he prescribed Laws and Rules for to go by. After he had thus ordered the Commonwealth, he caused the *Latines* to build a Temple at *Rome* to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine* hill, whereat they should meet and feast every year, and so preserve themselves as one body politick in unity and concord. If any controversie arose betwixt particular Towns, it was to be decided by the judgement of others, in such a manner as the *Amphyctiones* in *Greece* were wont to proceed, the Council of the *Ionians* at the Temple of *Ephesus*, and that of the *Dorienses* in the Temple of *Apollo*, built by common consent at *Epitropium*. These things were done by *Tullius* at home, according to *Dionysius*, *Livie*, and others; to which we may add from *Pliny*, that he first stamped money with the image of Cattel, whence it was called *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* before his time used it in a rude lump or Masse. As for his actions abroad; he warred with the *Hetruscans* 20 years, who refused to obey him, as an obscure man, and renounced the league formerly made. In all battels both with the united Nation and particular Cities, he ever had the better, triumphed over them thrice, and at length forced them to submit to the yoak, on the same terms as formerly *Tarquinius* had imposed it, except that from three Towns that had been principal in the revolt, he took part of their grounds, which he divided to those that had newly been made free of the City. Having done these things at home and abroad, when he was grown old and not far from the natural period of his life, he perished by the devices of *Tarquinius* his son in law, and of his own daughter.

Is murdered by his son in Law and his own daughter.

37. *Tullius*

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37. *Tullius* had two daughters by his wife *Tarquinia*, which he married to their two Cousin-germans, the grand-sons of *Tarquinius*, joyning them in wedlock according to their age, as he thought it most equal and convenient. But it hapned that they were matched together with those of dispositions clean contrary to one another. *Lucius* the elder, a man of a bold, arrogant, and tyrannical nature, had an honest modest wife, and one most dutiful towards her Father: on the contrary, *Aruns Tarquinius* the younger, being of a mild and sweet disposition, light on a wicked woman, one of a bitter spirit against her Father, ready for to attempt any thing. *Lucius* breaking out into passion against his Father in Law, for keeping the Kingdom from him, was still appeased by his wife, but *Aruns* being content to stay his time, and averse to any thing that might favour of disrespect to *Tullius*, was importuned ever and disquieted by his wive's earnest and tedious sollicitations, to attempt the utmost, though with the destruction of her Father, for the obtaining of the Soveraignty. This woman being impatient of her husband's backwardnesse, and bewitched by the fury of ambition, resolved to change husbands if it might be, and match her self to the other *Tarquin*, who suited well with her own humor: she brake her mind to *Lucius*, telling him of what a sordid spirit they were, to suffer an Usurper so long to possess their Patrimony, railing against her own husband, as a man of a poor and degenerate disposition, and at length made a profer for them two to dispatch out of the way their present unequal yoak-fellows, and then unite themselves in that relation, thereby to bring about their noble and gallant design. He was not backward to a compliance, and the device was accordingly brought about, after which, they resolved by force to expel *Tullius* from the Kingdom, if hee would not give place on his own accord, raising a faction of the *Patritians*, that were discontented with the King's new modelling of the State, and the pooreſt *Plebeians*, whose assistance they purchased openly, without any respect to right or modesty. *Tullius* was not ignorant what they intended, and feared also to be destroyed ere hee could provide for his defence; yet thinking it an unseemly thing to make War upon his son in Law, and his own daughter, and punish them as Enemies, he indeavourd by fair means to take them off, before their Friends, blaming, admonishing, and dehorting *Tarquinius* from the intended injury.

38. Effecting nothing hereby, but the other saying, he would plead his cause in the *Senate*, he called together the *Fathers*, and gave him liberty to speak. *Tarquin* laid his claim to the Kingdom, as his Grand-fathers Heir, and alleged, that *Tullius* kept it from him unjustly, having got all his preferment from their family, and obtained the place illegally, without the consent of the *Senate*. *Tullius* replied, that the Kingdom was in the power of the People, to dispose of it to whomsoever they would, which he proved from the example of *Tarquinius Priscus*, who being a stranger, was preferred before the *Marcii*. He mentioned how well he had deserved of him, by protecting and taking care of him in his minority; and as for his coming to the Government without the ordinary assent of the *Senate*, that concerned the *Fathers* and not him. He then appealed to the *Senate*, whether ever he had wronged or carried himself arrogantly towards any of them, that they should conspire with his son in Law against him, and in conclusion told them, that if they thought *Tarquinius* the fitter man, he should not be against the profit of the Commonwealth, but retire to a private life, and let the World see, he could as readily obey as be obeyed, after he had restored the honour to those from whom he had received it. Having struck a great reverence of him into the *Senate*, he assembled the People, to whom, after a great complaint against *Tarquin*, and a recital of what good things he had performed for the Publick, he offered to resign his place; but was confirmed therein, and after he refused to give ear to such as would have *Tarquin* dispatched, with great acclamations brought home to his house by the multitude.

39. *Tarquin* thus prevented of what he expected from the *Patritians*, counterfeited repentance, and a desire to be reconciled to the King, which

Sect. 2. was easily obtained. Covered with this Cloak he laid his designs anew, and being continually sollicited by his wife to attempt something worthy of a Kingdom, took his opportunity on a day when most of the people were out of the Citie, with the Roabs of Estate, and all Royal Ensigns as King, to go to the Senate house. There he presumed to call together the Fathers, and, such being Assembled as were appointed beforehand, took possession of the Kings Seat. *Tullius* having notice hereof, unadvisedly with a few followers, hasted thither, admiring the young mans impudence, whom seeing in his Chair, he fell of rating, and received as bad language; then going about to thrust him out, *Tarquin* took him up by the middle, and haling him to the door, threw him down the stairs into the *Comitium*. The old man hardly recovering his spirits was led homewards, when his daughter, and *Tarquins* wife, being come in her Chariot to see the event, saluted her husband as King, but told him his principality would be but uncertain, except, perfecting what he had begun, he would send some who should overtake and dispatch *Tullius*. He took her advice, and the feat being done, she presently returned home the same way. In her passage when she came to the place where the body lay as yet almost gasping, her Chariot driver stood still, confounded at the sight, and not having room to passe besides it. Hereat she reviled him, and caused him to drive her over it, after she had first thrown her footstool at his head. The place formerly called *Cyprius Vicus*, was afterwards named *Sceleratus* from that occasion. To this end came *Servius Tullius*, after he had reigned 44 years, a man just and moderate, who abolished the envy contracted in his illegal assumption, by his after acts, and was thought, if he had not been prevented, to have intended to lay down his Office, and restore absolute liberty with the care of the Commonwealth to the people, which some of the *Patritians* perceiving, took in the interest of *Tarquinius*, that they might preserve their own power.

Dionys. & Festus in voce Sceleratus Vicus.

40. *Lucius Tarquinius* obtained the Kingdom by violence, in the fourth year of the 61th *Olympiad*, wherein *Agatharchus* was Victor, when *Heraclius* (or rather *Heraclides*) was *Archon* at *Athens*. By his Tyrannical, and imperious carriage he soon got the firname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priscus*, for distinction, was given to his Grand-father. He would not suffer his Father-in-law's body to be buried publickly for fear it should give occasion to the people to rise against him, saying, that *Romulus* died without burial. He murdered such as he suspected to favour the cause of *Tullius*, and fearing what end his wickednesse might bring upon him, got to him a strong Guard which continually attended his person. He reigned onely by his own arbitrary will, neither standing upon the consent of the Senate nor people. As for the former, he much dimished it by the murder of the richer sort, whose wealth he seized on for his own use, and resolved to chuse no more in, that it might wear out, and grow contemptible. All controversies he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends, and took cognizance of all offences, so as he might kill, banish, or fine at his pleasure. He sought to establish himself, and confirm his Tyranny by great alliance, marrying his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, the greatest man amongst the *Latines*, (being descended from *Telegonus* the son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*) and by false accusation, and a cunning device caused them to stone *Turnus Herdonius*, who had discovered to them his basenesse and vilanies. He began a War with the *Volsci*, which ended not with him, but lasted above 200 years; and subdued the *Sabines* who refused to obey him. From the *Volsci* he took *Suessa Pometia*, (where getting much plunder he first cast in his head the design of building a Temple to *Jupiter*, which his Grand-father had formerly vowed) and afterwards the Citie *Gabii* by treachery, making *Sextus* his eldest son to counterfeit flight from him for hard usage, whereby he was made their General, and having according to the secret advice of his father (who in imitation of *Thrasybylus* the *Milesian* carried the messenger into the field, and cut down the tallest Poppies, dismissing him without any other message) put to death the most principal Citizens, at length easily betrayed it into his hands.

Dionys. lib. 4. Livius l. 1. Florus l. 1. c. 7.

Lucius Tarquinius, firnamed *Superbus*.

A.M. 3471. V. C. 220. Olymp. 61. an. 4. Cyri 26.

His Wars.

hands. After this he made peace with the *Æqui*, and renewed the league with the *Tuscans*. Then went he forward with the work of the Temple formerly designed. Sect. 2.

Buildeth the Capitol.

41. *Tarquinius Priscus*, in his last War with the *Sabines* made a vow, that if he got the Victory, he would build Temples to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; and with great cost had in his life time levelled the Rock, and formed a plot for the building; but died before he could finish the work. *Tarquinius* his Grandson resolving to perfect what he had begun with the plunder of *Suessa*, set on all sorts of work-men, at which time as they were digging to lay the foundation, a mans head was found bleeding afresh, which belonging to one called *Tolus*, thence the building had the name of *Capitol*.

The Capitol.

He perfected a great part of the Temple, but could not consummate the work, being prevented by Exile, which was finished by the Citie in the third Consulship after its freedom. It was seated upon an high Cragge, eight Akers in compasse, almost two hundred foot wide on every side, and almost of the same length and breadth, as differing onely in fifteen feet. After it had stood 425 years from its Dedication, it was consumed by fire in the dayes of *Sylla*, when L. *Scipio* and *Caius Norbanus* were Consuls, as *Tacitus* writeth: Yet it rose again with greater cost and Ornament on the same foundation. Its front looking toward the South, had a Porch, or Gallery with three rows of Pillars: on each side were also a double row: the three Temples were contained within the same Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, under the same roof.

Hist. l. 3. c. 14.

42. In the time of this *Tarquinius*, another great blessing, as it was counted, hapned to the *Romans*. A certain strange woman came to the King, offering to sell nine books of the Oracles of *Sibyl*; which when he refused to buy at her rate, she went away and burning three of them, returned and demanded as much for the six. Being derided for a mad woman, she departed, and burning half of them, returned with the other three, still asking as much as at the first; whereat *Tarquin* astonished, sent for the *Augures* to know her meaning, who answered that the nine ought to have been bought, and the three were to be purchased at the same Rate. The woman after the sale and delivery vanished, and never after could be seen. *Tarquin* chose two men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allowed two publick servants. After his expulsion the people Elected most Noble persons, who all their lives executing this Office were freed from all other burthens, both Military and Civil, to whom onely it was lawfull to look in them. No sacred thing was so carefully kept as these *Sibylline Oracles*. They were consulted by decree of the Senate when the Commonwealth was disturbed by any seditions, when any great overthrow was received in War, or any prodigies hapned. They were kept by the *Decemviri*, or ten men appointed to this Office within a Vault under the *Capitol*, in a stone Chest, till they perished at the burning of the place. Those that the *Romans* used afterwards were Copied out of such as belonged to other Cities, and private persons, wherein were some supposititious things, which they distinguished by the difference of the *Acrosticks*.

Sibyls.

Sibyls books.

43. The woman that brought those books to *Tarquin*, having the name of *Sibylla*, and there being many found to whom it hath been given besides, something is to be said of those women, for distinction. The first *Sibylla*, or woman Propheresse (to which the * Council of *Jupiter* was communicated, as the word importeth) was a *Persian*, according to (a) *Varro*, or else a *Caldaan*, or an *Hebreweesse*, born at *Noe*, a Citie near the *Red-Sea*; her name was *Sambetha*, her father called *Barossus*, and her mother *Erymantha*. The second was a *Lybian*, *Themis* of *Delphos* was the third. The fourth was called *Cumea*, because she was born at *Cimeriam*, a Town of *Campania* in *Italy*, near to *Cuma*. The fifth of *Erythræ*, a Citie of *Ionia* in *Asia*, at this day called *Cabo Bianco*. The sixth was of the Island *Samus*; her name being *Phyto*. The seventh of *Cuma*, and called *Cumana*, her proper name being

* Sive Jovis.

(a) *Vide Ludov. Vivem in Augustin. de Civitate Dei lib. 18. cap. 23.*

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Amalthea according to some; but *Herophile* and *Demophila* according to others. *Suidas* calleth her *Hierophile*, and saith she brought nine books to *Tarquinius Priscus*, and demanded for them 300 Philippines, being Gold Coyn of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. *Pliny* contrary to the common account of Writers mentioneth three books, not nine, and writeth that she burnt two of them. But the eighth was called *Hellespontiaca*, being born in the *Trojan* Countrey upon the *Hellespont*, in a Village named *Marmissus* near to *Gergetium*, which *Heraclides* of *Pontus* affirmed to have flourished in the dayes of *Solon* and *Cyrus*. The ninth was a *Phrygian*, and Prophecied at *Ancyra*. The tenth was of *Tibur*, by name *Albanea*, being worshipped for a Goddesse at that place, near the Banks of the River *Anene*, wherein her image is said to have been found holding a book in one hand. These ten are reckoned by *Varro*. There were several others also. (*b*) *Strabo* maketh two to have lived at *Erythræ*, whereof the later flourished in the time of *Alexander*. There was another of *Colophon*, a Citie of *Ionia*. *Elissa* and *Cassandra*, the daughter of *Priamus*, were accounted *Sibyls*. There were also a *Thessalian*, *Manto* the daughter of *Tiresias* the *Theban*, and another of *Epirus*. Moreover, *Carmentis* the *Arcadian*, the Mother of *Evander* and *Fauna*, or *Fatua*, the sister and wife of *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigenes* in *Italy*, might be reckoned in the number.

(*b*) *Lib.* 14. *pag.* 633.

The siege of *Ardea*.

44. In the work of the *Capitol Tarquin* employed the people, and in other baser works, wherewith he even tired them out; so that to appease them, and especially to recruit his own Coffers, he made War against the *Rutuli*, and besieged the rich Citie *Ardea*, five German miles, toward the East, distant from *Rome*. The quarrel he pretended to be for that they received the *Roman* Exiles, and endeavoured to restore them; but the true cause was his thirst after the riches of this most flourishing place, once the Metropolis of the *Rutuli*. While he lay before this Town, taking great pains to gain it, and the other as eagerly resisting (yet so as he seemed to have hope to carry it) an act of his eldest son *Sextus* occasioned both the freedom of the one and other Citie. *Dionysius* writeth that he was sent to *Collatia* about some businesse concerning the War, and going to the house

Sextus Tarquinius ravisheth *Lucretia*.

of *Tarquinius Collatinus* his Kinsman (Grand-son to *Egerius* the Nephew of *Priscus*) he ravished his wife *Lucretia*, the daughter of *Lucretius* a Noble *Roman*. *Livy* and *Aurelius Victor* relate that the Courtiers drinking together in the Camp before *Ardea*, and with them *Tarquinius Collatinus* the son of *Egerius*, they fell severally on praising each one his own wife; in so much as proceeding to an earnest dispute, *Collatinus* said there needed not many words, for that they might see within a few hours how far his *Lucretia* excelled them all; and he desired them to ride to the several places, and judge accordingly as they should find. Being well heated with wine they agreed to this motion, and away they rode. They found not *Lucretia* junketting, and idely spending her time as the Kings daughters in law, but late at night hard at work amongst her maids, so that by consent of all she far excelled the rest, and *Collatinus* nobly entertaining his Guests returned with them to the siege.

45. Now was *Sextus Tarquinius* inflamed with a lustfull desire after *Lucretia* because of her beauty, and, as it hapneth towards difficult, or forbidden things, the more because of her eminent chastity. Within few dayes, without the knowledge of her husband, accompanied onely with one servant he returned to *Collatia*, where being kindly entertained by her, he was brought to his bed-chamber; but when he thought all asleep, having observed where she lay, with a naked Dagger he went to her, and laying his hand on her breast, threatned her with death if she offered to stir. He mixed threats with fair words, but yet could not prevail, till he told her he would first kill her, and then his slave, whom laying by her side he would report it was for having surprized her in Adultery with him, whereby obtaining his prey, in the morning he departed. When he was gone, she sent for her father from *Rome*, and her husband from the Camp, (or say some, went

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went her self to the City) desiring they would call together some friends, for that a matter of great importance had befallen her. With *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with *Collatinus*, *Junius Brutus*, who finding her in her chamber in a sad and afflicted condition, she told them the whole matter,

Lucretia killeth her self.

refused to admit any comfort, and increating them to revenge her cause upon the Author of her sorrow, stabbed her self to the heart before them, with a knife she had kept close about her for that purpose.

46. *Lucius Junius* Sirnamed *Brutus*, was the son of *Marcus Junius*, who be-

Junius Brutus.

ing descended from one of the Companions of *Æneas*, and, for his Virtue, very eminent amongst the *Romans*, married *Tarquinia* the daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*, of which he begat this *Lucius*. This *Lucius* was nobly educated, instructed in all disciplines of the City, and of a pregnant wit. But after this *Tarquin* had privily murdered his Father (not for any offence, but to possesse his great estate, as he did several others) and wich him his eldest brother, who seemed to bear such a mind as would revenge the injury; he being young, and destitute of any assistance from his kindred, counterfeited himself a fool, which he acted all along, and thence had the Sirname of *Brutus*, this being the sole remedy against the cruelty of the Tyrant, who thinking his folly not feigned but real, despised the man, and having spoiled him of his Patrimony, kept him as an Idiot in his house, and suffered him to converse with his children, not out of respect as a kinsman, but to make them sport by his ridiculous words and actions, as true Idiots are wont to do. On a time a great Pestilence having seized on the City, he sent him to *Delphos* with his two sons *Sextus* and *Titus*, to consult the Oracle. They were glad they had him to make them merry, laughed at him for offering to *Apollo* a wooden staff, wherein yet he had secretly put some gold, having made it hollow for that purpose. Having privately enquired which of them should be Prince of *Rome*, it was answered, he who first of all should kisse his Mother, which the young men misunderstanding, agreed betwixt themselves, that at their return they would do it, and so reign joyntly together: but *Brutus* as soon as they arrived in *Italy*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, fell and kissed the Earth, which is mother of all. When under the Vizard of a Fool, he waited for an opportunity to revenge himself and family upon *Tarquin*, this disaster of *Lucretia* at length presented it self.

47. Being sent for beforehand, or coming in with *Collatinus* his kinsman after the death of *Lucretia*, as *Dionysius* writeth, while her husband and friends were lamenting over the dead body, he told them it was not time now to weep, but to study how to revenge the injury. He acquainted them with the cause of his assuming the name and behaviour of an *Idiot*, and manifesting himself to be a most cunning man, desired they might unanimously joyn

He urgeth the banishment of *Tarquin*.

for the expulsion of *Tarquinius* and his friends from the City, speaking many things efficacious to perswade them to it. Finding every one very ready, he said there was no need of words and promises but real deeds, if they meant to perform any thing, and that he first would begin. Then went he to the dead body, and taking the bloody knife in his hand, sware by *Mars* and the rest of their gods, to cast out *Tarquinius Superbus* with his wicked wife and progeny, to prosecute them or their friends with fire and sword, or any other way, and never after that, to suffer the *Tarquins* or any other, to reign in *Rome*. He made them all successively take the same Oath; then, for the way how to bring the matter about, said the gates of the City should be safely kept, that the King might not hear the least word, till he, who was Prince of the Sacrificers, should, as he might by his place, assemble the people, to which the dead body being exhibited, and *Lucretius* with *Collatinus* deploring their condition, they might procure the banishment of *Tarquin* by a publick decree, that should be presently dispatched to the Army for it's concurrence.

48. But before *Tarquinius* should be removed, they thought it wisdom to consider what Magistracy was fit to succeed his; lest they should pull down the present dwelling before another house was prepared. Some were for

Monarchy,

Sect 2. Monarchy, as indeed the best of Governments, others for Aristocracy, or the rule of the *Senate*, and others would have the whole power put into the hands of the People; each party bringing examples of good Government in the several kinds. *Brutus* said the time was straight, and these matters required mature deliberation, which neither at length could produce such a form as would be void of all inconveniences: he said, he hoped that after the expulsion of the Tyrants, they should have leisure to consider how they might best reform the Commonwealth, *if any better way could be found out than what* Romulus, Pompilius, *and the other Kings had chalked out to them, wherein proceeding, till* Tarquin *forsook the path, the City had been happy and famous, both for it's acts abroad, and constitutions at home.* This he could not for shame denie, yet however, he thought those incommodities, as he called them, had procured the Kingly power to degenerate into tyranny, and therefore were at present to be abolished, and to be taken heed of for the time to come. As first, because some men made a great matter of very names, he thought that of a *Kingdom* was to be left, and the other of *Commonwealth* to be assumed; so that for the title of *King* and *Monarch*, some more modest and popular was to be invented. Then, the regal power he judged not safely to be intrusted with a single person; but that two were to be chosen, who should govern with equal command and authority, and so be a counter-poise each to other. Of all royal ensignes or ornaments, such as procured the envy and grudge of the People were to be laid aside: viz. *Sceptres, golden Crowns*, and *Purple Robes of Cloath of gold*, except upon Festival dayes, and in triumphal pompes, which rare use of them would not be at all spoken against: but as for the *Ivory Chair* in which they sate in Judgment, with the white Robe edged with purple, called *Prætexta*, and the twelve *Lictors*, or *Sargeants*, bearing Rods and Axes, they were to be continued. He added, that the main thing to keep these his Magistrates in order, was to prevent their perpetual power, which would keep them from giving account of their actions; wherefore he thought fit their Magistracy, after the manner of *Athens*, should be but *Annual*, that so each one might learn as well to be subject as to govern, and this would preserve the mind from being drunk with too much liberty. Lastly, that the name of *King* might not utterly perish (whence may be concluded, that his judgment was not against the Office though his passion was) he would have the title given to one, who should be called *Rex Sacrorum*, and having this honour for his life, with immunity from warfare, should medle with nothing else, but these superstitious Rites, of which the Kings had charge before.

Prescribeth a new model of Government.

Dionysius.

49. Having first got a decree of the *Senate* for the Kings banishment, according to the custom of publick proceeding, the *Comitia* were assembled by *Brutus*, and the body of *Lucretia* brought in her gore into the meering place, where it was set for a spectacle to all. *Brutus* then discovered himself, told them why he had seemed what he now appeared never to have been, and then declared the occasion of their meeting to be, that the *Patritians* might have their assent for banishing *Tarquin*, who having obtained the Principality illegally, had abused it more than any Tyrant that was ever heard of. He illustrated his assertion by a relation of his crimes; as of his poysoning his own brother before he was King, together with his lawful wife, and marrying the other sister that was partaker with him in his wickedness: his killing *Servius Tullius*, and strangling his wife, whom he ought to have respected as Parents; then his invading the Government without decree of Senate or Suffrages of the people by force of Arms. He reckoned up the injuries received by the *Patritians*, most of whom he had made away, and reduced the rest to the estate of beggers; how from the *Plebeians* he had taken, *Laws, Religious Meetings*, the *Comitia* and *Suffrages*, and used them no better than Slaves bought with woney. He then demanded how long they should endure this bondage; whether no longer than till the death of *Tarquin*, when as he had three sons more wicked and mischievous than himself, especially the elder, which he proved by the spectacle before their eyes, telling them

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them then the whole storie. This advantage he improved to the utmost, shewing how the *King* being now absent, and the *Patritians* resolved, nothing could be wanting to them, if they had but courage for the enterprize; not Men, Mony, Arms, Captains, nor forein aid; urging, that it was a shame they should think of commanding the *Volsci*, *Sabines*, or others, and be Slaves to others at home; or maintain so many Wars for to serve the ambition of *Tarquin*, and undertake none for their own liberty. As for the Army now at the Siege, there was no fear, but, for their own freedom and accommodation, they would readily cloze with them; and if any should be found to intend the Contrary, they had their wives and children as Hostages, in the City, whereby they might easily draw them off.

50. The multitude being variously affected with hope of liberty, and fear to misse of it, during his Speech, yet made acclamations to the particulars, and at the end, with one voice desired he would give them Arms. He said he would, if first they should confirm what was offered from the *Fathers*, as the beginning of their liberty; and therewithall recited the forme of this severe Decree, *that the Tarquinii should be banished with all their off-spring, and be capital for any one to speak, or act for their return.* The several *Curiæ* being called, confirmed it by all their Suffrages, which being done, he acquainted them how it was agreed, that unto two men the Government should be committed, whom they should elect in their *Centuriate Comitia*, which was also passed. Then, according to the custom, by virtue of his Office formerly mentioned, he named *Sp. Lucretius* to be *Inter-rex* for holding of the *Comitia* or *Assemblie*, who adjourned the meeting to the *Campus Martius*, where it was the custom for the *Romans* in their Armour to elect Magistrates. There he named *Brutus* and *Collatinus* (as was formerly agreed on betwixt the conspirators) for to have the Regal power, and the *Centuries* confirmed them by their Suffrages. In the mean time, whilst these things were done in the City, *Tarquinius* having heard by such as escaped out ere the gates were shut, that *Brutus* called the people to their liberty, making none acquainted but his sons and some truste friends, with them rode away post, to prevent the general defection, but finding the gates fast shut, and the walls full of Armed men, in great grief returned to the Camp. There now he could not be received; for *Brutus* foreseeing his sodain coming, sent Letters to the Army (or went himself by another way than that he knew he would come) wherein he acquainted them with the decree of the People, and desired that they would revolt from the King. The letters were reid to the Soldiers by *T. Herminius* and *M. Horatius*, whom *Tarquin* had left to govern the Army, and they being called to give their Suffrages also by Centuries, all thought that what their friends at home had done, was to be approved, and would not admit the King at his return. Frustrated of this hope, he went *Care* in *Hetruria*, saith *Livie*, to *Gabii* saith *Dionysius*, where he had made his son *Sextus* King, now gray-headed, having reigned 25 years. *Herminius* and *Horatius* took truce with the Enemy for 15 years, and breaking up the Siege before *Ardea*, returned with the Army. This happened in the 244th year of the City, after the account of *Cato*, but the 245th, according to the computation of *Terentius Varro*, in the latter end of the 67th *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the 68th, *A. M.* 3496. *Pliny* writeth, that it was the same year wherein the *Pisistratidæ* were banished *Athens*, and *Clemens* joyneth it with the recovery of *Babylon* by *Darius Hystaspis*. This was somewhat above twenty years after the beginning of *Cyrus*, and the destruction of the *Babylonian* Empire.

The people decree *Tarquinius* his banishment.

He is driven into exile.

A.M. 3496. *V. C.* 245. *Olymp.* 67. *an.* 4. *Darii* 13.

AN

AN INSTITUTION OF General History.

The First Part.

BOOK II.

Of the Persian *Empire, and the Affairs of the World Contemporary with it.*

CHAP. I.

The *Persian* Empire.

SECT. I.

From the beginning of the Empire of Cyrus, *to the death of* Cambyses *his Son and Successor.*

1. CYRUS having obtained the Empire of the East through the Conquest of *Babylon*, after a three years siege, as is conjectured, was sensible of Gods providence therein (whom he understood to have foretold it, and call'd him by name above 100 years before he was born) and out of obedience to his decree, give leave to all the *Jews* that were in Captivity in his Dominions, to return to their own Countrey, the 70 years of their exile foretold by *Jeremiah* the Prophet being now expired. In compliance with this opportunity *Zorubbabel* the son of *Salathiel*, and Grand-son to *Jechoniah* as Captain, with *Jo-*

Ezra I. II.

The *Jews* return out of Captivity.

Sect. 2. *Juna* the son of *Josedec* (which *Josedec* was brother to *Esdras*, and son to *Seraiah* the Chief Priest, who being Counsellour to *Zedekiah* was slain by *Nebuchadnesar*, the year wherein *Jerusalem* was taken) and 42462 *Jews* (as *Josephus* reckoneth up the number) departed, and went into *Judaea*. Though the other Tribes formerly led into Captivity by *Salmanasar* might have the same liberty of returning, yet having together with the memory of their antient Countrey lost their affection to their God, and it, regarded not the time, the Lord having onely promised liberty of returning to those that were exported by *Nebuchadnesar*. And a great part of the Tribe of *Judah* it self (if not the greater) unwilling to leave their possessions got in a strange Land, as also discouraged by the difficulties and troubles they were to undergo, preferred perpetual banishment before the seat and habitation of their Ancestors. *Antiqu. l.11. c.1.*

A. M. 3474. V.C. 228. Olymp. 62. an. 2.

2. In the second year of the *Persian* Empire, and the second moneth, when all things were in a readinesse, according to Commission given by the King (who defrayed the charge out of his own Revenue, and restored the Golden Vessels carried away by *Nebuchadnesar*) the *Levites* were set over the work of the Lords house, and *Zorubbabel* laid the foundation of the second Temple, to the joy of the younger sort born in Captivity, but with the lamentation of the elder, who had seen the glory of the former house. When the *Chuthites* (whom *Esarhaddon* planted in *Samaria*) heard of their progresse in the work, they first fraudulently offered their assistance, pretending the same religion, and being rejected so corrupted the Courtiers (who either kept the thing from *Cyrus*, or he was then buried in his Wars, as *Josephus* writeth) that the building was hindred for several years, untill the second of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*. For this the Prophet *Daniel* (who was yet alive, and nigh 90 years old, as having been carried into Captivity 73 years before) mourned, and fasted three weeks, and had the great, and last Vision concerning the future Kings of *Persia*, of *Alexander* the Great, and his Successors in *Asia* and *Egypt*, untill the time of the *Hasmonaans*, or *Maccabees*. But whether he lived past the third year of *Cyrus* or no is uncertain.

The second Temple built at *Jerusalem*.

Dan. 10.

3. Concerning the end of *Cyrus* many and several things are written. According to *Herodotus*, *Trogus* and others he invaded the *Massagetes*, and perished in their Countrey. The Queen of this *Scythian* people named *Tomyris* he first made a pretence to sue to for marriage, but she being aware of this design to entrap her forbad him entrance; whereupon breaking himself from wiles to force he laid a bridge over the River *Araxes*, and provided for the passing of his Army over. Whil'st he thus imployed himself, she was so hardy as to send him a message, offering him either to invade her Countrey, or else to permit her a passage into his. Amazed at it, he referred the matter to his Council what should be done therein, where some advised him to suffer her to passe the River, but *Crasus* stifly opposed it, shewing the danger in case he were overthrown but in one battel, and advised him after he had set over his men, and discovered the enemy, to leave the weakest sort amongst his Army there in the Camp plentifully provided of strong wines, with which liquor being utterly unacquainted, they would make themselves drunk, and so might be easily destroyed. This advice succeeded accordingly, and amongst the rest *Spargapises* the Queen's son was taken prisoner, who as soon as he came to himself desired to be loosed, and put an end to his life with his own hands, out of a deep sence of his condition. His mother knowing nothing of his death, with threatning language required *Cyrus* to dismisse him, and when she saw he returned not, gathered together all her forces, wherewith counterfeiting flight she trained the King into streights, and by an ambush laid in the Mountains, cut him off with his whole Army to the number of 200000 men. His head she cast into a bason of bloud, upbraiding him with cruelty in these words: *satisfie thy self with blond after which thou hast thirsted.* To this story *Diodorus* addeth that she nailed his body to a Crosse. *Lib.2.*

The end of *Cyrus* variously reported.

4. But *Ctesias* wrote that the last War he made was against the *Derbices*, a people

people also of *Scythia*, whom though he overcame, yet he received a wound in fight, of which he died three dayes after. *Xenophon* saith he died aged, and in peace, and how finding himself almost spent, he called to him his friends, with his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, whom (after a long Oration, wherein he discoursed much concerning the immortality of the Soul, and the punishment and reward which is due to things committed in this life) he exhorted by the strongest arguments to perpetual concord and love. If so, he acted like one that had received the knowledge of the true God, which he had opportunity also to know from *Daniel* and others, being by them instructed in the Scriptures. Some think that the variety of these reports proceeded from the study of the *Persians* to conceal the shame of his being overthrown by the policy of a woman. Others observe, that had he lost his whole Army in *Scythia*, it is scarce probable that his son would have transported all his remaining Forces into *Egypt* so soon, and hereby leave that side of his Kingdom destitute and naked, when the *Scythian* Nation bordering upon *Media* was so victorious: not to add that *Cambysses* would not have been able to undertake, and perform such a Conquest in so little a space. Considerable certainly is that which the Writers of *Alexander*'s Acts have committed to memory, as *Curtius*, *Plutarch*, *Arrianus*, and even *Aristobulus* (who by command of the King was an eye witnesse of it) as he is cited by *Strabo*: That he was buried in his own Citie *Pasagardis* in *Persia*, where his Epitaph was plain to be read, in which after telling the Traveller who he was, he desired him not to grudge him that earth wherewith his body was covered. The Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, either out of hope to find some Treasure, or (what was pretended) out of desire to honour his dead body with some Ceremonies, and in it were found an old Targer, two *Scythian* Bows and a sword. The Coffin wherein he lay *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own Roab, and a Crown of Gold to be set thereon. These things something weaken the credit of that opinion which *Herodotus* relateth as the most probable of those that were held in his time. But lesse credit is to be given to that * which will have him slain in a Sea-fight against the inhabitants of *Samus*; and * another that lengtheneth his life to 100 years, whereas he scarce passed 70. *Herodotus* giveth to his reign 29 years; but most agree that he reigned 30. which must be counted from his first obtaining the Kingdom of *Media*. *Lib.15.p.730.* *Vide Plutarch. in Alexandro.* * *Maleta.* * *Lucian in Macrobiis.*

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5. What time passed from the Conquest of *Babylon*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, unto his death, is controverted amongst learned Writers. Some reckon ten years, or thereabouts, and others but three, of which number was once *Joseph Scaliger*, who afterwards retracted it as an error; but *Ludovicus Cappellus* hath renewed the assertion, making it probable by arguments drawn from Scripture, who therefore is to be consulted in his sacred * *Chronology*. *Cyrus* had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*, to which *Ctesias* addeth *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* afterwards married; and *Darius Hystaspis* obtained *Artystona*, as also *Atossa* after the death of *Cambyses*. Of the two sons, to *Cambyses* he left his Kingdom, and to *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* assigned the Government of *Media*, *Armenia*, and the *Caduseans*, according to *Xenophon*.

His issue. * *In notis ad Tab.13.*

Cambyses maketh War upon Egypt.

6. *Cambyses* presently after he came to the Government, made all possible provision for a War with *Egypt*, the cause whereof is to be enquired after. *Herodotus* telleth a story how he sent to *Amasis* King of that Countrey to desire his daughter *Nitetis* in marriage, which he not daring to deny because of the then formidable power of the *Persians*, and not willing to gratifie him absolutely, for that he conceived his daughter would be entertained but as a Concubine, he found out a way as he thought to satisfie *Cambyses*, and yet keep his daughter. There was one of *Apries* his predecessor's daughters yet unmarried, her he sent to him under the name of his own, who when she had sufficiently ingratiated her self with *Cambyses*, told him how indeed she was nothing a kin to *Amasis*, but begotten by his Lord and Master; whereat *Lib.3. cap.1.* A. M. 3476. *Olymp. c.2. an.4. V.C.229. Cambysis 1.*

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the *Persian* conceived such indignation, that, to be revenged on him, he invaded *Ægypt*. But that which moved *Cambyses* to send for this woman, seemeth something strange. He had formerly desired from *Amasis* a Physician for the eyes, the best that could be procured in *Ægypt*, wherewith he gratifying him, the man took it so ill of *Amasis* to be sent out of his native Country, that in way of revenge, he moved the matter to *Cambyses*, concluding with himself, that the King of *Ægypt* would not send his own daughter: This was the saying of the *Persians*, which *Herodotus* rather approveth than what the *Ægyptians* alleged, that *Cambyses* was son to *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries*, and that the *Persians* ascribed that to the Son which belonged to the Father, because they would have *Cambyses* born of *Cassandane* the daughter of *Pharnaspes*, of the noble race of *Achæmenes*; and yet he confesseth there was a report, that besides *Cassandane*, *Cyrus* kept *Nitetis* as his Concubine, whom he most affected, and that to revenge his mother upon her, *Cambyses* when but young threatned, and after his Father's death made War upon *Ægypt*. However things might go in reference to the daughter of *Apries*, *Cambyses* seemeth to have invaded that Kingdom, upon pretence of the right he had to it as Heir by conquest to *Nebuchadnezar*, who subdued it, though it revolted from his Successors; which might be concealed from *Herodotus* by the Priests, who spared not to invent lyes for a cover to the disgrace of their Country.

Vide Polyænum lib. 8.

7. While *Cambyses* was yet busie in his preparations, one *Phanes* an *Halycarnassean* by birth, taking something in distaste from *Amasis*, whom he served, fled out of *Ægypt* by ship, and coming into *Persia*, advised this King, that for his better passage of the sandy Desarts, he should send to the King of the *Arabians* for safe conduct, who being no good friend to the *Ægyptian*, came and met him with Camels bearing abundance of water, which was necessary for the sustenance of the Army in that hot and dry place. Ere *Cambyses* could arrive in *Ægypt*, *Amasis* had prevented captivity by a natural death, and *Psammenitus* his son having succeeded him, expected his coming at *Pelusium* one of the mouths of *Nile*. Here a battel being fought, the *Ægyptians* were overthrown and fled to *Memphis*, whither *Cambyses* sent after them to yield up themselves to him; but they tare in pieces the messengers, and then being besieged, stood out for some time; but at length the City was taken. *Psammenitus* had his son put to death before his eyes, to try his patience, though the Conquerour too late repented of it, and had given him his life with the Kingdom to govern, as a Province, had he not attempted new matters, for which he was forced to drink Bulls blood, and so died, having reigned six moneths after his Father.

Vide Herod. l. 3. cap. 4, &c.

Pass th thro gh the Sandie Desarts.

Conquereth *Ægypt*.

8. This work done in *Ægypt*, *Cambyses* betook himself to extravagant practices. The dead body of *Amasis* he caused to be brought forth, to be beaten, pinched, and then burnt, contrary to the practice as well of the *Persians* as *Ægyptians*, who abhorred such a thing, because the former accounted Fire a god, & the later a ravenous beast, perishing with the thing devoured by it. Then resolved he to make a three-fold War: One upon the *Carthaginians*, another upon the *Ammonians*, or the Inhabitants of the place situate about the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and the third against the long-lived *Æthiopians*, who inhabited *Africk*, near to the Southern Sea. He resolved to send a Fleet against the *Carthaginians*, an Army of Foot against the *Ammonians*, and as for the *Æthiopians*, he would first send to discover their Country. While his Messengers were dispatching towards *Æthiopia*, he gave order to the *Phœnicians* (who having yielded themselves, were his onely strength at Sea) to fight against *Carthage*, which they flatly refused, because that City was a Colony of their own, and thereby this design was dashed. After the return of his messengers, who brought him word how he was slighted by the *Æthiopian* King, in great rage and haste he set forwards against him, without all thought of victualling his Army, commanding all his foot to follow, except the *Grecians*. When he was come to *Thebes*, he sent about 50000 men against the *Ammonians*, with command after they had spoiled

His extravagant practices.

His fruitlesse Expeditions.

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spoiled them to burn the Temple; and so he marched on with the rest of the Army. But ere he had passed the fifth part of his journy, all provisions failed, and all the beasts that carried burthens were eaten up; yet did he not now recollect himself, but proceeded till they were constrained to eat up every tenth man, and then returned he with great losse and disgrace to *Memphis*, where he dismissed the *Greeks* from his service. The forces sent against the *Ammonians*, never reached thither, neither ever returned, being all overwhelmed, as was reported, in the Sandy Wildernesse.

9. *Cambyses* at his return to *Memphis*, found the Citizens in great mirth and jollity, for that *Apis* their god had appeared to them lately; which he interpreting as an expression of joy for his bad successe, wounded the beast in the thigh (thinking to strike him into the belly) of which he died. He derided much the *Ægyptians* for such deities: those that were found rejoycing, he commanded to be slain, and the Priests to be beaten with rods. For such impiety they accounted him stricken with that madnesse, which afterwards appeared. For not long after, he sent his brother *Smerdis* back into *Persia*, having conceived great indignation against him, because he alone of all the *Persians*, could draw a Bow that was brought him by his messengers out of *Æthiopia*. After this he dreamed, that one came and told him how *Smerdis* sate on the Throne, and with his head reached to Heaven, whereupon, he sent *Prexaspes* his greatest confident to make him away, who murdered him in a pretended hunting, or as some said, drowned him in the *Red Sea*. To this he added the murder of his own Sister, whom, without any example, he had married, because she upbraided him with their brother's death. Memorable is the answer of his Judges, who, when he demanded, whether there was not a Law amongst the *Persians*, that a man might marry his own Sister, answered, they found no such Law, but one there was, viz. *The King might do whatsoever he listed.* Then married he one Sister, and afterwards another, whereof the younger he killed being great with child, as the *Ægyptians* reported, so that she miscaried double.

He murdered his brother & sister.

10. To this rage and madnesse against his relations, he added fury towards those that were nearest about him. Asking *Prexaspes* the minister of his paricide, what his people thought of him, and receiving this answer, that they thought him too much given to wine, that it might be seen how sober he was to do mischief, he said it should be a demonstration, if he could shoot with an arrow the son of *Prexaspes* right into the heart, which accordingly he did. The day after he buried quick twelve other *Persians* for no fault at all, and commanded *Crœsus* the *Lydian* to be slain for admonishing him gravely concerning such enormities, having dispatched him himself with an arrow, if he had not taken him to his heels. His servants notwithstanding preserved *Crœsus* alive, expecting a reward if he should afterwards repent of his death. And he really rejoyced in his preservation, when he returned to himself; but put them to death for their disobedience. Many more such like things he did whilst he remained at *Memphis*, and raged against the Images and Temples of the *Ægyptians*.

11. But whilst he thus spent his time, two of the *Magi*, *Medians* by birth, conspired against him. One of them he had left Overseer of his household affairs, named *Patizithes*, who having certain knowledge of the death of *Smerdis*, though it was kept very secret, took occasion thereat to rebel, because most of the *Persians* thought this Prince yet living. For, having with him in the Kings house a brother as like him in the lineaments and proportion of body as in name, him he placed in the Throne, and sent up and down through the Empire, to perswade every one rather to obey *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* than *Cambyses*. One of these messengers coming down to the Army towars *Ægypt*, found it at *Ecbatane* in *Syria*, where standing in the midst, he proclaimed what was enjoyned. *Cambyses* being much startled, blamed *Prexaspes* for having neglected to execute his commands; but he protesting his obedience therein, and that he had buried his brother with his own hands, the messenger was persued and fetcht back, out of whom *Prexaspes*

The *Magi* usurp.

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Aspes getting out that he had not himself seen *Smerdis*, but *Patizithes* had given him instructions as from him, easily conjectured what was at the bottom, and therewith acquainted the King. Then too late did *Cambyses* bewail his brother, and resolving with all speed to march for *Susa*, as he mounted on horseback his Sword fell out of the Scabberd, and wounded him in the thigh. Demanding the name of the place, he gave himself for lost, for that it had been told him he should die in *Ecbatane*, which he had ever interpreted of the place in *Media* so called, where he hoped it would be in his old age. Twenty dayes after, he revealed the whole matter concerning his brother to the Nobility about him, conjuring them not to suffer the Empire to return to the *Medes*, but rather recover it the same way it had been betrayed. Not long after his thigh-bone being putrified, he died, when he had reigned seven years and five moneths. He left no issue, and so the direct line of *Cyrus* in him received it's period.

Cambyses dieth.

SECT. II.

From the death of Cambyses *to that of* Xerxes.

1. *Smerdis* the Magician (called also *Mardus*, *Sphendadates*, and *Oropastes*) reigned those seven moneths which were wanting to compleat the eighth year of *Cambyses*, whom the *Persians* believed not as to his brothers death, but thought that indeed he was alive and reigned, because *Prexaspes* feared to confesse that he killed him. In this time he, or rather his brother, wonderfully pleased all men, except the *Persians*, remitting to other Nations their tributes, and excusing them from War for three years. But in the eighth moneth he was discovered by the means of *Otanes*, a man of higheſt rank in *Persia*, who suspected him for a counterfeit, because he never would appear in publick, nor admit any of the Nobility into his presence. He having a daughter then at Court, which had been Concubine to *Cambyses*, and now was in the same quality to him that reigned, as all the rest of his wives; to her he sent to know, whether it was indeed the son of *Cyrus* with whom she lay. She having had no acquaintance with that Prince, could give him no answer, and neither could she come near *Atossa*, who being sister to *Smerdis* might easily know him, for that the *Magician* to prevent intelligence, kept them severed one from another: This increasing the suspition, *Otanes* sent to her again, charging her as he lay asleep to know whether he had any ears; for *Cyrus* had upon some account cut off the ears of *Smerdis* the Magician. She obeyed her Father when it came to her course, notwithstanding the danger, and the day following confirmed him fully in what he had suspected.

Lege Herod. l. 3. cap. 67, &c.

A.M. 3483. *Ol. 64. an. 3. V. C. 232.*

The imposture of the *Magi* discovered.

2. *Otanes* presently discovered the matter to *Aspathines* and *Gobryas*, two men of prime rank also among the *Persians*, who easily giving him credit, as having suspected the same thing themselves, agreed to take three more, each of them one, into Council about it. *Otanes* brought *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* chose *Megabysus*, *Aspathines* took *Hydarnes*, and *Darius* being then arrived at *Susa* from *Persia*, which his Father *Hystaspes* governed, they also thought fit to add him to their number. *Darius* when admitted, signified, that he had been assured of the cheat, how he was come to Town upon no other account than to kill the impostor, and urged them to joyn with him and attempt it speedily. *Otanes* was much against such hasty proceedings, desiring further to consult about it, but *Darius* alleging the danger of delay, for which cause, if they would not attempt something that very day, hee would go and discover rather than be discovered, at length they agreed to him.

A conspiracy against them.

3. But while they were thus debating the matter, the *Magi* knowing that *Prexaspes* had made away *Smerdis* the sone of *Cyrus*, and considering how nearly it concerned them to make him their own, had sent for him, and by vast promises endeavoured to purchase his secrecy in that private affair. He seemed

seemed to complie, and desired that the *Persians* might be called together under the wall, that he might perswade them, that he who now reigned was the true *Smerdis*. But after he had mounted the turret, he began to reckon up the Pedigree of *Cyrus* from *Achamenes*, related his kindnesse and good turns done to the *Persians*, and then telling the whole matter concerning *Smerdis* whom he had murdered, after he had laid many curses upon them, except they recovered the Empire, and revenged themselves upon the *Magi*, he threw himself down headlong and died. The seven Conspirators utterly ignorant of this, arrived at the Court, at such time as the *Magi* were consulting concerning what had happened, where the Porters easily admitted them, because of their dignity, nothing being suspected of them. But coming into the house, they were stopped by such Eunuchs as there waited, whereupon they forced their passage with their Swords, and were encountred by both the *Magi*, who having taken the Allarm, and perceived the matter, betook themselves to their weapons. One of them wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and put out the eye of *Intaphernes*: the other retired into another room, whither he was pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*. *Gobryas* grapling with him, *Darius* stood idle for fear of wounding his friend; but *Gobryas* bidding him strike though it were thorow his sides, he did it at adventure, and slew the Magician. Both of them being slain, they cut off their heads, and carrying them out, acquainted the *Persians* with what they had done. Then fell they upon such Magicians as they could meet, which the *Persians* taking as an example, did the like, so that if night had not intervened, all that sort of men had perished, and this day was observed annually as a great Festival, in which none of the Magicians stirred abroad. This was the end of the usurpation, wherein seven *Magi* are said by some to have been partakers; but if so, those two brothers are to be accounted the chief, one of them counterfeiting the right Heir.

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The *Magi* slain.

Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2. Ammian. l. 23.

The Conspirators consult about a settlement.

4. This tumult being over in five dayes time, the seven Conspirators fell into consultation about a settlement. *Otanes* spake for the taking away of Monarchy, which he urged, from the example of *Cambyses* and the Magician, was apt to degenerate into Tyranny, and would have had the Government remitted to the people in a Democratical way; *Megabyzus* was for *Oligarchie*; but *Darius* of all the three sorts præferred Monarchy, as that into which at length the other would passe, through seditions and the ambition of such particular men as should be able to advance themselves above their neighbours. The other four subscribed to his opinion as best, which therefore being agreed on by the major part, several capitulations were made in order to the election. *Otanes* desired that both himself and family might be exempted from the regal jurisdiction, which was granted, and all possible honour further decreed to him for his pains taken in the discovery. It was agreed amongst the other six, that it should be lawful for them at any time to come into the Palace, except the King were with his wife, and the King was prohibited to take a wife any where but out of their families. As for the election, it was resolved, that all the next morning by Sun-rise riding into the Suburbs, he whose Horse first neighed, should obtain the Empire of *Cambyses*.

Herod. l. 3. c. 80.

Capitulations.

Darius obtaineth the Kingdom.

5. *Darius* obtained it through the cunning of *Oebares* his Stable-Groom, who having knowledge from his Master of the businesse, the night before the controversie was to be decided, put his Horse to Mare in the place whither they were to ride. The Horse the next morning remembring his mare neighed, for which, as coming by accident, the other five adored *Darius* as King. Having thus obtained the Kingdom, though he had children already by a daughter of *Gobryas*; yet the more to strengthen his title, he married the two daughters of *Cyrus* which remained; *Atossa* the wife of her brother *Cambyses*, and of the *Magician*, and *Artystona* yet a Virgin: he also took *Parinys* daughter to *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and *Phœdaina* the daughter of *Otanes*. This he did, being also himself of regal extraction, both allied to antient and modern Kings. He was issued from *Achamenes*; *Cyrus* and his Father *Hystaspes* being brother's sons, the one to *Cambyses*, and the other

Herod. l. 3. c. 85. Valer. Max. l. 7. c. 3. Ext. Exemp. 2. Justin lib. 1. Polyænus Stratagem. l. 7. Sulp. Severus. Hist. Sacr. l. 2.

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other to *Arsamnes*, as some have reported. This translation of the Kingdom is said to have been first revealed to *Cyrus*, at such time as having passed the river *Araxes*, he was marching against the *Massagetes*; For hee dreamed that he saw the eldest son of *Hystaspes* (which was this; for he had three younger sons, *Artabanus*, *Atarnes*, and *Artaphernes*,) having wings on his shoulders wherewith he overshadowed *Asia* and *Europe*. At that time he was about twenty years old, and Armour-bearer to *Cyrus* (according to * *Ælian*) who sent him back into *Persia*, and as some said, caused him to be imprisoned. After his death he was delivered out of Prison, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*, accompanied *Cambyses* into *Ægypt*, and when he had discovered the imposture of the *Magi*, joyned with the other Princes against them, and then either by the neighing of his Horse, or by strong hand, as some have thought, obtained the Empire.

Herod. l. 1.

* *Var. Hist. lib.* 12. *c.* 43.

6. Though thus *Darius* obtained the Soveraignty; yet it seemeth to some to have been as a perpetual Dictatorship, who think it probable, that the other six had also by turns the exercise of Tribunitial jurisdiction, together with him. First, because *Æschylus* who fought against the Forces of *Darius* at *Marathon*, nameth two Kings, viz. *Maraphis* and *Artaphrenes*, betwixt the slaughter of the *Magi* and Empire of *Darius*, who seem no other than *Mardonius* and *Artaphernes*, reckoned by *Ctesias* amongst the seven. Then in the Holy Scripture, together with the edict of *Darius* in the second year of his reign, the assent of *Artaxshsta* King of *Persia* is joyned, which may well enough be taken for the said *Artaphernes*; though others do otherwise expound the place. And, to add something not altogether so material, the other Conspirators foreseeing how burthensome they should be to *Darius* (which in what other way could it be than this?) bound him with an * Oath most sacred amongst the *Persians*, that neither with poyson, sword, any other violence, nor by famine should he kill any of them; though it proved not so sacred as to be inviolable.

Vide usserium in Annal. Vet. Testam. pag. 357.

Ezra 6. 14.

* *Valer. Max. lib.* 9. *cap.* 2. *extern. exempl.* 6.

The building of the Temple proceedeth.

7. In the second year of *Darius* the building of the Temple which had been interrupted, began again and proceeded. The *Samaritans* bribed the Courtiers in the time of *Cyrus*, to hinder the work, and *Cambyses* having been formerly no friend to it, when he came to reign stopped it by expresse command, through the calumniation of such as bore the Jews no good will. The *Magician* also forbad it upon the same account, it being clear from Scripture, that two several Princes named *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes* withstood it; and that betwixt the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. But when the Adversaries now betook themselves to *Darius*, expecting from him a countermand to the Jews (who being reproved for their remissnesse by the Prophet *Haggai*, were fallen again to build upon the foundation formerly laid) he instead of any such inhibition, sent them an expresse command, not onely not to hinder, but at his own cost to further the Structure, allowing also to the Priests expenses for the daily Sacrifices. The Jews therefore incouraged by this new Edict, and confirmed by the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, proceeded prosperously in the building.

Ezra 4.

8. In the same year had the Prophet *Zachariah* a Vision, in which the Angel interceding for *Jerusalem*, and the Cities of *Judah*, mentioneth *the Lord's having had indignation threescore and ten years.* The rise or beginning of these years *Ludovicus Cappellus* fetcheth from the destruction of the Temple. For from the first Edict of *Cyrus*, and the end of the Captivity, to this time, passed about eleven years (*Cyrus*, according to his account, reigning but three after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cambyses* together with the *Magician* eight, and *Darius* one; from which must be deducted so much as the removal of the Jews would require) even so many as passed from the beginning of the Captivity to the desolation of the Temple, and so the Temple lay desolate full Seventy years. Hence is observable, that as the State and Policy of the *Jewish* Commonwealth was broken, and much impaired eleven years before the destruction of the Temple, so was it renewed at the end of the Captivity so many years before the re-edifying of it, which hitherto had been

been attempted without successe, but now renewed, was happily finished in the sixth year of *Darius*, as to the house it self, though three years more seem to have been taken up in the building the porches and other appendices to it. And as the greatest part of the holy Vessels were carried away in the Captivity of *Jechoniah*, eleven years before the destruction of the Temple, so were they sent back again so many years before the restauration of it. Lastly, this also is observed, that as from the destruction of this typical Temple to the rebuilding of it, passed Seventy years, so from the Conception of Christ the true and spiritual Temple, to the final desolation of the shadow or typical one at *Jerusalem*, so many years passed, precisely Seventy.

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The Empire divided into twenty Provinces.

9. *Darius* after his settlement in the Kingdom, divided it into twenty Provinces (which the *Persians* called *Satrapies*) over each of which he constituted a Præsident, withall appointing what tribute each Nation should pay. For, hitherto, under the two former Kings, nothing was appointed concerning tribute, the several people contributing money by way of benevolence, whereupon, because of this new imposition, they styled *Darius* an *Huckster*, *Cambyses* a *Lord*, and *Cyrus* a *Father*. *Cyrus* was mild, and used them as children, striving to deserve well of them; *Cambyses* was sharp and

Intaphernes put to death.

morose, and *Darius* by all wayes possible purveied for money. The next thing memorable concerning *Darius*, is, his putting to death *Intaphernes*, one of the Conspirators, for abusing the Porters, and violent intruding into the Palace, contrary to the Capitulations agreed on amongst them. Having an intention to go to the King, they that kept the gate stopped him, saying, that he was with his wife, which he thinking to be a lye, drew his Sword, and cutting off their ears and noses, then tyed the reigns of an horses bridle to their necks and let them go. They presenting themselves in this case to the King, he first suspected some treasonable design of all the six, but finding that the rest knew nothing of the matter, he put *Intaphernes* to death, with all his sons except the eldest, whom he granted to the intreaties of the Mother. But not onely him, but all the rest also who were burthensome to him,

Herod. lib. 3. *cap.* 118, 119.

All the Conspirators made away.

another telleth us that he made away by a new kind of death. He caused many ashes to be laid betwixt some walls, over which laying a rafter, thereupon he feasted them very nobly; but being fast asleep the floor fell, and they therewith into the ashes, where they perished. If he destroyed them in this strange manner, probable it is, that he desired to be rid of them, because of some power to which they might pretend by virtue of a previous agreement, not enduring any incombrance or restraint upon his prerogative; for that Soveraignty is impatient of any competition in the throne.

Vide Val. Maxim. lib. 9. *cap.* 2. *extern. exemp.* 6.

Babylon rebelleth,

10. About the tenth year of his reign the City of *Babylon* rebelled against him, having of late recovered that greatnesse of mind which sometime possessed it's Inhabitants. *Cyrus* demolished not their walls, but left them intire with the gates standing, which putting them in a posture of defence, they took courage at the forein Wars of *Cambyses*, and the stirs that happened about the *Magi*. He gathered his forces together, with all speed, and laid siege to it; but they being resolved to stand out to the utmost, chose every one a woman to make ready their meat, and to save provisions, killed all the rest of that Sex except their Mothers. Then, as if they had made themselves impregnable, they derided the *Persians*, saying, they should be overcome when a Mule foaled: And above nineteen moneths they held out, notwithstanding all their attempts and devices. At length in the 20th, *Zopyrus* son to *Megabyzus*, one of the chief Commanders in *Darius* his Army, being incouraged by his Mule that foaled, mangled his face, cutting off his ears and nose, and in gore blood counterfeited a flight to the besieged, as thus abused by the King. The *Babylonians* believed, and according to his expectation chose him for their General, after which, he made several sallies, and the besiegers according to the former agreement fled; but within a while he betrayed the City to *Darius*. He demolished the walls, and nailing 3000 of the principal actors unto crosses, pardoned the rest, for whom 5000 women were sought, by whom they might repair their decayed stock. *Zopyrus* was

Herod. ut prius cap. 150.

And recovered,

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rewarded, as with other things in greatest account amongst the *Persians*, so with the City of *Babylon* for his life. The son of this *Zopyrus* was *Megabyzus*, who afterwards conducted the *Persian* Army against the *Athenians* and their companions: and son to this *Megabyzus* was that *Zopyrus*, who revolted from the *Persians* to the *Athenians*.

Darius goeth against the *Scythians*.

11. After the recovery of *Babylon*, *Darius* wanting neither men nor money, undertook an Expedition against the *Scythians*, to be revenged on them for holding the (*a*) dominion of *Asia* 28 years, at such time as persuing the *Cimmerians* they overthrew and kept under the *Medes*, whom they found Lords of all in the dayes of their King *Cyaxares*. This (*b*) *Herodotus* maketh the pretended cause of the War, but (*c*) *Justin* from *Trogus* relateth, that it was because *Ianthius* the *Scythian* King denied him his daughter in marriage. *Darius* caused a bridge to be laid over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe* half a mile long, and thereon passing his forces over, crossed the Sea himself by ship, and gave charge to the *Ionians* his Subjects (who together with the *Aeolians*, and others that lived upon the *Hellespont*, made up the Navie) to sail up the Sea as far as the River *Ister* (which parted *Scythia* from *Thrace*) over which he also enjoyned them to make a bridge. In his march through *Thrace* all submitted to him except the *Getes*, who out of Ignorance withstood him. The *Ionians* prepared the bridge against his coming, whom, after he had transported his forces, he commanded there to expect him Sixty dayes, at the end of which if he returned not, he permitted them to return into their own Country.

(*a*) *Vide l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 22.
(*b*) *Lib.* 4. *c.* 1, *&c.*
(*c*) *Lib.* 2.

A.M. 3497. *Olymp.* 68. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 246. *Darii* 14.

12. The *Scythians* had no constant dwelling or habitation, removing with their wagons, wherein they lay, and cattel, from place to place, according as they were furnished with grasse, living upon milk and raw flesh, without Towns or corn, and taking their conduct from the Pole-Star, as the *Chrim Tartars* their posterity at this day also live, the great *Chrim* himself having no other City than an *Agora*, or one of the Carts. Having intelligence of his coming, they sent their wives, children, and cattel towards the North, then stopped all the wells, destroyed all fruits of the Earth, and sometimes appearing to the *Persians*, again retired on purpose to deride them. *Darius* seeing himself thus mocked, and despairing to come at them by reason of their perfect knowledg of the Country, and his ignorance therein, fearing also his provisions might fail, and especially lest the *Ionians* should forsake him at the bridge, now that the Sixty dayes were expired, bethought how he might make a safe retreat. The *Scythians* getting knowledge hereof, laboured to remove the *Ionians* from the bridge, telling them how good it would be for them to return home in safety; for that now the time prefixed by the King was expired. They fell into consultation hereupon, and *Miltiades* Tyrant or petty Prince of the *Chersonesus* besought them, that, having this opportunity, they would not let it slip, but free themselves from the *Persian* yoak. But *Histiaus* Tyrant of *Miletus* a City of *Ionia*, and others, who had enslaved their own Citizens at home, fearing, lest if the power of the *Persians*, by which they were maintained, were broken, they should be reduced into a private condition or worse by their own Country-men, resolved, that nothing more concerned them, than that the greatnesse of that Empire might be established. Yet it was judged convenient to break the bridge so far, as to be out of bow-shot from the *Scythian* side, therein to comply with that People, who perhaps else might force them to do it. Beginning therefore to break it, the *Scythians* believed their promise of performing the whole, and returned to hunt out the *Persians*. Expecting them to retreat that way which was best for Provisions, they missed of them; for *Darius* returned the same he went, and with great difficulty recovered the banks of *Ister*. Here he arrived by night, and was much discouraged when he found the bridge broken; but upon the first shout *Histiaus* came with all his Vessels and made it up for the transportation of the Army.

His retreat.

13. *Darius* passing over his Army marched through *Thrace* unto *Sestus*, and thence sailed over into *Asia*, leaving *Megabysus* in *Europe* with an Army of

of 80000 men. *Megabyzus*, according to order, subdued the *Perinthians* and *Paonians*, whom he translated into *Asia*, and having reduced to obedience all the Maritime Coast, sent into *Macedonia* to demand earth and water of *Amyntas* the King. These were Symboles of subjection, signifying an acknowledgement of fealty, and voluntary homage, the chief Soveraignty over all wherein propriety lay, being yielded up with these two Elements. *Darius* had formerly sent to demand them of the *Scythians*, and they in return sent him a *Bird*, *Frog*, *Mouse*, and five *Arrows*, leaving him to make the interpretation, which he framing according to his own wish, thought that they had yielded all those Elements wherein those Creatures live, and their Weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas* construed the meaning to be this: *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, dive under the water, or creep into the holes of the Earth, for else our Arrows will overtake you; which exposition was accordingly verified.* *Amyntas* doubting of his own strength, kindly entertained the Messengers, and granting what they came for, magnificently feasted them, insomuch that being well heated with Wine they desired that women, according to the custom of *Persia*, might be brought in to them. He replied, that was not the fashion of *Macedonia*; but yet he would gratifie them therein, which being done, they began to be uncivil towards the women, whereat he inwardly fretted, but for fear suppressed his indignation. But his eldest son *Alexander* being present, a young man of prompt boldnesse and little experience, desired him to quit the room, and let him alone to entertain the Guests; and though he suspected him for his courage, and disswaded him from any rash attempt, yet did he withdraw accordingly. *Alexander* then told the *Persians* they might have liberty to enjoy these women, but for that it now grew late, he desired they would let them go out to wash, and make themselves ready, which done, they should come again. They assenting, he dressed so many bare-faced young men in women's Clothes, who, being brought in, when the *Persians* began to dally with them, according to his command stabbed them with Daggers hid under their Clothes for that purpose. *Megabyzus* hearing nothing of his Messengers, sent one *Prubares* a *Persian* down with an Army to make diligent search after them, but him *Alexander* easily took off by giving him his sister *Gygaea* in marriage, with whom he had fallen in love; so that he suffering the matter to rest in silence, no farther inquiry was made after it.

Earth and water demanded of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*.

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Herod. l. 5. *c.* 1. *&c.*

Justin. lib. 7.

The *Persian* Ambassadors killed.

14. The year following, being the 26th of his reign, *Darius* sent as Successor to *Megabyzus*, *Otanes* the son of *Sisamnes*, who took in the Cities *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and *Antander*, with the Islands *Lemnos*, and *Imber*. He himself was now returned to *Susa*, whither he carried along with him *Histiaus*, who stood so much his friend at the Bridge of *Ister*. *Histiaus* having begun to build a Citie of his own in *Thrace*, *Darius* out of colour of doing him honour, and using his advice in his most important affairs, drew him away from it, knowing his great abilities, and fearing his restlesse spirit. There he continued for some years, till not being able to hear so much talk of Empire, and rule, wherein he himself had no share, he much preferred his antient Dominion though but over one Citie, before this Real, though plausible imprisonment, and therefore sought how he might kindle a fire in *Ionia*, that for his interest in that Countrey he might obtain to be sent thither to quench it, and so with his liberty get some notable advantage for a great atchievement. It hapned that his endeavours did but tend to the blowing up of that spark, which was already kindled without his knowledge, in *Aristagoras* his son in Law, who Governed *Miletus* in his absence. The first rise was occasioned by the inhabitants of the Island *Naxos*, who having banished some of their principal Citizens, the Exiles fled to *Anaxagoras* for protection and succour. He knowing not well of himself how to restore them, sent to *Artaphernes* the brother of *Darius*, and his Lieutenant of *Ionia* then resident at *Sardis*, propounding the Conquest of that Island to him, and offering to subdue both it, and all the rest of the *Cyclades* to the obedience of the *Persian* Empire. *Artaphernes* acquainted the King with the businesse, and he approving of it, he

Histiaus.

The occasion of the *Ionian* Rebellion.

Herod. l. 5. *c.* 30. *&c.*

SECT. 2. lent him 200 ships under the conduct of *Megabates* his Kinsman. They sayled together towards *Naxos*, and it hapned in the way that *Megabates* harshly used one of *Aristagoras* his followers, for which he sharply rebuked him, as having no authority to punish those under his command. This the *Persian* took so heinously, that he gave intelligence underhand to the *Naxians* of their coming, who being forewarned were forearmed, for that no good could *Aristagoras* do, but spending his time to no purpose, was forced at length to raise his siege. For this fruitless attempt, fearing disgrace, or worse from the *Persians*, that he might prevent it, he studied how to revolt, and draw the *Ionians* into Rebellion. A.M. 3500. Olymp. 68. an. 4. V.C. 249. Darii 17.

15. While he consulted with himself, a Message came from *Histiæus*, who because the wayes were so watched that he could send no Letters, shaved close the head of his trusty Slave, and thereon with an hot iron ingraved such marks as served to make out his sence, and after his hair was grown sent him to *Miletus*. *Aristagoras* shaving his head again as he was commanded (which was all the message that the slave carried by word of mouth) presently, and gladly apprehended the matter, *viz.* that he should excite the *Ionians* to rebell. Going now more cheerfully about his work, that the *Milesians* might more readily receive the motion, he restored them to a shew of liberty, and to oblige the rest of the Cities, by one means or other abdicated the power of their petty Princes, or Tyrants as they were called. But knowing how little able this strength would be to grapple with the whole power of *Asia*, which presently would be upon them, he sayled to *Lacedæmon*, there to desire assistance from *Cleomenes* the King, who refusing to intermeddle, he thence went to *Athens*, where as before he laid open the riches of *Asia*, with the imbecillity of the *Persians* the present masters thereof; and added, that the *Milesians*, as a Colony of the *Athenians*, might justly expect relief from their hands. Idem c. 35. Polyænus lib. 1.

16. The conjuncture of affairs at present were such at *Athens*, as he could not have had a more convenient opportunity. It hapned that *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus* being expelled from *Athens* had withdrawn himself to *Sardis*, where he laboured with his whole might to make the *Athenians* odious to *Artaphernes*, and bring the Citie into the command of *Darius*, that so it might return to his own Dominion. They sent their Ambassadors after him, praying *Artaphernes* that he would give no credit to their Exiles; but he urging them, that, if they meant to secure themselves, they would receive *Hippias*, they chose rather to become Enemies to the *Persian*; and therefore complied with the motion of *Aristagoras*. They agreed to send out 20 ships under the command of *Melanthius*, a man of principal note amongst them, with which the *Eretrians* (out of way of requital for aid formerly received from the *Ionians*) joyned other 5. This was the beginning of those many evils, which afterwards fell both upon the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and of such Wars as ended not till in the destruction of the *Persian* Empire. It fell out in the 19th year of *Darius*, the second of the 69 *Olympiad*, 501 before the Æra of Christ. A.M. 3502. Herodot. l. 5. c. 96, 97, 98.

The *Athenians* assist the *Ionians.*

17. *Aristagoras* with this force went against *Sardis*, which he easily took, all but the Castle wherein *Artaphernes* secured himself. A fire prevented the plundering of the Citie, which was all turned into ashes by the means of a Souldier's burning one particular house. The confusion being great, the *Persians* and *Lydians* met together in the Market-place, through which ran the River *Pactolus* having Golden Sands, and imbodying themselves prepared to charge the Enemy, which when the *Gracians* perceived they fled for fear to the Mountain *Tmolus*, and thence to their ships lying at *Coresus* in the Territories of *Ephesus*. The *Persians* in the pursute slew a great part of them, amongst whom fell *Eualcides* Captain of the *Eretrians* so much celebrated by *Simonides* the *Ceian* Poet, and other eminent men: those that escaped dispersed themselves through the Cities. *Aristagoras* could not by any means perswade the *Athenians* from returning home; notwithstanding, for what had hapned to *Sardis*, *Darius* was exceedingly incensed against them; insomuch that Capp. 99. &c.

Aristagoras taketh *Sardis.*

Defeated in his retreat.

that he commanded one of his servants where ever he sate at meat, thrice to SECT. 2. sound these words in his ears, Sir, *remember the Athenians.*

18. At this time all *Cyprus* revolted from the *Persian*, except the *Amathusians*, whom also the Rebels besieged. Yet *Darius*, blinded by the specious pretences of *Histiæus*, let him go, thinking indeed that being present he might do him especial service in extinguishing the Rebellion. Though the *Ionians* were forsaken by their friends of *Athens*, yet they proceeded, and crossing the *Hellespont* took *Byzantium* with the Towns adjacent, and thence went into *Caria*, a great part whereof they drew into society with them in the War. But the scene of affairs was presently altered. *Artybius* the *Persian* with a numerous Army was sent against *Cyprus*, and the *Ionians* followed with a Fleet to the aid of *Onesilus*, who first procured the revolt, and now lay before *Amathusia*. Both parties being well appointed by Sea and Land, they ingaged with their Fleets and land Armies. The *Ionians* had the better by Sea, but on Land the *Cyprians* were betrayed by *Stesanor*, Tyrant of the *Curienses*, and by the *Salaminians*, so that being utterly routed, *Onesilus* was slain, and *Aristo-Cyprus* Prince of the *Solians*, and son to that *Philo-Cyprus* whom *Solon* commended in his Verses above other *Tyrants*, or *Reguli*. The *Ionians* receiving intelligence of this overthrow, and how all the Cities in the Island were besieged, except *Salamis* (which the inhabitants had already given up to *Gorgus* their antient Prince) hasted away. Of all Towns *Soli* stood longest out; but in the fifth moneth was taken by the *Persians*, who undermined the Walls; and thus *Cyprus* was reduced into its former bondage, a year after it had cast off the yoak. Capp. 103. &c. Capp. 108. &c.

Cyprus revolteth.

And is recovered.

19. The *Persian* Lieutenants, or *Satrapæ*, viz. *Daurises*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, who had married the daughters of *Darius*, after they had driven the *Ionians* to their ships, parted the revolted Cities which each of them should fall on. The two former reduced many upon the *Hellespont* and *Propontis*, and the later by the assistance of *Artaphernes* took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cumæ* in *Æolia*, after which *Aristagoras* was utterly discouraged, and thought of nothing but flight. *Hecatæus* the Historian, who had formerly dissuaded him from Rebellion; now advised him to build a Fort in the Island *Lerus*, where he might continue for some time, till it were convenient for him to return to *Miletus*; but his resolution being bent for *Myrcinus*, a Town built by *Histiæus* in *Thrace* upon the River *Strymon*, and amongst the *Edones*, thither he soon after departed with as many Volunteers as would follow him, leaving the Government of *Miletus* to *Pythagoras*, a man of the most approved fidelity amongst the Townsmen. He obtained the Countrey thereabout without much trouble, but besieging the Town was cut off by the *Thracians* with all his Forces. Capp. 124. &c.

Aristagoras slain.

20. *Histiæus* being dismissed by *Darius* upon that account formerly mentioned was ere this come to *Sardis*. *Artaphernes* demanding of him what should have moved the *Ionians* to Rebell, he answered, that he knew not, but wondred at the thing, whereto the other replied, telling him plainly that *he had made that shoos which Aristagoras had put on.* Fearing therefore to stay with him whom he perceived sufficiently to understand the matter, he fled the night after, and conveyed himself into the Island *Chius*, where the inhabitants supposing that he came to promote the affairs of *Darius*, cast him into prison, but upon farther advice restored him to liberty. Then sent he to some *Persians* lying at *Sardis*, who were partakers of his conspiracy, willing them to rise, but *Artaphernes* having timely notice thereof prevented it by putting them to death. This device failing, he procured the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*; but there he could not be received, the inhabitants rejoycing that they were rid both of him and *Aristagoras*; so that endeavouring to get in by night he was wounded in the Thigh, and forced to retire himself again to *Chius*. Here now not being able to procure any ships by all his intreaties, he went over to *Mitylene* where he perswaded the *Lesbians* to furnish him with 8 Vessels, with which he sayled to *Byzantium*; and at this Port he intercepted all such ships of the *Ionians* as coming from *Pontus* refused to obey him. Herodotus l. 6. ad initium.

21. The

Sect. 2.

21. The *Persian* Generals having much weakened the power of the *Carians*, and subdued all the *Ionians* that lived upon the *Hellespont*, were now ready to go against *Miletus* both by Sea and Land. The *Ionian* Deputies assembling in *Panionium* (the place of their publick Councils) resolved to levie no Land Army against them, but withstand their violence from the walls of *Miletus*, and make as great and strong a Fleet as possible. They ranged in order of battel near *Lade*, a little Island lying over against *Miletus*. The wing that looked towards the East the *Milesians* themselves made up with 80 Sail; to them joyned the *Prienians* with twelve, and the *Miusians* with three. By them stood the *Teians* with seventeen, and by them the *Chians* with 100 Vessels. Beyond these were placed the *Erythreans* with eight ships, and the *Phocaans* with three. Next to them stood the *Lesbians* with Seventy, and in the last place were seen the *Samians* making up the Western wing with Sixty ships; the whole consisting of 353 Gallies with three ranks of Oars. But the *Persian* Navie contained 600 of *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*. *Idem ibid. Capp. 6. &c.*

Miletus besieged.

22. Though the *Persian* Fleet almost doubled the other in number of Vessels, yet the Captains feard both the skill and valour of the *Ionians*, and therefore betook themselves to politick Councils. They sent for the several *Reguli* or *Tyrants* of the Cities, whom *Aristagoras* had deposed at the beginning of the War, and desired that every one would endeavour to draw off his own Citizens. While they were using their utmost indeavour herein, *Dionysius* the *Phocian* Captain, and General of the whole *Ionian* Navie, exercising his men continually for the fight, they being unaccustomed to such discipline, were after seven dayes weary of it, and pitching their tents in the Island, therein shaded themselves, and could not be got to their ships. The *Samians* doubting whitherto their sluggishnesse might tend, though it wisdom to hearken to the propositions made from the *Persians* by *Æaces* the son of *Syloson* their Prince, who advised them by a timely repentance to save their estates, rather than expose themselves to the anger of the *Persian*, who though he were beaten at present, was able to bring another Fleet five times as big, so that their labour and danger would know no end. Their Captains therefore took occasion at the disorder of the *Ionians*, to deny any further obedience, and, when the *Phœnicians* began to tow their Fleet together to fall on, they hoised up their Sails and departed. After this pattern the *Lesbians* and a great part of the *Ionians* withdrew themselves; onely the *Chians* stood to it, who taking many of their Enemies ships, lost more of their own, and at length fled to Land. Some of them running their Gallies on ground at *Mycale*, went on foot by night unto *Ephesus*, where the women then celebrating the *Thesmophoria*, the Inhabitants taking them for thieves issued out and slew many of them. But *Dionysius* having light on the *Persian* Gallies, retreated not home, knowing his own Country would go to wrack with the rest, but going into *Phœnicia*, there robbed certain ships of burthen of much wealth, and thus inriched sailed into *Sicilie*.

23. The *Persians* having thus done their work at Sea, presently laid siege to *Miletus*, which by undermining the walls, and using all sorts of Batteries, they utterly destroyed in the sixth year after the Rebellion was first begun by *Aristagoras*. Some of those Inhabitants which survived their Country, together with the *Samians*, transported themselves into *Sicilie*; the rest being brought to *Susa* before *Darius*, he without any punishment inflicted on them, placed in the City *Ampia*, situated where the River *Tigris* falleth into the *Red Sea*. As for their grounds, the *Persians* took to themselves the Champain Country, and gave the Mountainous parts to the *Carians* of *Pedasus*. *Histiaus* seeing what was befallen *Miletus* with some *Lesbians* subdued *Chius* easily, being weakened before, whence with many *Ionians* and *Æolians*, he undertook an Expedition against *Thasus*; but hearing that the *Phœnicians* were gone from *Miletus* into the other parts of *Ionia*, he returned back to *Lesbus*. Here his forces not trusting themselves, he went over into the Province of *Atarnes*, as it were thence, and from the Territories of the

It is taken.

Idem ibid. Capp. 18, &c.

Capp. 26, &c.

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Histiaus taken and put to death.

the *Mysians* adjoyning to gather forrage, where *Harpagus* the *Persian* then lying with a considerable force, ingaged with him in a fight at *Malena*, and having cut off the greater part of his men, took him alive. Being carried to *Susa* unto *Artaphernes*, they nailed his body to a crosse, and sent his head as a present to *Darius*, who was displeased that they had not presented him alive, and caused his head to be buried, as of a friend, and one that had well deserved of the *Persians*. Now not onely *Caria*, but all the Islands and Cities on the continent were also recovered without much trouble: the most beautiful of the Boyes being made Eunuchs, and of the Girls sent to the *Persian* Court. And thus the *Ionians* were subdued the third time; once by the *Lydians*, and twice by the *Persians*: the tributes were established by *Artaphernes*, according to *Darius* his former prescription, and all things settled at the cost of the revolters.

24. Two years after the destruction of *Miletus*, and in the 26th of his reign, *Darius* withdrawing the commissions of all his late Captains, sent *Mardonius* the son of *Gobryas*, who had married his daughter *Artozostra*, with a great power to the Sea. *Mardonius* coming into *Cilicia*, sent away all his Land Forces towards the *Hellespont*, and passing by Sea into *Ionia*, there dissolved all the Tyrannies, as they were called, or powers of single men, and brought in the Democratical Government into the Cities. After this with his Fleet he subdued the *Thasians*, and with his Land Army other *Macedonians* besides them that formerly obeyed his Master; but loosing from *Acanthus* and coasting by the Mountain *Athos*, such a Tempest fell upon the Navie as sunk three hundred Vessels, wherein perished above 20000 men. Then quartering his Foot in *Macedonia*, the *Thracians* called *Brygi*, fell in upon him by night, and killing many wounded him also; whereupon, he turned his Forces upon them, and subduing them, carried back the Army into *Asia*. The year following *Darius* constrained the *Thasians*, who were accused by their neighbours of having an intention to revolt, to pull down their walls, and carry all their ships to *Abdera*. Then to try of what temper the *Gracians* were, he sent throughout *Greece* to demand Earth and Water. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* threw the Messengers into pits, bidding them thence to take Earth and Water to carry to their Master; but the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Islands out of fear complied, for which they were accused by the *Athenian* Ambassadors at *Sparta*, as intending with the *Persians* to fight against *Athens*. Hereupon *Cleomenes* one of the Kings was sent to chastize the principal revolters, but such a contention fell betwixt him and his Colleague *Demaratus* about it, as ended at length in the deprivation of the latter, who thus unjustly outed of his Patrimony, betook himself to *Darius*, by whom he was bountifully entertained.

Capp. 43, 44, &c.

A. M. 3509. *Ol. 71. an. 1. V. C. 258. Darii 26.*

Capp. 46, &c.

Earth and Water demanded by the *Gracians*.

25. When *Darius* sent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water, he gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-coasts to build long ships and flat bottomed boats for the transportation of Horse. The burning of *Sardis* by the means of the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, was thrice every time he went to meat still sounded in his ears. *Hippias* the late Prince of *Athens* was yet provoking him against that City, and at length procured forces to reduce him into his former place. Under colour of restoring him, *Darius* intended, if possible, to subdue all *Greece*, and therefore removing *Mardonius*, under whom the Fleet had of late miscarried, he put in his room *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his brothers son, to whom he gave in charge to lay waste *Athens* with *Eretria*, and bring the inhabitants thereof prisoners into his presence. In their passage they burnt *Naxos*, took some Forces and Hostages out of the Islands, and landed their Horse upon the Coasts of *Eretria*. They prepared to fight; but, the Enemy keeping himself within the walls, they strongly attempted the storming of the City for six dayes, and on the seventh had it betrayed into their hands by *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two of the principal Citizens. The *Athenians* hearing of their approach, sent *Phidippides* a famous, though ordinary Foot-post, to *Lacedæmon*, to desire that State to hasten their succours. They resolved to send aid; but said it was impossible speadily

Darius sendeth forces into *Greece*.

Capp. 94, 95, 96, &c.

They take *Eretria*.

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speedily to do it, for that they could not break the Law, which forbad them to go forth on the ninth day of the moneth *Or*, except the Moon was at the full. Whilst they expected that season, the *Athenians* made choice of ten Captains for the War, and by this time the *Persians*, now Masters of *Eretria*, sailed into *Attica*, wherein they were conducted by *Hippias*, to the plains of *Marathon*, as most convenient for Horse. After the *Athenians* had taken the field, the *Plateans* came in to their aid, but a great dispute there was amongst the Captains, whether they should stand to the hazard of a battel. Those that were for the Negative had carried it, but that *Miltiades*, who was all for fighting, drew over *Callimachus* one of the *Polemarchi* to his party. The major part of the voices then passing on his side, each Captain assigned his day to him (who had formerly been Prince of the *Chersonesus*, and thence was expelled by the *Persians*) committing the management of the fight to his discretion.

26. *Miltiades* accepted of the charge, yet thought good not to fight till his one day (which was the tenth) should be arrived. Then set he the Army in order, and being at a miles distance from the Enemy, led very fast upon him, which the *Persians* attributed to madnesse, seeing the other so few in comparison of themselves, and badly provided both of Horse and Arms. The fight continued long, wherein, in the middle battel the *Persians* put the other to flight; but in both the wings the *Grecians* prevailed, and turning themselves upon those that worsted their fellows, made great slaughter of them as far as the Sea side, where they also seized upon seven of their ships. Concerning the number of the slain, Writers do not agree. *Herodotus* writeth of 6400 of the *Barbarians*, and 192 of the *Grecians*. On the one side fell *Hippias*, as *Justin* hath recorded out of *Trogus*, and *Callimachus* on the other. What year the battel was fought is not certainly known, but in the second or third of the 72 *Olympiad*, and four or five before the death of *Darius*.

Are overthrown at *Marathon*.

Lib. 2. c. 9.

27. *Datis* and *Artaphernes* returning into *Persia*, carried the *Eretrians* captive along with them to *Susa*, where they presented them before *Darius*; though *Ctesias* wrote that *Datis* was slain in the battel of *Marathon*, and that his body was denied to be restored. *Darius* placed the *Eretrians* in *Anderica* in *Cissia*, a Country so called, at 210 furlongs distance from *Susa*, the possession whereof their posterity held a long time together with their own language. Notwithstanding the defeat at *Marathon*, he left not off thoughts of conquering *Greece*, making all possible provision for another invasion. But in the fourth year after, more work fell into his hands; for though *Diodorus* telleth, that the *Ægyptians* much honoured him as one of their Law-givers, they now rebelled. The year following he was provided for both Expeditions, and was about to undertake them, when the custom of the Country first required that he should name his Successor. He had three children before he was King by the daughter of *Gobryas*, whereof the eldest *Artobazanes*, (by others called *Artemenes* and *Ariamenes*) challenged the Kingdom by virtue of his birth-right. But it was judged due to *Xerxes* his eldest son by *Mossa Cyrus* his daughter, who was founder of the Empire, and he accordingly was declared at this time; although some make this civil and loving contest betwixt the two brothers, to have happened after their Father's death, and been judged by *Artaphernes* their Uncle. But as *Darius* was about setting forwards for *Greece* he was prevented by death, the first year after the rebellion of *Ægypt* ending, after he had reigned 36 years compleat, in the third year of the 73 *Olympiad* ending, before the *Æra* of Christ, 485. A. M. 3519.

Herod. l. 6. c. 119, &c.

Idem lib. 7. c. 1, &c.

Darius declareth his Successor.

Vide Justin. l. 2. c. 10. Plutarch. περὶ φιλαδελφίας.

Dieth.

Apotheg. & in Artaxerxe.

28. *Xerxes* succeeded his Father in the third year of the third *Olympiad*, being the fourth King of *Persia*, the right to the Empire whereof he fetched from *Cyrus* his Grand-father by the Mother's side. He was scarce setled in the Throne, when *Mardonius* his kinsman stirred him up with earnestnesse not to give over the War which he had begun with *Greece*, promising to himself great command upon the conquest of *Europe*, which he made *Xerxes* believe

Herodot. lib. 7. ad initium.

Xerxes.

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believe would be as readily performed as spoken. He, though ambitious enough, was not at first of himself very forward, but as it concerned him, thought first of recovering *Egypt*, for which all things were left in readinesse by his father, and in the year next after his death turned his forces thither with present successe. For, he reduced that Countrey under the yoak, which he laid heavier upon it than formerly, and committed the Government thereof to his brother *Achæmenes*, who was after many years slain by *Inarus* the *Libyan*.

Recovereth *Egypt*.

29. *Egypt* being thus fortunately recovered, he was therewith much elevated, and now had resolved to follow on the War with *Greece*; but to hear what his Captains would say, he called them together to advise about it; to whom with vanity enough he opened his mind, and was seconded by an indiscreet flattering speech of *Mardonius*, who seemed with words to be able to blast the present condition of *Greece*. His Uncle *Artabanus*, a grave and long experienced man, strongly urged the contrary, shewing how vain humane confidence was, how brittle and instable the fortune of Princes and others, which appeared sufficiently in his fathers expedition against the *Scythians* first, and since that, against the *Athenians*: that the *Greeks* were not so weak a Nation he proved by the battel at *Marathon*, that the thing which he attempted was most dangerous to be thought on again, and again, that without mature deliberation the attempt would be rash however the successe should happen; that God many times pulls down the highest things, and humbleth the haughty that trust in their own strength, by making them to fall into sudden calamities: and as for *Mardonius*, he chastised his youthfull and ambitious heat with a sharp reprehension, foretelling him what would be the reward of his rashnesse. But this wise Counsel could not be heard from a grave man, the ears of *Xerxes* being stopped by the suggestions of one more agreeable to his head-strong, and youthfull humour; so that he imputed to his Uncle basenesse of mind and cowardise, inflicting this punishment upon him for it, that staying at home he should not partake of so glorious an expedition. To this enterprize he was also stirred up by the *Alcmæonidæ*, or Princes of *Thessaly*, who grudged at the liberties of the *Greeks*: by the son of *Pisistratus* also banished *Athens*, who living in his Court, abused his credulity by the help of a Wizard, or Fortune-Teller.

Consulteth about renewing the War with *Greece*.

30. Yet not long after, considering what *Artabanus* had said, he changed his purpose, and calling his Council together again, after he had commended his Uncles opinion, signified the same unto them, at which all the wiser sort much rejoyced; but the thing running much in his mind, so that he was disturbed in his sleep, he returned to his former resolution, and resolved on the expedition. In the preparation for it three years (*Herodotus* saith four) were taken up, all *Asia* being concerned therein so far, as to seem to be removed out of its place. A Navy he provided out of all the Sea-Coasts of his Empire to the number of above 1200 Vessels, which he commanded to meet at *Cuma* and *Phocæa*; and having out of all his Provinces gathered great multitudes of horse and foot, at length he moved from *Susa* in the fourth year of the 74th *Olympiad*, and in the fifth year (not after the *Egyptian* expedition as *Herodotus* hath it, but) of his reign. All the land forces met at *Critalæ*, with which he passed the River *Halys*, and came to *Celænæ*, a Citie of *Phrygia*, where *Pythius* the *Lydian* (or *Bithynian* as *Pliny* will have him) entertained him and his Army, & presented him with a vast summe of money, which he returned with advantage. And so at length he came to *Sardis*, whence he sent into *Greece* to demand earth and water, as Symboles of subjection. The Navy was come to the *Chersonesus* by this time, which that it might shun the inconvenience which that formerly Governed by *Mardonius* had incurred, by sayling about the Mountain, or Promontory of *Athos*, he caused the Mountain to be cut off from the main, by a Ditch so broad as two Vessels might sayl a breast, through which the whole Navy passed. And wintring this year at *Sardis*, he commanded a Bridge to be laid over the *Hellespont* (a mile over, wanting an 8th part) which being shattered and broken

Idem ibid. Capp. 22, 23, &c.

He wintereth at *Sardis*.

Sect. 2.

by a great Tempeſt, he took ſo hainouſly, as he commanded 300 ſtripes to be given the Sea, and a pair of Fetters to be caſt into it in token of ſervitude, and cauſing the heads of the work-men to be cut off, ordered other Bridges to be made.

31. In the beginning of the Spring he moved from *Sardis* with his whole Army and came to *Abydus*, the day being turned into night by a ſudden darkneſſe (though no ſtars appeared) at his ſetting forth; with which portentous thing (being no true eclypſe) *Pythius*, who formerly entertained him, was ſo terrified, that of his five ſons liſted in the Army, he deſired the eldeſt, as the comfort of his old age, might be left to him, at which the King was ſo angry, that he commanded the young man to be cut in two, and the parts ſo to be laid aſunder that the Army might paſſe betwixt them. When he was come to *Abydus* he had an extream deſire to view all his forces, for which purpoſe he had an high aſcent raiſed for him, where he alſo deſired to ſee a Sea-fight, which in ſhew was performed, and wherein the *Sidonians* had the better: with the fight hereof, and all his Land forces on the ſhore, he was elevated into a great paſſion of joy, apprehending of how many thouſands he was Maſter, and then preſently again into another of weeping, the cauſe of which *Artabanus* his Uncle demanding (who had thus far accompanied him) he told him, it was in thinking that of ſo many thouſands not a man ſhould be alive 100 years after. Hence that wiſe old man took occaſion to diſcourſe to him moſt gravely of the vanity, and miſeries of this life, and being again importuned to tell his opinion concerning the expedition, did it with the ſame faithfulneſſe as formerly, after which he ſent him back to *Suſa* to Govern as his Deputy in his abſence. *Ibid. Capp. 37, 38, &c.*

Paſſeth over into *Europe*.

32. Then prepared he for his paſſage into *Europe*, and having performed his Heatheniſh Devotions to the Sun, by one of the Bridges bending towards the *Euxine*, paſſed over his horſe and foot, and by another inclining towards the *Ægean*, his ſl ves and beaſts, ſeven dayes, and as many nights being taken up in the paſſage. The Fleet ſayled Weſtward to the Promontory of *Sarpedon*, the Land forces marching through the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace* to *Agora*, and ſo bore down towards the Bay of *Melana*, where a River of the ſame name failed them in drinking, as *Scamander*, and ſeveral others in *Aſia* are ſaid to have done before. Paſſing over, and moving Weſtward they came to *Doriſcus*, where being a vaſt plain watered with the great River *Hebrus*, there they pitched their Tents, and *Xerxes* muſtered his whole Army, both by Land and Sea. *Ibid. Capp. 52, 53, &c.* A.M. 3525. *Olymp. 75. an. 1.* *V. C.* 274. *Xerxis* 6.

33. The greateſt number of men it contained that ever were ſeen liſted under the Banners of one man; but yet great is the variety found in Writers about the true number: *Herodotus* writeth of 1700000 foot, and 80000 Horſe, beſides Camels, and Chariots; *Diodorus Siculus* not half ſo many foot, viz. 800000. and yet what he aſſigns to the foot, *Cteſias* attributeth to the whole Army, which he writeth to have conſiſted of 80 Myriads, beſides Chariots: *Juſtin* from *Trogus*, and *Oroſius* out of him, reckons 700000 men out of his own Dominions, and 360000 Auxiliaries. *Ælian* writeth of 700000 in all, *Cornelius Nepos* of 700000 foot, and 400000. (perhaps rather 40000) Horſe. *Pliny* 788000 (for the name of *Darius*, *Xerxes* being to be read) and *Iſocrates* agreeth with *Ælian*, mentioning onely 700000 in all. As for the Navy there were found 1207 beaked ſhips, and other Veſſels for carrying of Horſes, and for other uſes 3000. according to *Herodotus*, from whom *Diodorus* little diſſenteth as to the number of the Gallies, writing, there were found above 1200 of them, to which he addeth 850 Horſe-boats, and other Veſſels of burthen of 30 Oars apiece 3000. With the former agreeth *Cteſias* (though often diſſenting) and *Cicero*: with the later *Iſocrates* and *Lyſias*. *Oroſius* mentions 1200 beaked Gallies, and 3000 Veſſels of burthen; and as for that place in *Juſtin*, which encreaſeth the number of the Fleet to 10000. there is no doubt of its corruption. *Herodotus* by giving 200 men to every Gally, and furniſhing all the other Veſſels, conjectures 517610 men to have been beſtowed in the whole Fleet, ſo that at this muſter the Land and Sea-forces *Herodotus lib. 8. cap. 60, 87.* *Diodorus l. 11. ad Olymp. 75. an. 1.* *Cteſias in excerptis.* *Oroſius lib. 1. cap. 10.* *Ælian lib. 13. cap. 3.* *Corn. Nep. in Themiſtoc.* *Plin. lib. 33. cap. 10.* *Iſocrat. in Panathenaico.*

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forces being added together, with the 20000 *Arabians* that drove Camels, and the *Libyans* the Chariots, at this rate would amount to 2317610. beſides ſlaves and others that followed the Camp.

34. Notwithſtanding all this number, he commanded all the Nations in his paſſage, from *Doriſcus* towards *Greece*, to march along with him, ſo that hereby came an acceſſion of 120 ſhips to his Fleet, to which giving 200 men a piece, the number will amount to 24000. and to his Land Army another of 30 Myriads, or 300000 men, as *Herodotus* gathereth (though *Diodorus* thinketh leſſe ſomething then 20 Myriads) and ſo the whole number of his *Aſian* and *European* Souldiers would on this account amount to 2641610. and yet he thinketh the number of ſlaves and attendants to have rather exceeded this, ſo that if it onely be doubled, the number of thoſe perſons that by Land came to *Thermopyle*, and by Sea to *Sepias*, amounted to 5283220.

The number of his men.

And for the number of women that baked meat, and of Concubines and Eunuchs which followed, no man can aſſign them, of carriage beaſts, and for the Waggons, and of *Indian* Dogs no man could count; ſo that no wonder it is that to this ſtupendous multitude ſome ſorts of Rivers failed to afford drink, or that *Plutarch* and *Iſocrates* ſhould write 5000009 to have followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; the wonder is, that no greater plague raged amongſt them, that any concord could be preſerved amongſt ſo many Nations, & that proviſions could be procured for the preſervation of the lives of ſo many Creatures.

35. The *Gracians* all this while having had intelligence, firſt of his deſign all along from *Demaratus* the *Spartan* Exile, and then of his motions, were according to their ſeveral intereſts variouſly affected. Some, as the *Thebans*, and the reſt of the *Bœotians* (except the *Theſpians*, and them of *Platea*) and many *Theſſalians* (perſwaded by the *Aleuadæ*) and ſeveral others, out of fear, had under-hand ſent earth and water, as Symboles of ſubjection: Many alſo were uncertain in their reſolutions, not knowing what to do. The reſt meeting at the *Iſthmus*, and conſulting for the publick ſafety, reſolved, and ſwore *to joyn together in War againſt the* Perſians, *and with United power to defend the liberty of* Greece, *at the preſent to wave all their private differences for that purpoſe, and to remit the monies owing to each other; to devote the tenth to* Apollo, *i.e. to do to death the tenth man of all thoſe that had already given up themſelves to the Enemy.* The War which had often been patched up, and ſtill brake out again, betwixt the *Athenians* and them of *Ægina*, was compoſed. By occaſion of this War the *Athenians* of late had ſtrengthned themſelves exceedingly at Sea, through the procurement of *Themiſtocles* the ſon of *Neocles*, a very wiſe man, who had brought the people to lay out the money, which iſſued out of the Golden Mines of *Lauria*, and was to be divided amongſt the multitude man by man, upon ſhipping, whereby the Fleet was encreaſed to almoſt 200 ſayl, and *Greece* came to be preſerved. About the ſame time it hapned that the *Athenians* asking Counſel at *Delphos*, the Oracle anſwered, that Wooden Walls alone would be ſecurity to them; which ſeveral enterpreting ſeveral wayes, he expounded ſhips to be meant by it, and preſſed hard, that a Sea victory was promiſed them at the Iſland *Salamine*, which being received by the greater part, they ſet themſelves with all their might to the ſtrengthning of their Navy.

The preparations of the *Gracians* for defence.

36. But thoſe of the League finding it convenient to call in the help of their friends, and Allies, ſent into *Sicily*, *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire aid and aſſiſtance of the *Greek* Colonies againſt the publick Enemy; and to *Argos* to excite them to joyn againſt him with the reſt of their Neighbours. But all was to no purpoſe; for *Gelon*, who then had all *Sicily* in his power, and was thought to have more ſhips than all the aſſociates put together, refuſed to give any aid except he might be declared Captain General of the whole Army; the *Corcyreans* promiſed great matters, confeſſing their ſafety to be involved in that of *Greece*; but reſolving to make uſe of the ſucceſſe of either party, when danger threatned *Greece* from *Xerxes*, they ſent 60 ſhips, under ſhew of ſupply, but commanded the Fleet to hover about *Laconia*, and apply it ſelf to *Xerxes*, if the Conquerour, as coming in

Sect. 2. to his assistance, which being observed, after the fight the Officers excused themselves for being absent at the fight at *Salamine*, because the Etesian winds blowing contrary, they could not double the Cape of *Malea*. The *Cretans* very powerful at Sea put off the matter under pretence of hearing an answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, whither they said they had sent: and the *Argives* out of hatred to the *Lacedemonians*, proposed such conditions as could not be admitted, and afflicted them sore with the rest of the associates.

37. The *Athenians* then and *Lacedemonians* being most ingaged (against whom the design of the *Persian* was most bent) applied themselves with all their might to make resistance. *Xerxes* being about to passe over into *Europe*, the *Thessalians* sent to them, demanding help to secure themselves, or else being unable to stand out they must yield. The Council General at that time being assembled in the *Isthmus*, thinking it wisdom to withstand him at the first entry into *Greece*, rather than to defend it in broken parts, sent presently away by Sea 10000 men into *Thessalia*, under conduct of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, who in conjunction with the *Thessalian* Horse, at the River *Peneus*, flowing betwixt the Straights of *Ossa* and *Olympus*, might hinder the passage of the *Persians*; but after they came there, it being shewed to them to be but a vain thing there to oppose themselves against so great a multitude, especially seeing there were other passages into *Thessalie*, by *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, they returned back again to the Isthmus, and the *Thessalians* thus forsaken, gave themselves up to the *Persians*. Afterwards the Council again deliberating what should be done, resolved to seize upon the Straights of *Thermopyle*, which are the only passage out of *Thessalie* into *Greece*, and better to be maintained by far than the other, and concluded on sending 6000 Foot thither under command of *Leonidas* the valiant King of *Sparta*. Sea matters were committed to the care of the *Athenians* and *Æginatans* especially, and it was resolved, that the Fleet should sail to the *Artemisian* shore, towards the North part of the Island *Eubœa*, and not far from the Straights. *Xerxes* drawing near, this was done accordingly, both as to Land and Sea Forces; but the Navy receiving an Alarm, through a mischance of three of it's ships, retreated into the Straights betwixt *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*, where *Euripus* floweth betwixt *Chalcis* and *Aulis*; but understanding of a great Wrack suffered by the *Persian* Fleet, wherein by tempestuous weather were lost 400 Vessels, with a great multitude of men, and much treasure, it returned back after a few daies; in the mean while *Xerxes* drew down with his innumerous multitudes to the Straights.

38. He sent before a Spie to look how *Leonidas* and his men behaved themselves, who bringing him word how he found the *Spartans*, who then kept watch, exercising themselves in gymnick games, and dressing their heads as on some Festival, he demanded of *Demaratus* their Country-man the reason thereof. He told him they were fully resolved to die for their Country, and ready to fight it out to the last man, if need required, whereat he derided him as before when he spake of the valour of his Country-men, thinking they would be so skared at his multitudes, as not to dare to come to hand-strokes. But finding no such matter, but *Demaratus* his words to be true, on the fifth day after, he commanded a party of *Medes* to fall upon them, who being with great slaughter repulsed, he sent his Band of *Persians*, which being invincible as he thought, he named immortal, and they, though wanting no courage under the eyes of the King, who from an high throne beheld the fight, came off with the same successe; whereat he was astonished, grew melancholy, as being now sollicitous for his whole Army. The next day the fight was renewed, but with the same successe, great slaughter being made of the *Persians*, so that the way being more narrow by the carkeises, there was no room for a multitude to fight, which being driven one upon another, the confusion and consequently the slaughter was the greater. At this *Xerxes* was struck with great consternation, not knowing what to do.

39. There was one in the Army, a *Trachinian*, named *Epialtes* or *Ephialtes* (as *Pausanias* writeth it) who understanding his trouble went to him, and offered

Sect. 2. fered to shew a way over the Mountains, by which, though with much difficulty, he might send a Party to come about, and fall on the backs of the *Grecians*. Being cheared with this, he sent as many as shewed themselves most forward, with him, under the command of *Hydarnes*, who passing over the River *Asopus*, got in the dark of the night up into the Mountain, where beating down the Guard of *Phocians* which there watched, they began to come into the more plain and easie way, when the thing was carried by some fugitives to the *Grecians*. They were stricken with great terror at the report, all but *Leonidas* with his *Spartans*, who for that the *Lacedemonians* were told by an Oracle, that they must either lose their City or one of their Kings, was very readie to abide to the utmost. Wherefore he willingly give way to his associates to depart, bidding them to reserve themselves for the better condition of their Country, who all presently falling off, except the *Thespians*, and such *Thebans* as the rest of the *Grecians* had forced thither, not so much to help them, as to keep them as Hostages; with them and his 300 *Spartans* he prepared himself to fight with a mind devoted already to death. When the Sun was up, and the *Persians* not yet got down, those resolute *Grecians* passing the Straights to redeem their lives at deerer rates, fell in upon the multitudes of their enemies, with which being compassed about, they were all cut off, with *Leonidas*, except such as retiring back into the Straights took an hill and fighting valiantly with those *Persians* whom *Epialtes* had led down upon them, sold their lives as their fellows at a deer rate; 20000 of *Xerxes* his Army with this handful of men being slain. The *Thebans* alone lifted up their Targets begging quarter, crying out they were brought thither against their wills, and that they were *Xerxes* his Subjects, yet were they slain, or being taken were stigmatized for disgrace. The body of *Leonidas* being found was nailed to a crosse. These things hapned at *Thermopyle* in the middle of Summer, while some of the *Gracians* in *Peloponnesus* were celebrating the games of the 75th *Olympiad*, in the beginning of it's first year, wherein *Callias* was *Archon* at *Athens*, as we are told from *Diodorus Siculus*, of whose history digested according to the years of their solemnities, that part now extant beginneth with this Expedition; at which time also Philosophy was translated out of *Ionia* to *Athens* by *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, Scholar to *Anaximenes* the *Milesian*, who now being twenty years old began to professe it in that City, way being made for Learning there by the Library collected through the industrie of *Pisistratus*.

Justin.

Laertius in vita Clemens Strom. lib. 1.

40. *Xerxes* having now had experience of what *Demaratus* had said to him, asked his advice for carrying on the War: being in great doubt what to do, after he had heard how they of *Sparta* were able to arm well-nigh 8000 men of such temper as the former; and that the other *Lacedemonians* though inferior to those were very valiant. *Demaratus* being of this opinion, that all the Land-forces would assemble together at the *Isthmus*, to defend that entrie into *Peloponnesus*, advised him to send 300 ships well manned to spoil the Country of *Laconia*, thereby to keep the *Lacedemonians* and their neighbours entangled at home, whilst having subdued the rest, he might afterwards fall upon them, who would be then too weak of themselves to sustain his power: he farther also advised, that 300 Vessels should seize upon *Cythera* the Island, which lying near the Coasts of *Laconia*, might serve as a place of retreat or randezvouz for their own security, and endamaging of the enemy; *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* having been wont to say, that it were better for them to have it drowned in the Sea, than to stand so as it did for their disadvantage. But *Achemenes* the brother of *Xerxes* stifly impugned this advise, lest by the severing of the Fleet after such losse by the Tempest, they might prove too weak for the *Gracians* at Sea; and to this out of fear, the King submitted, hoping his Land-Army and Fleet should stand each the other in good stead, both holding one course, and not lying far asunder.

41. The Fleet of the *Gracians* stood all this while at *Artemisium*, as a bullwark to *Eubœa*, commanded by *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, to whom the *Athenians* for quietnesse and safety gave place. But now the *Peloponnesians*

Herodotus l. 8.

The fight at *Thermopyle.*

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nesians having every one an eye upon his own Country, longed to go farther into *Greece*, and were onely staied by the cunning of *Themistocles*, till such time as the *Eubœans* could secure their wives and children, with the principal of their goods. In the mean time the *Persians* thinking to incompasse them, sent 200 sail to come behind about the Island, they lying in the Straights betwixt it and the Main. They had knowledge of this devise, and not ignorant of the losse sustained by the *Persian* Fleet in the last tempest, set sail at midnight, and met these 200 ships with a counter-surprise, took and sunk thirty of them, and forced the rest to take the Sea, where by foul weather they were driven upon the Rocks, and all cast away. The news of this was brought to the *Gracians* by 53 *Athenian* ships, sent in to encrease the Fleet, which doubled the joy thereof, so that elevated with new hopes, they set next day upon some *Cilician* ships, which were severed from the rest of the Fleet, and damnifying them much, returned to *Artemisium*.

42. The *Persians* taking this in great indignation, and fearing the anger of *Xerxes*, resolved to redeem their credit with some notable exployt, for that purpose the next day in the form of a crescent invaded the *Gracians*. They cheerfully gave them battel, and the fight indured from noon till night, ending with equal losse to both parties. For though more of the *Persian* Vessels were lost, yet, the lesser damage fell as heavy upon the other, which being smaller could lesse bear it, though they fought most manfully for their Liberty and Country, the *Athenians* deserving best amongst them, and amongst the *Athenians*, *Clinias* the Father of *Alcibiades*, a famous man in the next Age. Amongst the *Persians* the *Ægyptians* fought most stoutly; and these things hapned at Sea those same three daies in which the Land-action was at *Thermopylæ*, in both the Straights the *Greeks* endeavouring to hinder the Enemies accesse into their Country. But shortly after they had intelligence by one sent out on purpose, what was become of *Leonidas* and those with him, they would needs depart from *Artemisium*, and draw their Navie, much battered in the former Fights, more inwards and nearer home. *Themistocles* seeing their resolution, before they weighed Anchor, perswaded them to kill up the Cattel of the *Eubœans*, and bring the meat on shipboard, rather than to leave them a prey to the Enemy, and engraved upon stones upon the shore, and at the watering-places, where he knew the *Ionians* would come, an exhortation to revolt to the *Greeks*, and side with their Mother-Country, or else stand neutral in the fight, or fight coldly. This he hoped would either prevail with them, or at least render them suspected with the *Persian*.

A Sea fight.

Idem ibid. *Plutarch in Themistoc.*

43. From *Artemisium* they sailed to the Coast of *Attica*, and at the desire of the *Athenians* took up their harbour at the Island *Salamine*: the *Persian* Fleet removed to *Artemisium* and the Coast adjoyning to *Histiæotis*. *Xerxes* now having passed the Streights of *Thermopyla*, marched through the Country of *Doris* into *Phocis*, which being forsaken of it's Inhabitants he wasted, and when he came to *Panopea* a Town thereof, he divided his Army into two parts. With the one he invaded *Greece*, and the other he sent to rifle and burn the famous Temple of *Delphos*; but, as it's said, this party was almost wholly destroyed without humane help, by Thunder and Lightning, and two Rocks, which breaking off from the Mountain *Parnassus*, overwhelmed it: those that escaped were generally killed by the *Phocians*, who having fled into the Mountain for fear of *Xerxes*, fell upon them; so that few remained and escaped to their Friends in *Bœotia*. *Xerxes* now marched through *Bœotia* the Country of his allies into *Attica*, with intention to do his utmost against the City of *Athens* it self.

A party sent by *Xerxes* to destroy the Temple of *Delphos*, consumed with Thunder and Lightning.

44. In the mean time the *Grecian* Fleet lying at *Salamine*, though strengthned with a new accession of ships at the Coast of *Trœzene*, could hardly be contained there; for every one being sollicitous for his own Countrey, and despairing of *Attica*, and the rest of *Greece* without the *Isthmus*, was busie in fortifying it, and laboured thither to bring the Navy, whence there might be a safe retreat into *Peloponnesus* if need were; This the *Athenians* understanding, were sore troubled, as having justly expected that the *Peloponnesians* would joyn with them, and the rest of the associates in defending *Attica*, as they had fought for them at *Artemisium*; but making the best use of it they could, begged of them so long to stay there till they could provide some way for themselves. Having obtained this, they published an Edict by the procurement of *Themistocles* (who improved the Oracle formerly mentioned to this purpose, and invented other devices) that all fit by age should come aboard, and transport their wives & children out of the Citie, with their slaves, & what they could, which was done, most carrying them to *Trœzene*, where they were kindly entertained: and that *Aristides*, a man famous for wisdom, justice, and integrity, but lately banished for a time by the *Ostracism*, by the potent faction of *Themistocles*, might return home; by the same procurement another Order was made to recall all such as were so banished, that they might now in time of need serve their Countrey, and out of fear lest they should joyn themselves to the Enemy.

The *Athenians* remove.

Plutarch ut supra.

45. In the Fleet now at *Salamine* were 358 armed ships, besides other vessels of lesse importance, of which 180 were provided and furnished by the *Athenians*, 161 onely by the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians* sent 40. the inhabitants of *Ægina* 30. which were notable for swiftnesse, the *Megarians* 20. they of *Chalcis* furnished as many, having the Vessels of the *Athenians*: the rest were supplied in lesser numbers by the *Chians*, *Naxians*, *Melians*, and *Seriphians* Islanders. Whilest the Officers were in Council about the place of battel, news came that the Enemy was entred *Attica*, wasting all with fire and sword: for having in *Bœotia* burned the Towns of the *Thespians*, and *Plateans*, who had forsaken their habitations, he hasted into *Attica*, where consuming all things, he entred *Athens* three moneths after he had passed over his forces into *Europe*. The Castle some few who would not leave their ancient seat held out to the last, and were all put to the sword, having refused quarter upon a vain confidence of the Oracle, that the Citie should be defended with wooden Walls, and thinking they fulfilled the same by fortifying themselves with Boards and Pallisadoes: the Temple of *Minerva* in the Castle he burnt to ashes. The message being brought, the Captains departed every man to his ship, decreeing nothing, and all the rest of the *Peloponnesians* determined to sayl to the *Isthmus*.

46. This resolution might have proved fatal to all *Greece*, had it not been prevented by the wisdom of *Themistocles*, who being stirred up by *Mnesiphilus* of *Athens* followed *Eurybiades* the Admiral into his ship, and obtained of him again to Assemble the Council. Here he overcame him by his mildnesse, who lifting up his Rod in an heat to strike him, *he bade him strike so he would but hear*. When he came to speak of staying at *Salamine*, one *Adimantus* upbraided him with the losse of his Countrey, saying, It was not fit that such an one should give Counsel to them that had theirs remaining to them; to whom he boldly replied, that though they, the *Athenians*, had left their houses and walls, dead things, and not to be valued at their liberty, yet they had a Citie left them, than which there was none greater in *Greece*, viz. 200 ships, which as yet was present, and ready to help their associats; but if they would depart, and betray them, he would have them know they should presently hear that the *Athenians* had both a free Citie and Territories as good as that they had left, meaning *Sirin*, a Town in *Italy*, in their power: *Eurybiades* hearing this, and fearing to be deprived of the *Athenian* Fleet, so necessary for their support, inclined to his opinion, insomuch that the *Gracians* resolved to stay, and prepared themselves for the fight; but the *Persian* Fleet drawing down to *Phalerus* the *Athenian* Port, and the Land army to the Sea-side, the *Peloponnesians* were so affrighted thereat, that having all their minds upon the *Isthmus*, the advise of *Themistocles* was not at all regarded, and they resolved to weigh Anchors, and to be gone that night, and notice hereof was given to the Mariners.

Herodotus & Plutarch ut prius.

47. For now *Xerxes* his Fleet was drawn down so repaired, and increased by a new Accession of ships, that it was altogether as considerable as before the

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Sect. 2. the shipwrack at *Sepias*, and taking all Nations as he passed along with them, his Land Army contained as great a number as heretofore at *Thermopylæ*. The King came down from *Athens* to *Phalerus* the Port, and called a Council to deliberate what should be done. All the Captains were for a Sea-fight, the Kings of *Tyre* and *Sidon* being first asked their opinions by *Mardonius*; onely a woman, *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, a wise and valiant woman, who had followed *Xerxes* in this expedition with five ships, with grave and important arguments disswaded a Sea-fight, and advised him to enter *Peloponnesus* with his Land Army, for thereby he would presently dissolve the *Greekish* Fleet, and finish the War. Though this advice followed would have been enough, and *Xerxes* could not but commend it, yet the major and worse part carried it, and it was resolved to fight the *Græcians* out of hand at *Salamine*. The Anchors then were weighed, and the Fleet made thitherwards; but night coming on suffered them not that day to reach the Island.

48. At this time were the *Peloponnesians* ready to depart homewards, and thereby the Estate of *Greece* to be ruined, by their breaking their united power, and reducing themselves into their particular and inconsiderable conditions, had not *Themistocles*, born for the preservation of his Countrey, relieved it by his wisdom in its great necessity. There was one *Sicinus* a *Persian*, who, taken prisoner, was a great lover of *Themistocles*, and taught his Children. Him he sent privately to the King, to tell him, that he preferring his good before that of the *Græcians*, gave him now first to understand that they were about to fly, and advised him not to suffer it, but prevent them, and set upon them whilest they were disordered, and the Fleet was severed from their Land Army. *Xerxes* gladly hearing the message, as believing it to proceed out of *Themistocles* his affection to him, communicated it to his Officers, and whilest the rest could be furnished with Souldiers, sent 200 ships about the Island to block up the Straights, so that none of the Enemies might escape. *Themistocles* communicated what he had done to *Aristides*, who approving of it, went to perswade the *Greeks* to fight, when presently, whilest their minds hung in suspense, came a ship of *Tenedos* from the *Persian* Fleet, and acquainted them with what was done in the Straights, so that necessity compleated what was but half effected by the speech of *Aristides*. *Plutarch in Themistoc.*

49. Then prepared they themselves unanimously to the battel. *Themistocles* made a speech unto them, wherein he shewed where their concernments lay, exhorting them to fight manfully for their Countrey and Liberty; for their Parents, Wives, Children, and whatsoever was dear to them, with which being provoked they applied themselves to their ships, and put forth the Fleet into the Main. *Xerxes* placed himself on an high Throne to behold the fight over against *Salamine*, and had some with him to write down the particulars thereof. A bloudy fight was fought with great earnestnesse on both sides, the one fighting under the eyes of their King, who marked every passage, and accordingly was affected, and the other for as much as could be dear to them in so dangerous a condition. Herein the *Greeks* had the advantage, that they were more exercised in Sea matters, and having all they had lying at the stake, they did it with the more earnestnesse, and in that they fought with greater order: the *Persian* with so great a multitude of ships, fought in disorder, and hindred one another, and if the Vessels sunk were all lost, whereas their Enemies by their skill in swimming saved themselves. At length their *Ionians*, sollicited as was said, by little and little withdrawing themselves from the fight, the rest, what by that discouraged, and overcome by the pertinacious valour of their enemies, began to fly; the *Athenians* pressing hard upon them, and destroying many of their ships; of such as fled towards *Phalerus*, many were intercepted by the *Æginetans*, the Emulators of the other in deserving well of *Greece*; such as escaped them, and got to the Port, thence withdrew themselves to the Land Army. *Idem & Herod. ut prius.*

Xerxes his Fleet defeated.

50. Of all the *Græcians* the *Athenians* and *Æginetans* deserved best, and amongst them *Themistocles*, the Captains of the Fleet each one, when upon their

their Oaths they pronounced who merited most, naming him after themselves. Amongst the *Persians* the valour of *Artemisia* the Queen was most conspicuous, acknowledged by *Xerxes* himself, who thereupon said, that *his men were turned women, and women became men*: she was saved as it hapned, and escaped to *Phalerus*. Many Noble *Persians* fell, amongst the rest *Ariabignes* the Kings brother, few of the *Græcians*. *Xerxes* exceedingly discouraged with this great losse, considered of his safe retreat out of *Europe*, fearing the *Ionians* might break the bridge laid over the *Hellespont*; yet that he might colour any such intention, he began a new project by casting earth into the Straights, to joyn the Island *Salamina* with the Continent. But *Mardonius* understanding his temper, and bethinking himself in what case he himself might stand for being the first adviser to the War, went to him, and extenuating the losse, the Land Army being left intire, at length proposed to him, to leave to him 300000 men, with which he would engage to revenge him upon *Greece*, and reduce it all under his power, if he pleased to depart himself into *Asia*, being nothing tainted in honour for that things had not so well succeeded in this encounter, because the miscarriage was procured by the Cowardise of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and others no better than slaves, the *Persians* having gallantly enough behaved themselves, and he, their Prince, having subdued already the greater part of *Greece*, and taken *Athens* it self, against which the War was principally intended. Sect. 2.

51. He liked very well the motion, but still dissembled the matter, answering, he would refer it to his Council, which he accordingly called, and asked the advice particularly of *Artemisia*. She approved of *Mardonius* his Counsel, for that if he should subdue *Greece* it would be to the Kings advantage, and if he miscarried it would be no disgrace to him, who in his own person had accomplished the main design of the expedition, in taking, and wasting *Athens*; he was pleased therewith, sent her beforehand away with his sons he had brought with him, and gave liberty to *Mardonius* to make choice of what, and how many Forces he pleased; all this being done the same day with the fight at *Salamis*. The night following in great fear and disorder the Fleet loosed from *Phalerus*, and fled amain towards the *Hellespont*, which the *Græcians* seeing, persued them as far as *Andros* one of the *Cyclades*, and took in there, for that they could then no more discern them, and that Island had been of the *Persian* faction. Here it being debated in the Council of Officers whether the Enemy should be any further persued, *Eurybiades* the General, for several grave and urgent reasons, disswaded it, a Bridge being rather to be laid for him, insomuch that he convinced the rest, and *Themistocles*, who as *Herodotus* saith, was formerly for the persute, or else dissembled, for that which followed, changed his mind, and restrained the *Athenians*.

52. And further foreseeing that through their inconstancy, & known ingratitude, he might have cause in time to come to use friends, that now he might make one of *Xerxes*, and therein also further provide for the good of his Countrey, he betook himself to his wonted craft and policy. He dispatched away to him his former trusty Messenger, to acquaint him how carefull he was for his safety, in disswading the *Græcians* from persuing him, and to advise him by all means to make towards the *Hellespont*, ere the Bridge should be broken down, which he thought would be within a small time. He being much affrighted hereat retreated presently with all his Forces the same way he came, into *Thessaly*, where delivering to *Mardonius* 300000 men picked out of the whole Army, and setling other matters, with a small and obscure train fittest for haste (all the rest being commanded to follow) he hasted through *Macedonia* and *Thrace* to the *Hellespont*, where he arrived after 45 dayes. Here, whether he found the Bridge whole, and so passed over it, or (what the *Græcians* have believed) broken in pieces by Tempests, and so passed over obscurely in a fishers Boat, observable is the great change upon him, who with so great pride had formerly beaten the Sea, and cast Fetters into it. His Army following was a great part consumed by the plague, famine, and other casualties, so that the fowls of the aire continually followed it, the way be- *Herodotus, Plutarch, Diodorus ut supra.*

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ing full of carkeises. Being shipped also over to *Abydus*, very many died by intemperate use of diet, and drinking too much in the dysenterie, wherewith they were sorely grieved. Those that remained, by slow journies reached to their King lying at *Sardis*.

53. *Artabazus*, a man of prime note amongst the *Persians*, accompanied *Xerxes* to the *Hellespont*, with a partie of 60000 men taken out of *Mardonius* his Army, who finding at his return the Inhabitants of *Potidæa* in *Macedonia* to have revolted, fearing the *Pallenians* round about would do the same, and suspecting also *Olynthus*, which then was inhabited by the *Bottiæans*, he besieged both Towns, of which the latter he took, and killing the Towns-men gave it to one *Critobulus* of *Chalcis* to govern, after which, they of that place inhabited it. He then more strongly besieged *Potidæa*, but after three moneths having layn before it to no purpose, many of his men being lost in the Sea, which broke in with an unusual Tide, he rose up and departed to *Mardonius*, who, for that Winter was at hand, had taken up his quarters in *Thessali*, and the adjoyning places of *Macedonia*. The *Persian* Fleet being returned to the Coast of *Asia*, wintred at *Cume*, for the greatest part, onely some ships at *Samos*, whither in the Spring they all sailed, being increased to the number of 300 by the addition of the *Ionians*, on whose Coast now they lay to keep them in obedience, being little desirous of sailing any more Westward, for the experience they had lately had of the *Gracians* at *Salamina*, and being in as little fear of their coming to them, whom they expected to be kept in awe, so as not to stir far from home, because of *Mardonius*.

He flyeth.

54. They stirred not about providing any Land-forces wherewith to oppose *Mardonius*; but very busie they were at *Ægina* in rigging their Fleet, over which *Leutychides* King of *Sparta* (issued from *Procles*, and put into the place of *Demeratus*,) was made Admiral: *Xanthippus* Father to *Pericles* being General of the *Athenian* Fleet, which contained the most ships. Whilst they abode here, came six men from *Chios*, who having conspired against *Strathes* their Tyrant, upon discovery of the plot, fled, beseeching them that they would undertake the freeing of *Ionia*; and so far they prevailed, as to get them to *Delus*; but no further would they go, because unacquainted as yet with the affairs of *Asia*, they feared the *Persians*, so that both parties stood in awe of each other.

Mardonius left behind.

55. *Mardonius* thinking of his promise made to his Master, consulted the Oracles, but they refusing to answer, he sent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, now in great grace with the *Persians*, through the marriage of his Sister to *Butaris*, in ambassage to the *Athenians*, to take them off from the society with the rest of *Greece*. He knew they gave the most mortal blows in the battel at *Salamina*, and thought, that if they could be taken off, the rest would be conquered with little or no difficulty. The fame of this Ambassage flying abroad, came to *Sparta*, which nettled the *Lacedæmonians*, and made them with all speed to dispatch away Ambassadors of their own, to prevent the alliance so dangerous to all *Greece*, and the *Athenians* refused to give audience to *Alexander*, till they were arrived, that they might also be present thereat. *Alexander* told them how *Xerxes* had given order to *Mardonius* to signifie to them how willing he was to remit what was past, to restore them their Territories, and more than them if they would, to leave them to their own freedom, and repair up their Temples at his own charges, if they would enter into a league of amitie with him, otherwise they could not be ignorant how great inconveniencies they drew upon themselves from so potent a Prince, able to send other Armies if they now with *Mardonius* should be overthrown: to these things spoken as from *Mardonius*, the Ambassador added as a friend, not to let slip such an oppoprunity. After him the Ambassadors of *Sparta* spoke, and shewed how unworthy a thing it would be for the *Athenians* of all others, to forsake the publick cause, they having been the causers of the War, and their Ancestors been so renouned for setting others at liberty, wherefore they hoped that they would not be accessary to the slavery of all *Greece*. Their answer was to *Alexander*, that so long as the Sun should hold

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hold his course, they would never enter into alliante with *Xerxes*, but resist his forces with their own; and him they desired, whom they respected as a friend, not any more to bring such an unwelcome message, lest he might suffer something from the angry people, To the *Spartans* they answered to this purpose: That they would never any of them as long as they lived enter into confederacy with the *Persian*; they thanked them for their kind offer to maintain their wives and children in case of necessity, which they hoped they should not have much cause to need, so as to be troublesome to them, and desired them to hasten away to them their supplies, for that they thought the *Barbarian* would not lose time after the report of their answer, but presently invade them; and they thought it most convenient to meet him in *Bœotia*.

56. *Mardonius* having received this answer from *Athens*, in great wrath marched thitherwards out of *Thessalie*. When he came to *Thebes*, the Inhabitants advised him to go no farther, for that he should never subdue *Greece* united together, but stay there in a commodious place, and corrupt with money those that were most prevalent in each City, whereby he might divide the *Gracians* into factions, and so easily mastering the dissenters, subdue the whole Country. But he not hearkening to this advice, proceeded, hoping by fires made in the Islands, to give notice to *Xerxes* still lying at *Sardis*, that he was again got into *Athens*, which the Inhabitants upon his approach, and the *Peloponnesians* deferring to send their succors, again quitted and departed to *Salamine*. He entered *Athens* the tenth moneth being now compleased after *Xerxes* had the possession of that City, and having so done, sent to *Salamine* to the owners of it, once more offering them the same conditions he had formerly proposed by *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, hoping, that upon this extremity to which they were once again reduced, they might change their stubbornnesse for a more complying disposition. *Herod. lib. 9.*

57. But they were so far from harkening to what he offered, that they stoned one *Lycidas* a Senator, for saying it deserved to be taken into consideration, and to be proposed to the whole body of the people, and his wife and children were used in the same manner by the women. Then sent they (together with the *Megarians* and *Plateans*) seriously to expostulate with the *Lacedæmonians* for the non-performance of their promise, whereby their Country was again exposed to the will and pleasure of the Enemy, and plainly to tell them, that except their associates would better stand to their word, and dispatch away their succours in time, they must needs provide for themselves apart, for as much as yet a way was open for their entry into confederacy with the common Enemy. The Ambassadors found them celebrating annual games, and understood that the *Peloponnesians* were onely intent upon their perfecting the wall at the Isthmus, having no regard at all to them, whereof they highly complained to the *Ephori*. They promised them an answer the next day, but deferred from day to day, until after ten dayes the wall of the *Isthmus* was perfected.

58. After this time came a man of *Tegea* to them, and blaming them for their neglect of their allies, convinced them of the vanity of the wall, in case the *Athenians* should joyn with *Mardonius*, for they could with ease convey him otherwise than by the *Isthmus* into *Peloponnesus*, wherewith being startled, in the dead time of the night, and without privity of the Ambassadors, they sent out 5000 men besides 7000 of the Heilots or publick Slaves, under the conduct of *Cleombrotus* Tutor to *Plistarchus* the young King. In the morning the Ambassadors came again to them expostulating as before, whereto the *Ephori* answered, that their succours were already on their way, whom then the other understanding the matter, followed, and with them other 5000 gathered out of the places bordering upon *Sparta*. *Mardonius* having intelligence how things went in *Peloponnesus* from the *Argives*, who all this while were of his party, was something abashed, having till now had some hopes of the *Athenians* their compliance, for which reason he had spared their Territories. But now he destroyed all he could both

Burneth *Athens*, and goeth into *Bœotia*.

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in City and Country, and forsaking *Attica* as a Country dangerous to his Army, by reason of the unevenneſſe of the ground, and hard to be quitted ſodainly in time of danger, he returned into *Bœotia* a Champain Country, and in alliance with him, where in the Territories of the *Thebans* he pitched his Tents at the River *Aſopus*, bringing much dammage to his friends round about, in taking up ſuch things as were but neceſſary to the ſuſtenance of his Army. The *Spartans* in the mean time lying at the *Iſthmus*, the other *Peloponneſians* after their example came alſo thither, whence they marched to *Eleuſine*. Thither came the *Athenians* from *Salamine*, and joyned with them, whence they followed *Mardonius* into *Bœotia*, and ſate down over againſt his Camp at the foot of the Mountain *Citheron*.

59. The *Greeks* brought into the field 11 Myriads or 110000, according to *Herodotus*, from which number (*a*) others take the odd thouſands, and make them juſt 100000. The number of the *Perſian* Army Amounted to 30 Myriads or 300000, beſides the *Greek* Auxiliaries, which he conjectureth to have been about five Myriads more; the 300000 are owned by *Plutarch*, another (*b*) numbereth but 200000 Foot, & 20000 Horſe, but *Diodorus* on the contrary ſaith, that beſides theſe Forces drawn out of *Xerxes* his Army, *Mardonius* had out of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, and the aſſociate States, about 20 Myriads, and that his whole Army contained 50 Myriads or 500000 men. *Mardonius* when the *Gracians* were encamped, ſent a partie of his Horſe to aſſail them, which objecting cowardiſe to them, and provoking them, very light skirmiſhes enſued, wherewith the *Megarians* were ſore put to it, being on diſadvantagious ground, but being relieved by 300 ſtout *Athenians*, all others refuſing, a ſharp encounter followed, in which *Maſiſtius* who commanded the Party of the *Perſians* was ſlain. A great conteſt followed about the body, the *Perſians* labouring with all their might to redeem it, all the *Perſian* Horſe coming in to the quarrel, and then the whole Army of the *Gracians*; but at length they were fain to return without it, and it was caried in triumph about the *Greekiſh* Camp. This as it brought great ſorrow to the *Perſians*, ſo the other were much elevated in their minds thereby, and removed their Camp into the Territories of *Platæa*, whither *Mardonius* alſo followed them, and encamped over againſt them, both parties neglecting to fight (onely excepting ſuch Skirmiſhes as was made by the *Perſian* Horſe) for ten dayes.

(*a*) *Diodorus, Juſtin, Oroſius.*

(*b*) *Æmilius Probus in Ariſtide.*

Herodotus ut ſupra.

60. On the eleventh, it being palpable that the *Greekiſh* Army daily waſted, by the revolt of many of their Countrymen, and yet that the *Perſian* groaned under it's own burthen, *Mardonius* called a Council of his Officers to conſult what was to be done. *Artabazus* the ſon of *Pharnaces*, a man of great Nobility, and an emulator of the General, contended with him, urging that the beſt was to decline the fight, and march to *Thebes*, where they might have plenty of proviſion, here wanting, and whence by ſending money into the principal Cities of *Greece* (according to the advice formerly given by the *Thebans*) they might diſpatch the War with eaſe. But *Mardonius* being more hot and earneſt, thinking his Army to be for the preſent ſtronger than the Enemy, reſolved to fight, not ſuffering himſelf by any perſwaſions to be removed from his purpoſe, for that becauſe of his authority the reſt durſt not contradict it, and it was reſolved to fall on the next morning by break of day. Notice hereof was given by *Alexander* the *Macedonian* to the *Athenians*, who adviſed them in caſe *Mardonius* ſhould not fight to ſtay it out; for the *Perſians* were ſtraightned for proviſions. The *Athenians* bring this news to *Pauſanias* the General, who being ſomething ſtruck therewith, he deſired them to change places, becauſe they were better acquainted with the *Perſian* manner of fighting ſince the battel at *Marathon*, and the *Spartans* were more uſed to the *Theſſalians* and *Bœotians* now oppoſed to the *Athenians*; they ſoon condeſcended hereunto, but *Mardonius* having notice of it, made his *Perſians* change place with the *Bœotians* and the other; and though *Pauſanias* again reduced his men into the former place, yet was neither this hid from *Mardonius*, who ſtill to prevent him did the like.

61. *Mardonius* upon this ſent and upbraided *Pauſanias* and his *Spartans* with

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with cowardize, eſpecially ſeeing he had made a challenge to fight with them with his *Perſians*, either a certain number of each, or all together, both which were refuſed. Then ſent he his Horſe upon them, which with darts ſore troubled the whole Army, and moſt of all in that it hindred the fetching of water, that the *Gracians* were conſtrained to change the place, and reſolved to paſſe into an Iſland compaſſed about with the River, and near the Walls of the Citie, which was very convenient for watering, and lay alſo well for proviſions. By night they removed, but moſt miſſing of the place went to the Temple of *Juno* in the high way to *Platæa*, and there encamped themſelves, whom the *Spartans* being commanded to follow, much trouble aroſe thereupon by the means of one *Amompharetus* a valiant man, who for ſome time would not ſtir with his Regiment, crying out, it was contrary to the *Laconick* Diſcipline to fly from the Enemy, and ſuppoſing *Pauſanias* and the reſt durſt not forſake him. But towards morning he came off from his reſolution, and ſo all marched to the Temple of *Ceres*, ſituate upon the River *Moloe*, being followed cloſe by the *Perſian* Horſe.

62. The Sun being riſen, *Mardonius* grievouſly inveighing againſt the cowardiſe of the *Gracians*, and *Artabazus* for his late opinion, marched with his whole Army, as to purſue the Enemy flying, and all his Horſe began ſore to preſſe upon the backs of the *Spartans* and *Tegeatans*, joyned with them at the Chapel of *Ceres*, ſo that then enſued a ſharp fight betwixt them, and betwixt the *Athenians* who came in to their ſuccour, and ſuch *Greeks* as were confederate with the *Perſians*. The *Tegeatans* charged the *Perſian* infantry, in which after much toyl and bloudſhed, *Mardonius* fighting on a white Horſe in the midſt of 1000 choiſe men, was ſlain by *Armneſtas* the moſt valiant *Spartan*. After his death, his men diſcouraged, were ſlaughtred in great numbers, and put to the rout, which *Artabazus* ſeeing, ſhifted for himſelf with a party of 40000 commanded by him, and fled towards the *Helleſpont*: the *Greeks* that aſſiſted *Mardonius*, though nothing inferiour to their Countreymen for valour, were put to flight; and 300 of *Thebans*, who moſt ſtoutly behaved themſelves, were ſlain upon the place.

The battel at *Platæa*, and *Mardonius* ſlain.

63. In the mean time the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Phliaſians*, and the reſt, who had taken up their ſtation at the Chapel of *Juno*, hearing of the victory of their friends haſted to the place all out of order, the *Corinthians* over Hill and Dale the neareſt way; but the reſt through the plain, who were circumvented by the *Theban* horſe, and many of them cut off. The *Perſians* fled into their Camp, which they had fenced with a Rampire for ſecurity, whither they were followed by the *Spartans*, who laboured with all their might to ſtorm the place, but were ſtoutly repulſed by the Defendants, till the *Athenians* coming in, and better exerciſed in ſuch attempts, brake into the Camp. The *Tegeatans* followed with great violence, and took, and plundred the Pavilion of *Mardonius* with his braſen manger, and then followed an unſpeakable ſlaughter of the *Perſians*, ſo that of thoſe 300000 left to *Mardonius* by *Xerxes*, excepting thoſe 40000, which fled with *Artabazus*, not 3000 remained, 100000 according to *Diodorus*, without mercy being put to death within the Rampire. Of the *Gracians* not many were ſlain, according to *Herodotus*, who reckoneth 32 *Spartans*, 16 *Tegeatans*, and 52 *Athenians*, mentioned at large by him; but *Plutarch* mentioneth 1360 of the *Greekiſh* Army to have been ſlain, and *Diodorus* increaſeth the number to above 10000. The *Mantineans* and *Eleans* came after the victory, at which they were ſo aſhamed, that returning home they baniſh'd their Captains as authors of the delay. The Conquerours thence marched to *Thebes*, where the inhabitants gave up the authors of their revolt to the *Barbarians*, whom being carried to *Corinth*, all but *Attaginus* that eſcaped, he there put to death.

In Ariſtide.

64. Whileſt theſe things were thus done in *Bœotia*, the *Greekiſh* Fleet of which *Leutychides* the *Spartan* King was Admiral, harboured at the Iſland *Delos*: Hither came three Ambaſſadors from *Samus*, deſiring aid againſt the *Barbarians*, and their Tyrant impoſed upon them, ſhewing that it was moſt

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equal that *Gracians* should one vindicate the liberty of another, and that this Enterprise would be without difficulty, for as much as if the *Ionians* did but once see their Fleet, they would revolt from the *Persians*, of whom such as were amongst them would either fly, or might easily be made a prey; Lastly, if the Ambassadors were mistrusted as not representing things according to their Commission, they offered themselves as Hostages, till the truth might be cleared. *Leutychides* taking an Oath of them that they came impowered from the *Samians*, retained *Hegesistratus* (because his name he took for a good omen) who had been the mouth of the rest, and sending the other two before followed the next day to *Samus*. The Sea-men that were there, stricken with great fear at the report of the Fleet approching, dismissed the *Phœnician* Vessels, and fled with the rest to the Continent, hoping to keep them safe under the protection of the 60000 Foot left on the Coasts by *Xerxes* to keep *Ionia* in obedience, over whom *Tigranes* was General, a man of a most proper and amiable personage.

65. The *Persians* having drawn their ships under the foot of the Mountain *Mycale*, near the Temple of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and barricaded them with great stones, wood, and other materials, came the *Gracians* with their Fleet prepared for a fight. But understanding what was done, *Leutychides* coming near the shoar, by the voice of a cryer aloud (as *Themistocles* had done before) endeavoured either to make the *Ionians* revolt, or at least to render them suspected to the Enemy; which being done, presently he landed all his men, resolving to try the event of a Land battel. The *Persians* suspecting the *Samians* disarmed them, and sent the *Milesians* to keep the passages leading up into the Mountain. As the Armies were going to meet, a sudden rumour was spreadabroad through that of the *Gracians*, that *Mardonius* with his forces were cut off, which elevated their spirits, and made them to charge with greater alacrity, which was also increased, for that they were now to fight at the Temple of the same Goddesse, as they heard their friends had done with *Mardonius* in *Bœotia*. Then charged they the *Persians* in a double body, the *Athenians* with the *Corinthians* and others, on the plain by the Sea-shore; the *Lacedæmonians*, and others joyned with them, through the mountainous and precipitous places, who whilest they were getting up, the *Athenians* fell on, and calling on one another to endeavour to deprive the *Lacedæmonians* of the honour of the victory, charged the Enemy so furiously, that at length they beat them back, and forced them into their Camp, whither also they brake in with them.

The battel at *Mycale*.

66. Hereupon ensuing a bloudy fight, all the rest fled except the *Persians*, who fighting with great resolution, were yet cut off and defeated upon the coming in of the *Lacedæmonians* and the rest. Two of the Sea Captains were slain, two escaped, and with the rest fell *Tigranes*, the General of the foot, and of the *Greeks* perished not a few. The *Samians*, though disarmed, and other *Ionians* came in and helped their friends, and the *Milesians* set to Guard the passages of *Mycale* fell down upon the *Persians* another way, and made great slaughter of them. So was *Ionia* rent from the *Persian* Empire again, and joyned to the *Gracians*. After this performed by Land, the Conquerours burnt all the *Persian* ships in the Haven, and being inriched with great spoil returned to *Samus*. It was found out afterwards that this victory at *Mycale* was obtained on the self same day as the other at *Platæa* in *Bœotia*, the later in the morning, and the former at evening, which caused the wonder how intelligence could be given to these that fought at *Mycale* of the successe of their Countrey-men so far of. This hapned often in following times as will be seen, although some have thought that no report was brought any way to the Army of the victory of *Platæa*, but that it was so given out on purpose as a stratagem by *Leutychides* to animate his Souldiers, who then being wholely ignorant of any such thing, he invented that which afterwards proved accordingly. These two battels, and victories, hapned on the third or fourth day of the moneth *Boedromion*, in the second year after the invasion of *Greece* by *Xerxes*.

Ionia revolteth.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 75. an. 2. Polyænus Strr. l. 1. Front. lib. 1. cap. 11. Exemp. 7.

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67. The *Gracians* lying at *Samus* fell into dispute about translating the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, out of *Asia* into *Greece*, for that they could not be alwayes in a readinesse to defend them, and they could not subsist of themselves; and the *Spartans* moved that those who had revolted to the *Persian* should be cast out, and they placed in their rooms; but the *Athenians* fearing to be deprived of the right of their Colony, which yet the *Ionians* acknowledging themselves, might own the rest of the associates for their patrons, upon such a change, dashed the project. Then were the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and others, who had revolted, religiously and solemnly sworn to the observation of the league, and the *Gracians* departed towards the *Hellespont* to break the Bridge there, which when they found broken to their hands, they consulted about returning home. The *Athenians* were for going into the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace* to recover it out of the hands of the *Persians*, and, though the *Peloponnesians* returned, proceeding in their resolution went and besieged *Sestus* an *Æolian* Town, situate in the *Chersonesus*, over against *Abydus*. Before this Town they continued till the Autumn was far spent, and then pined out the inhabitants, who forsook the Town, but were overtaken, and either slain, or made prisoners, amongst the later sort of which was *Artaegetes* the Governour, who because he had violated the sepulchre of the Chapel of *Protesilaus*, a great Saint in that place, saw first his son stoned before his face, and then was hanged by command of *Xanthippus* the *Athenian* Admiral. Then returned the Navy home to *Athens*, and nothing was done further this year, which was the second of the 75 *Olympiad*, and the 7th of the reign of *Xerxes*, of the World 3526. and before Christ the 477.

Herodotus ut prius lib. 9. cap. 105. & Diodorus ut prius.

The *Median* War endeth after two years.

68. *Xerxes* all this while lay at *Sardis*, and thither those few that escaped from *Mycale* betook themselves. In the way *Masistes* brother to the King fell foul upon *Artayntes*, one of the Captains of the Fleet, amongst other reproachfull words telling him that he had in this behaved himself more cowardly than a woman, whereupon the other drew his Dagger, and had stabbed him, but that one *Xenagoras* an *Halicarnassean* interposed himself, whom for this saving of his brother, *Xerxes* rewarded with the Government of *Cilicia*. Whilest he lay still at *Sardis* he fell in love with the wife of *Masistes*, but she being too honest for his adulterous intentions, he married her, and his brothers daughter *Artaynta* to his son *Darius*, hoping to enjoy her this way, which Ceremony being over, he returns home, leaving part of his Forces to continue the War with the *Gracians*. In his (*a*) flight he burned all the Temples of *Asia* except the *Ephesian*, out of indignation at his late bad successe, and amongst the rest the Oracle of *Didymean Apollo* amongst the *Branchidans*, who because they betrayed the Treasures of their God to him, durst not stay behind but followed him. (*b*) Some say he went to *Susa*, others to *Ecbatane*, a (*c*) third, that by *Babylon* into *Persia*. That in his way back from *Grace* he (*d*) destroyed the Temple of *Belus* in that Citie, we also read, with all the other religious places of the *Babylonians*, taking away a Statue off that Wall of twelve Cubits, and all of beaten Gold, and killing the Priest who offered to hinder the removal of it.

(*a*) *Strabo lib. 14.*

(*b*) *Herodotus.* (*c*) *Diodorus.* (*d*) *Ctesias. Arrianus lib. 7. Herodotus ut prius cap. 183. Strab. lib. 16.*

Xerxes his incontinence.

69. Being returned to *Susa*, he fell from the Mother to the Daughter too, being in love with *Artaynta* his Daughter-in-law, whom incestuously he used constantly. She begged of him a Coat which with much art and industry *Amestris* his wife had made for him. By her wearing of this the Queen knew how matters went, and thence followed the destruction of the whole house of *Masistes*; for on *Xerxes* his birth-day, when he used not to deny her any request, she asked *Masistes* wife to be given up into her power, which he doing, she cut off her breasts, nose, ears, lips, and tongue, and in this case sent her home. *Masistes* inraged at this barbarous usage, conspired with his Children how to be revenged, and resolved to fly into *Bactria*, of which he was Governour, then to stir up that Province, and the *Sacæ* with whom he was very gracious, into rebellion against his brother. But *Xerxes* coming to the knowledge of the matter sent a party after him, which cut him off with his Children, and all his retinue. These things hapned about a year after his return,

Sect. 2. return, with which endeth the history of *Herodotus* the Father of history (as *Cicero* called him) seeing he is the most antient of all Heathen Writers now extant.

70. The same year being the third of the 75th *Olympiad*, and the eighth of the reign of *Xerxes*, a year after the finishing of the *Median* War, so called by the *Graecians*, the *Lacedaemonians* sent *Pausanias*, famous for his Generalship at the battel of *Plataea*, to set at liberty such *Greek* Cities as yet were under the *Persian*, who accordingly with 50 Gallies set sail out of *Peloponnesus*, and taking 30 more out from *Athens*, commanded by *Aristides*, first went to *Cyprus*, where he set at liberty such Towns as were yet held by *Persian* Garrisons, and thence to the *Hellespont*, where he took *Byzantium*, and therein many Noble prisoners of the *Persians*, whom he delivered to one *Gongylus* an *Eretrian*, to be kept as he pretended, to be put to death, but indeed to restore them to *Xerxes*. For he sent this man secretly to the King, and bargained for his daughter to be given him in marriage to betray *Sparta* and all into his hands. He gladly received the message, and wrote back again to him by *Artabazus* the son of *Pharnaces* whom he sent to the Sea-Coasts to hold intelligence with him, and for that purpose gave him the Government of *Dascylis*, recalling *Magabates* who was over that Province. But *Pausanias* growing more insolent, hereupon was suspected, and afterwards at length discovered, and punished for his treason, as farther is to be discovered in it's proper place. *Diodorus ad Olymp. 75. an. 3. Thucid. lib. 1.*

71. In the third year of the 77th *Olympiad*, and the sixteenth of *Xerxes*, *Demotion* being *Archon*, or chief Magistrate at *Athens*, the *Athenians* made choise of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* for their General, and with a considerable force sent him into the Maritime Coasts of *Asia*, with order to relieve the Associates, and set at liberty such as were still under the slavery of *Persian* Garrisons. He bends his course towards *Byzantium*, and took *Eione* and *Scyrus*, inhabited by *Pelasgians* and *Dolopians*, and divided the grounds thereof by lot; then casting in his mind greater designes, sailed back to the *Pireus*, and furnishing himself with more ships, increased his Navie to the number of 200, to which he added of the associates 100 more, and with all this power sailed towards *Caria*. Here all the Maritime *Greek* Cities revolted to him, and what did not, he subdued by strong hand, which having done, he sailed to *Lycia*, where he had the same successe, and now requiring ships to be provided by such as had joyned themselves in society with the *Athenians*, he thereby mightily increased his Navie. *Diodorus ad Olymp. 77. an. 3.*

72. The *Persians* now levied both a Land and Sea-Army, the former within themselves, and the latter out of *Phoenicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Cilicia*, the General being *Tithraustes* the base son of *Xerxes*, who by some other is said to have only had command of the Fleet, and that *Pharendates* was over the Land-forces, though this place by another is given to *Ariomandes* the son of *Gobryas*. *Cimon* having made discovery that the *Persian* Fleet rode nigh to *Cyprus*, sailed thither, and with 250 ships made head against 340, whereupon ensued a sharp fight, both parties fighting with great courage and animosity, till at length the *Athenians* overpowerd the other, and spoiling many of their Vessels, took about 100 with the men in them, the rest escaping to Land at *Cyprus*, the men saved themselves by flight, but the ships fell into the hands of the *Graecians*. *Cimon* not contented with this Victory, sailed towards the Land-Army of the *Persians*, then lying upon the River *Eurymedon*. To deceive the Enemy, he put his most valiant men aboard those Vessels lately taken in the fight, adorned and clothed after the *Persian* fashion, so that the *Persians* not doubting at all but that it was their own Fleet, kindly welcomed these counterfeits as their friends. Hereby *Cimon* received as such, landed his men by night and fell upon the Enemies Camp, whence ensued great fear and tumult, his men presently killing all they meet, and amongst the rest *Pheredates* Nephew to the King by his brother. Of the common sort many were slain, others sorely wounded, and shortly all put to flight, yet they knew not by whom, not suspecting the *Graecians* to have any Land-Army *Vide Plutarch. in Cimone.* *Idem ibid. Diodorus ut prius. Polyaenus l. 1. Frontinus Strat. lib. ult. cap. ult. exempl. ultim.*

Army and therefore concluding themselves surprized by the *Pisidians* upon whom they bordered. Sect. 2.

73. Suspecting therefore this storm to come from the continent, they betook themselves to their ships, and the Moon then not shining, and the night being very dark, the error was the more increased, so that not discerning any thing they ran upon their own ruine, and great slaughter was made of them on all sides. All things being thus in confusion, the *Grecian* General fearing the straggling of his Soldiers too far for booty, according to former order, that when he set out a Light they should all come back to that place, gave out that sign by the ships, upon sight of which they withdrew themselves thither. Notwithstanding these two Victories, which in some sence seemed to excel those of *Salamina* and *Plataea*, being fought on the same day, yet would he add one thing more as a supplement to them. Understanding that 80 *Phoenician* ships (expected as *Plutarch* saith, by the Navy at *Eurymedon*, which was the cause why he set upon it so soon, being unwilling they should joyn) to be arrived at *Hydrus*, he sailed hastily thither, where as yet the news had not arrived, but now the *Phoenicians* suspecting the truth, and thereby discouraged, he easily overcame, took and sunk all their ships, and therein the greatest part of themselves miscarried. Hereupon ensued a certain agreement betwixt the King and the *Graecians*. *Plutarch ibid.*

74. The next thing considerable concerning *Xerxes*, is his death, placed in the fifth year after the former transactions, by *Diodorus*. There was one *Artabanus* an *Hyrcanian* by birth, of great power about him, as Captain of his Guard, who consulted about making him away, and transferring the Kingdom to himself, and for that purpose inveagled *Mithridates* the Eunuch the King's Chamberlain, by whom being let in by night with his seven sons, they strangled him in his bed. Hee reigned 21 years, or 20 with odd moneths, though some there be that cut off nine years from that number. Their ground is, for that *Themistocles* the *Athenian* being banished his Country, came to *Artaxerxes*, then the new King of *Persia*, according to *Thucydides*, so that *Xerxes* must at that time have been dead. Now the same Author placeth this flight of *Themistocles* betwixt the Siege of *Naxus* which the *Athenians* subdued, and the former exploits of *Cimon*, so that his Expedition must have happened also not in the dayes of *Xerxes* as we have fixed it according to *Diodorus*, but in the reign of *Artaxerxes* his successor: and *Eusebius* placing the flight of *Themistocles* in the fourth year of the 76th *Olympiad* (though *Diodorus* in the second of the 77th) hence it must follow, that the beginning of the reign of *Artaxerxes* must be placed higher by near to nine years. The authority of that grave Author is in no wise to be despised, yet notwithstanding, this shortning of the reign *Xerxes* which must necessarily follow, is not agreeable to the testimony of other Writers: especially it is to be considered what difficulty will arise hereby to the Chronology of the sacred story, it being most probable, that the seventy weeks of *Daniel* commencing in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes*, end at the death of *Jesus Christ*; which cannot be, if their beginning be to be assigned nine years higher. This may incline us to believe, that some reason *Diodorus* had (who could not but have opportunity to see and compare several histories) not to follow *Thucydides*, and make us rather subscribe to the number of years by general consent ascribed unto the reign of *Xerxes*. *Diodorus ad Olymp. 78. an. 4. Justin lib. 3. cap. 1. Cteſiae.* *Xerxes* murdered. *Usher.*

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SECT. III.

From the death of Xerxes, *and the beginning of* Artaxerxes Longimanus, *to the death of* Artaxerxes Mnemon, *containing the space of* 103 *years.*

1. XERXES left three sons, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, both of them at the time of his death resident in their Court, and *Hystaspes*, who was absent in his Government of *Bactria*. *Artabanus* having murdered their Father, presently in the dead time of the night went to *Artaxerxes*, and made him believe that his elder brother *Darius* had made him away, out of ambition to reign himself, counselled him to provide for his own safety and honour, before he should establish himself, and offered him the guard to rid him of him, whereby he being perswaded, sent and slew his brother. When this was done, *Artabanus* called his sons together, telling them this was the time of obtaining the Kingdom, and drew his sword with an intention now also to kill *Artaxerxes*. But he being onely lightly wounded, laid so about him, that he slew him upon the place, as we have it from one; though others with more reason defer the time of *Artabanus* his death, to whom also seven moneths in the Empire are attributed by * *Eusebius*.

Diodorus ibid.

See Justin.

Artaxerxes.

In Chron.

2. It is probable, that for that time the treason of *Artabanus* not being discovered, or for some reasons winked at, he might by a Vicegerency govern the Kingdom. By his means came *Artaxerxes* to it in his youth, a Prince of a great spirit, and yet of a mild nature, Sirnamed Μακρόχειρ, or *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than the other, in the fourth year of the 78th *Olympiad*, or in the beginning of the 79th, *Lysitheus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*. A. M. 3540, 463 years before the birth of *Christ*. Within a while *Artabanus* laid in wait for his life also, communicating his design to *Megabyzus*, who had married the daughter of *Xerxes*, and for her loose life was fallen into a discontent, *Megabyzus* swore secrecie as well as he, but revealed the whole matter, so that *Artabanus* finding not the same successe as in his other treasons, was sent the same way, and by the same means with which he intended to dispatch *Artaxerxes*. Now came out the whole truth concerning *Xerxes* and his son *Darius*, and *Spamitres* (or *Aspamitres*) the Eunuch, who was accessary to the murders, was tortured to death. *Justin* telleth us, how the King fearing the number, and power of *Artabanus* his Sons, commanded his Soldiers to be ready armed the next morning, both for a muster, and to exercise them. Amongst the rest appeared he according to his place, with whom *Artaxerxes* desired to change his coat-armour, pretending his was too short for him, which to do, he first putting his off, the King took the advantage and ran him thorow with his sword.

Ctesias.

Artabanus put to death.

3. After his death, his party being strong, great troubles ensued, which ended at length in the destruction thereof, three of his sons falling in fight, and *Megabyzus* who opposed them being sorely wounded, for whom now great lamentation was made through the Court, till at length he escaped the danger by the skill and industry of *Apollonides* the Physician, native of the Island *Cos*. The *Bactrians* also, according to *Ctesias*, revolted, with another of the King's Officers named *Artabanus*, who seemeth to have had some other command than over *Bactria*. For we are told elsewhere, that *Hystaspes* the son of *Xerxes* was *Satrapas* or Governour of that Province, and thence may almost conclude him to have been the principal cause of the revolt, out of indignation that being the second brother, the youngest of all the three should be preferred before him. Two battels were fought in this quarrel, in the latter of which the wind being full in the faces of the *Baltrians*, so disturbed them, that thereby *Artaxerxes* became Victor, and reduced all that Country into obedience. *Artaxerxes* having thus revenged his Father's and Brother's death, and brought *Artabanus* and his complices to condign punishment, and recoverd *Bactria*, setled the affairs of his Kingdom. He took care

Diodorus ad Olymp. 79 an. 3. Thucyd. lib. 1.

Bactria recovered.

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care of his revenue, setled the Militia, displaced suspicious Governours of Provinces, and carrying all things with much moderation and Justice, gained great Authority from his subjects. In the mean while the *Egyptians* hearing of the death of *Xerxes*, and in what disturbance the affairs of the *Persians* were, out of desire to recover their liberty, hearkned to the Counsel and perswasions of one *Inarus* King of *Libya*, the son of *Psammetichus*, so that the greater part of the Countrey revolted, and making him their Prince, sent about to crave aid, and amongst others to the *Athenians*. They thought it their interest to impair all wayes possible the interest of *Persia*, and concluding it not amisse to get some footing in *Egypt*, resolved upon sending three hundred ships, and prepared for the setting of them forward with all earnestnesse. *Artaxerxes* hearing on the other hand how things went in *Egypt*, determined to overmatch the revolters in provisions for the War, and for that end levied Forces throughout his Dominions, Rigged his Fleet, and omitted nothing requisite for an expedition of that moment.

The *Egyptians* revolt.

4. He thought first of going down himself, but being overruled by his friends sent *Achæmenides* his brother, according to *Ctesias*, but according to *Diodorus*, *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius*, and his great Uncle, with an Army of above 300000. saith *Diodorus*, or 400000 foot, and 80 ships, who marching as far as the River *Nile* there pitched his Tents, refreshed his Souldiers, and prepared all things for a battel. The *Egyptians* assisted by the *Libyans* expected the *Athenian* Fleet, which at length arrived, and got possession of the River. Presently after this a Land battel ensued, in which, though the *Persians* for a time prevailed by their multitudes, yet the *Athenians*, who were now acquainted with their manner of fighting, pressing sore upon that Wing with which they joyned, did such execution as put it to flight, at which all the rest out of fear betook them to their heels. Great slaughters were then made in the persute, the greatest number of the *Barbarians* fell, and the rest betook themselves to a Fort called *White-wall*, whither the *Athenians* persuing, took two parts of *Memphis*, and besieged them in the 3d division called by that name, of 400000 that came into *Egypt*, *Ctesias* writeth 100000 to have been slain, and with them their Captain, killed by the hands of *Inarus*, whose body was sent back to *Artaxerxes*. That *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius* was slain with many *Persians*, * *Herodotus* tells us by an anticipation of the story.

The *Persians* defeated.

** Lib. 7. cap. 82.*

5. *Artaxerxes* understanding what bad successe his affairs had in *Egypt*, and knowing the main blow to have been given from the *Athenians*, sent *Megabyzus* with a great summe of money to *Lacedæmon* to hire that State to make War upon them, and give them something to do at home, to divert them from the assistance of his Rebels. The *Lacedæmonians* would not be bribed to fall out with *Athens*, and refused to hearken to any thing else the Ambassador offered on his masters behalf, so that he recalled him home, and gave in charge to *Megabyzus* the son of that *Zopyrus* who recovered *Babylon* to *Darius*, to prepare for another expedition, with whom he also joyned *Artabazus*, making choise of them both out of respect to their great valour, and skill in Military matters.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 79. an. 3. Thucyd. ut supra.

They by the Spring having got together an Army of (above 300000 men, saith *Diodorus*, 200000 onely saith *Ctesias*) marched down into *Cilicia*, where, and in *Phœnicia* they rested their men, and caused the inhabitants of these places, together with the *Cyprians*, to provide a Navy, which being done, to the number of 300 ships, they furnished them with the ablest Souldiers, and all sorts of Weapons, and whatsoever was requisite for a Sea-fight, and in this preparation, together with the exercising, and training of their men, spent they almost all the Summer. In the mean while the *Athenians* laboured to storm the *White-wall* wherein the *Persians* were besieged, but they made such effectual resistance as they kept them out all this year. When Winter was over, *Megabyzus* and his Colleague led down their Army through *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, the Navy Coasting all along not far off; and at length came to *Memphis*, where the fear of them presently loosed the siege of their Coun-

Diodorus ad Olymp. 80. an. 1. Thucyd.

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trey-men, whom joyning to themselves they gave battel to the *Egyptians* and their Associates. Many fell on both sides, but most of the *Egyptians*; at length *Megabyzus* wounded *Inarus* in his Thigh, and put him to flight, who betook himself to *Byblus*, a Town situate in an Island of *Nile*, called *Prosopitis*, and with him such *Greeks* as had escaped the fight, after which the *Egyptians* returned into obedience, making their peace with *Megabyzus*. *Ctesias.*

Egypt recovered.

6. *Megabyzus* persuing them, besieged the place, which yet was so defended that they held it out a year and six moneths in despight of him. The *Athenian* Fleet lay in the River before the Town, which the *Persians* at length considering, and how it was possible by Ditches to drain the water, and derive that course thereof another way, set about it, and so drained the Chanel that the Island was now joyned to the Main, and the ships rested on dry Land. Now *Diodorus* saith, the *Egyptians* forsook their confederates, and returned to obedience, which the *Athenians* understanding, and how their ships by this stratageme of the Enemy were rendred useless, burnt them all, and nothing affrighted with so great a danger in which they were involved, called upon one another with exhortations not to commit any thing unworthy of their former noble atchievements, so that excelling those their Countrey-men if possible, who lost their lives at *Thermopylæ*, they resolved to fight. The *Persian* Commanders seeing their courage, and considering their own losses already great, having lost many thousands, though they had recovered the Island, yet gave them these terms to return with safety out of *Egypt*. Their number being something above 6000. they returned home by *Cyrene* above their expectations, having consumed six years in this War to no good purpose, *Inarus* taken and Crucified; *Artaxerxes* then recovered all *Egypt* except some fenny parts, near which *Amyrtæus* reigned, who by reason of the difficulty of the place, and the fiercenesse of the people, could not be reduced into order. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Died. Ibid. Ctesias.*

In the mean time, whilest the *Athenians* travelled homewards, came 50 ships more to their relief, which being utterly ignorant of what had passed, took up their harbour at *Mendesium*, one of the mouths of *Nile*. Here they were set upon by the *Persians* on Land, and the *Phœnicians* by Sea, and lost most of their Vessels, a few onely escaping home, and such was the end of this expedition of the *Athenians* with their associates into *Egypt*. *Thucyd. ibid.*

7. *Artaxerxes* in the seventh year of his reign made a decree in the behalf of the *Jews*, that whosoever of them would, might go up with *Ezra* to *Jerusalem* and inhabit it. He and his Counsellors contributed much Treasure, and gave them liberty to Collect what they could, and commanded his Treasurers beyond the River *Euphrates* to furnish him yearly with what he wanted, as far as 100 Talents of silver, 100 measures of Wheat, 100 Baths of Wine, 100 Baths of Oyl, and Salt without measure, for the sacrifices and other uses, according to the discretion of *Esra*. He commanded that all things should be done according to the mind and will of the God of heaven, lest his anger might break out against the Kingdom of him and his sons: the Priests and Levites he made free from all impositions, and gave power to *Esdras* to constitute Judges and Governours over the people, for the setlement of the Politie or Commonwealth. *Esra 7. 12.*

8. Now though here in this Edict be no expresse mention of repairing the Walls of *Jerusalem*, or of the Request of *Esra* in that behalf, yet is it probable enough that he would desire it, because of the often incursions of their Enemies, the *Samaritans*, and others, neither could their habitation in the Citie be secure, nor the work of the Temple go on with safety: and in what could all that Treasure be spent but in Fortifications? So that we may even conclude sufficient Licence and Authority to be included in this Decree, and that *Esra* began to build the Walls, but was either hindred by other occasions, or the negligence of the *Jews*, or (more probably) the molestations of their Enemies; who because the Licence was not expressed, took thence occasion to interrupt the work till thirteen years after it was renewed, and perfected by the procurement and industry of *Nehemiah*, who obtained a confirmation rather of the former Edict, than any new Decree; So though *Syrus* had first of all granted Licence for the rebuilding of the Temple, yet because the work was hindred by the Enemies of the *Jews*, there was need of another Edict granted out by *Darius*. As the decrees of these two Kings were in effect the same, so also those were onely put in execution afterwards by *Nehemiah*, because the execution of it, as to the rebuilding of the Walls, was either remitted by negligence, or by malice of the Borderers.

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9. If so, the beginning of the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, fitly may be taken hence, ending most probably in the death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Seventy weeks* saith the Angel, *are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy Citie, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousnesse, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment, to restore, and to rebuild* Jerusalem, *unto the* Messiah *the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: and the street shall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous times. And after 62 weeks shall* Messiah *be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the Citie and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the War desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many in one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even untill the consummation, and that determined shall be powred upon the desolate.* Thus the Oracle, in which is contained a Prophecy concerning the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, and the coming of Christ, who should bring unconceivable benefits along with him, and yet at length be put to death, not for himself, but others, and this should be all accomplished within 70 weeks of years, which contain 490. Lastly, it foretels, that for that horrible sin of the *Jews* in murdering the *Messias*, they should lose both Principality and Priest-hood, and be punished with perpetual Exile, and the utter and unreparable desolation of the Citie. *Daniel 9. 24.*

10. Many are the opinions concerning the beginning and end of these seventy weeks amongst Chronologers. Some begin them in the first year of the Empire of *Cyrus*, and end them in the Nativity of Christ. Others fetch their rise from the second of *Darius Nothus* (Successor to *Artaxerxes*) and conclude them with the destruction of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus Vespasian*. Some make them Commence from the 20 of *Artaxerxes* (when *Nehemiah* obtained another Decree of him) and to conclude with the passion and death of *Christ*; and others will have them begin in the 20th year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and end in the desolation of the Citie by the *Romans*. But many there are who rejecting all these, with best reason, fix the beginning of them in the seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and their conclusion in the death of *Christ*, in which termination most of the Learned, both ancient and modern, agree.

The beginning of *Daniel's* seventy weeks.

11. For if we seriously consider the account of time, and judge of it according to the best approved Authors, the three former opinions will be found either to exceed, or come short of the number. From the beginning of the *Persian* Empire to Christ's Nativity passed about 530 years. From the second of *Darius Nothus* indeed to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, near upon 490 years intervened; but concerning any Edict made by that Prince, there is not a word in Scripture. From the 20th of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the death and passion of Christ, are found 476. or 477. which come too short by thirteen of the 490. and betwixt the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, are found but about 450. which come far short of the true account; as also the Chronology of such as would fetch the rise of the 290 from the first of *Darius Medus*; and the second or sixth of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*. And although the Angel mentioneth the punishment:

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nishment to be inflicted on the *Jews*, yet doth he not comprise it in the 490 years, the end of which he signalizeth by the annointing and sufferings of the *Messias*, but assigneth half a week or of seven years for the accomplishment of those plagues, which in such a quantity of time were to be inflicted upon his murderers.

12. But if we reckon from this seventh of *Artaxerexes Longimanus* down by his Successors in the *Persian* Empire, the *Ptolomies* of *Ægypt*, after that of *Alexander* the Great, and then by the *Assamonæans* or *Jewish* Princes till we come at length to *Herod* the Great, and so to *Christ*, the just number of 290 we shall find accomplished at his death, with such small difference, as is pardonable to so many Authors handling so many things. Or if we reckon by the years of the *Olympiads* and the building of *Rome*, we shall find Christ to have died in the 490th year after the promulgation of this decree. The seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* fell in with the second and third of the 80th *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius*, and the 295, or 296th of the City, from which continuing to the second year of the 202d *Olympiad*, and the 785th of the City (in which Christ was crucified) 289 years or 290 are precisely found; so that farther we shall not enquire about these seventy weeks, having therein already satisfied what this design and work requireth, leaving the further enquiry thereof to the studious Reader, and the judgement to the Learned.

Vide Ludovic. Cappelli tabulas in Chron. Sacra.

13. In the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* the *Athenians* having recalled *Cimon*, whom for ten years they had banished by the *Ostracism*, sent him with a Fleet of 200 Sail against *Cyprus* subject to the *Persian*. Sixty of these ships he sent into *Ægypt* to the aid of *Amyrtæus*, who still was up in the marishes, and with the rest he set upon *Citium* a Town in the Island. At this time were *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* still Generals of the Forces of *Persia*: the former lay with 300 ships in the Road of *Cyprus*, and the other with a Land-Army of 300000 men quartered in *Cilicia*. *Cimon* when he had besieged *Citium* sent some messengers to *Delphos* to enquire something of the Oracle, but ere they got to their journeyes end, he died before the place, either of sickness, or by some wound, both which are affirmed. When he saw he should die, he counselled his men forthwith to depart, and conceal his death, and they doing so, it hapned that neither the Enemy, nor Associates knew any thing of it. At this time came back the Fleet sent into *Ægypt*, so that all joyning together again, they sailed to *Salamine* a Town in *Cyprus*, where they fought with the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, who were come to aid their friends of *Cyprus*. In a Sea-fight they sunk many of their Vessels, took 100 with the men in them, and pursued the rest as far as *Phœnicia*. The *Persians* with that part of the Fleet which yet remained, fled into *Cilicia*, where *Megabyzus* lay, but the *Athenians* followed them with speed, and landing fell upon them, and making great slaughter, amongst the rest slew *Anaxicrates* the Sea-Captain, who most gallantly fought whilst life lasted. Then the *Greeks* victorious got them to their ships and sailed home.

Thucyd. lib. 1. Diodorus ad Olymp. 82. an. 3.

Plutarch. in Cimone.

Cimon dieth in *Cyprus.*

14. The King understanding what losse he had received in *Cyprus*, called a Council to deliberate what should be done thereupon, at which, when all was considered, it was resolved that it was requisite to procure a Peace if possible. He wrote then to his Captains about *Cyprus*, to make peace upon as good terms as might be; according to which order *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* sent to *Athens* to treat about it. The *Athenians* not being averse from hearkning to them, both sides sent their Commissioners with full power to conclude; at which time also the *Argives* sent to *Artaxerxes* to demand of him whether the confederacy into which they entered with his Father remained, or they were accounted by him as Enemies; to which he answered, that he did not doubt of it's continuance, and as for his part he accounted no City more friendly to him than that of *Argos*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. ejusdem ann. 4.

Herod. lib. 7. cap. 101.

The Articles of Peace concluded with the *Athenians* were, That all the *Greek* Cities in *Asia* should be free: though in the Peace with *Lacedæmon* it was agreed they should be under the *Persian*; that the *Persian* Generals should not

Plutarch & Diodorus ut prius.

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not come within three dayes journy of the Sea, that none of the *Persian* Subjects should come with a long ship between the *Cyanian* and *Chelidonian* Islands. The *Athenians* on the other part took an Oath, not to invade the King's Territories. For the joy conceived about this Peace, they built an Altar of Peace, and graced *Callias* the principal of the Embassie with the greatest honours. *Cimon* was dead, and with him in a manner the true gallantry of the *Greekish Nation*; for none of their Captains after him did any thing to purpose against the *Barbarians* (as they termed all except themselves) but being drawn by their Orators to intestine differences, and none after him being left to take them up, they fell one upon another, and so afforded an happy occasion to the *Persian* to breath himself, and for a good time to effect his own security with the impairment of their interest. For though *Agesilaus* afterwards (as will be seen) passed over his Army into *Asia*, and made a short War with the *Persian* Commanders on the Sea-Coasts, yet without doing any thing of much consequence, was he recalled by Sedirions at home, leaving the *Persian* Officers behind him, who exacted impositions from the Cities confederate with *Greece*: whereas whilst *Cimon* was in command, not so much as a Carrier appeared in these quarters, nor an Horse came within 400 furlongs distant from the Sea.

Diod. ad Olymp. 84. 3.

15. In the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, *Nehemiah* his Cup-bearer the son of *Hachaliah* the *Jew* received a message, that the remnant of the Captivity left in *Judæa* were in great affliction and reproach: that the wall of *Jerusalem* was broken down, and the gates thereof burnt with fire. Because of this he wept, fasted, and mourned certain dayes, and praying to God to make the King favourable to him, obtained to be sent with ample commission to build up the walls. Now was no new Edict promulgated in behalf of the *Jews*, which had been done sufficiently thirteen years before by the consent of the Princes: onely letters were written to the Keeper of the King's Forest, to furnish *Nehemiah* with wood sufficient for the building of the gates and walls of the City, for the Temple, and an house for himself; and the Governours beyond the river were ordered to convey him over till he came into *Judah*. By virtue of this authority he came to *Jerusalem*, and notwithstanding the indignation and opposition of the Enemies of the *Jews*, by his great diligence and valour, finished the work of the wall in 52 dayes. From the new Moon of the moneth *Nisan*, which followed this repairing of the walls, to that new-Moon of the same moneth in which Christ suffered, passed 475 *Julian* years, which make up 490 *Lunar* years, consisting each of twelve *Lunar* moneths. This being not without a providence, that as from the going out of the decree to the death of *Christ* intervened 490 *Solar* years; so also from the rebuilding of the walls to his death, should intervene so many consisting each of twelve Lunary moneths. This gave occasion to many eminent men both Antient and Modern to follow the opinion of *Africanus*, in placing the beginning of the 70 weeks in the twentieth year of this King, and concluding them with the death of Christ: although he reckoneth from that time to the fifteenth of *Tiberius* 475 years; whereas there are to be accounted but 472; and Christ died not in the fifteenth year of his reign, but was then baptized.

Nehem. 1. 11, &c.

Nehemiah obtaineth leave to repair *Jerusalem.*

16. *Nehemiah* not thinking it sufficient to repair the walls whilst the frame of the State was out of frame, restored both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity thereof. Taking notice how all ranks of men, and especially the Priests were out of order, no certainly being of their Pedigrees; he caused to be sought for, and read, the Register of those who returned with *Zorubbabel*, from which whosoever could not prove his descent from some Priestly Family was cast off from the Priesthood. Twelve years stayed he at *Jerusalem*, governing with great moderation, and self-denial, and reforming abuses both in Religion and the State. The Rulers of the People dwelt at *Jerusalem*, the rest of the People cast lots to bring one of ten to dwell therein, for that it was little inhabited, and nine parts to dwell in other places, the People blessing all such as willingly offered themselves to dwell in *Jerusalem*. Then re-

Nehem. 7, &c.

turnd

SECT. 3. turnd he to the King, from whom he yet obtained leave to come again into *Judah*, where he seemeth to have lived untill the sixteenth year of *Darius Nothus*, in which the first part of the seventy weeks endeth, consisting of 49 years, *viz.* seven weeks, which are thought to be those of which the Angel spake, that *the streets should be built again and the wall, even in troublous times.*

17. After *Artaxerxes* had made peace with the *Gracians*, he fell into civil and intestine broils with *Megabyzus*, who had done him such service in *Ægypt* and elsewhere, if credit be given to *Ctesias*, from whom we have a relation of these transactions. This *Megabyzus*, after he had quieted *Ægypt*, and committed it to the Government of *Sartamas*, departed thence and went to the King, leading along with him *Inarus* and some *Greekish* prisoners, after he had obtained a promise from him that no punishment should be inflicted on them, though *Amytis* (or rather *Amestris*) the King's Mother had so layn upon him to deliver into her hands not onely them, but *Megabyzus* himself her son in Law, being inraged for the death of *Achæmenes*, who in the former Expedition was slain by the *Ionians*. For five years he endured her importunity without yielding, but at length being wearied and overcome, he gave up the *Greeks* and *Inarus* into her power. His body she nailed overthwart to three crosses, and beheaded 50 of the *Greeks*, which were all she could take. That *Inarus* was crucified *Thucydides* witnesseth, though nothing of this time or manner; and *Herodotus* reporteth, that his son *Thannyras* was restored by the *Persians* to the Principality of his Father.

Artaxerxes his civil War with *Megabyzus.*

Lib. 3. cap. 15.

18. *Megabyzus* being sorely moved with the usage of his prisoners, concealed his displeasure for a time; but getting leave to depart to his Government in *Syria*, whither he had privately sent some *Greeks* beforehand, broke out into open Rebellion, and got an Army together of 150000 men. Against him then was sent *Osiris* with 200000, who joyning battel with him wounded him in the thigh, but received two wounds from him, one in his thigh and the other in his shoulder, with the anguish whereof, and losse of blood, he fell from his Horse and was taken prisoner; and though his men well behaved themselves, yet were they overthrown, and *Megabyzus* getting the Victory used him very courteously, and sent him back to the King who desired it. After this was sent more forces, commanded by *Mexistenes* Nephew to *Artaxerxes*, by his Brother *Artarius* the Governour of *Babylon*. He also giving battel to *Megabyzus*, was wounded by him both in shoulder and head though not mortally, and being put to flight *Megabyzus* obtained another famous Victory.

19. Things going thus, *Artarius* dealt with him by Messengers, then *Artoxares* the Eunuch Governour of *Paphlagonia*, and *Amestris* also advised him yet to be reconciled to the King, afterwards *Artarius* himself, *Amytis* his wife, and *Artoxares* (now twenty years of age) were sent to him to perswade him to go to him: Being perswaded, after his return the King signified to him by a message, that he freely pardoned him all that was past, but going on a time a hunting with him, when a Lyon set upon the King, as he raised himself up *Megabyzus* slew him, whereat *Artaxerxes* was in a great rage that he had stricken him before he could touch him, and commanded his head to be cut off. But by the intercession of *Amestris*, *Amytis*, and others, his life was spared, yet was he banished to *Cyrta*, a Town upon the Red Sea, and *Artoxares* the Eunuch into *Armenia* for speaking freely to the King in his behalf.

Five years he then continued in exile, at the end of which feigning himself to be a *Pisagas* (which in the *Persian* tongue signifieth a Leper at whom no man might come) he fled away and came to his wife *Amytis* at his own house, by whom scarcely being known, he was by her means and the help of *Amestris* reconciled once again to the King, who made him eat at his own table as formerly, and so continued in great favour till his death at 76 years of age, for which the King was much troubled.

20. Whilst the *Gracians* were busie with one another in the *Peloponnesian* War, of which now several years had passed, *Artaxerxes* sent *Artaphernes* a *Persian*

Thucyd. l. 4.

Persian to the *Lacedæmonians*, with a Letter written in *Assyrian* Characters, SECT. 3.
in which, amongst other things, he desired to know plainly of them how they stood affected, for that he was utterly ignorant of what they thought, many Ambassadours coming, and no one of them agreeing with another, wherefore he desired, that if they intended to declare themselves, they would send some of their own back with *Artaphernes*. What was effected hereby is not known, but we find elsewhere, that the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a League with him in one main matter, contrary to that formerly made with the *Athenians*. For whereas it was provided first in the one, that the *Greekish* Cities in *Asia* should be left to their own liberty, in the other they were expresly left under his Dominion; such influence had then the Civil Wars of *Greece* upon the matters of *Asia*; perhaps because the *Lacedæmonians* were jealous of the *Ionians*, as the Colony of their adversaries the *Athenians*, who, if not now, entred into War with them, were much suspected, jealousies abounding betwixt them. Not long after this Message, *Artaxerxes* died, having reigned according to *Diodorus* fourty years compleat, according to *Sulpicius Severus* 41. but after *Ctesias* 42. amongst which opinions 'tis probable that he died in the beginning of the 42 year, after the death of *Xerxes*, in the second year of the 89 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3582. 421 years before the birth of Christ.

Diodorus. ad Olymp. 84. an. 3.

Artaxerxes dieth.

Ad Olymp. 88. an. 4.

21. *Artaxerxes* had onely one legitimate son by his wife *Damaspia*, named *Xerxes*, but 17 by Concubines, amongst which were *Sogdianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* succeeded his father, but was slain by *Secundianus*, as he was drunk, in the 45th day after his death. *Secundianus* then became King, but causing *Bagorazus* the Eunuch to be stoned for something done about his fathers body, incurred the displeasure of the Army, which because of this, and his brothers death, could never be taken off by all the gifts he bestowed on them. Being jealous of his brother *Ochus*, whom his father had made Governour of the *Hyrcanians*, he sent for him; but he refused to come, and so did several times, till he had got a considerable Army. For *Arberius* General of the horse revolted to him, then *Arxanes* the Viceroy of *Egypt*, and *Artoxares* coming out of *Armenia* caused him to take the *Cidaris* (or *Citaris*) a Cap peculiar to the Kings and Priests of *Persia*.

Ctesias in Excerptis Histor. Persic.

Ochus.

Ochus thus taking the Royal Ensign and Title of King, changed his name into *Darius*, and was also most commonly called *Darius Nothus*. By the advice of *Parysatis* his wife, he enticed by all means *Secundianus* to come to him, not sparing Oaths, or any other wayes to get him into his hands, and so far prevailed, that though *Menostanes* the Eunuch counselled *Secundianus* not to trust himself, yet he came to him, and being cast into ashes he died the same way as *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* formerly made away his Emulators, though some think this *Darius* to have been the first inventor of this punishment, and that it is falsly ascribed by *Valerius Maximus*, to the son of *Hystaspes*. Then reigned he alone by himself after his brother had reigned six moneths and twenty dayes. The three Eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athoüs* were in great power with him; but especially, he was advised by his wife, by whom he had two Children, *Amistris* a daughter, and *Arsaces* a son (called afterwards *Artaxerxes*) before he came to the Kingdom. Afterwards he begot of her another son, called *Cyrus*, from the Sun; and others to the number of 13. But all the rest died young, except these two and his fourth son named *Oxendras*.

Idem.

Jacobus Capellus.

His Children.

Ctesias. Scirs in his time.

22. After this *Arsites* his own brother, both by father and mother, and *Arsyphius* the son of *Megabyzus* revolted from him. *Artasyras* was sent with an Army against them, who falling upon *Arsyphius*, was worsted in two battels; but in the third overthrew him, and corrupting the *Greeks* that fought for him, drew away all his Company, except three *Milesians*; so that upon the Oath of *Artasyras* for his security, for that *Arsites* could not be found, he yielded himself to the King. He was minded to put him to death, but *Parysatis* his wife perswaded him to spare him for a time, for *Arsites* seeing him unpunished would also be moved to yield himself, and then he might

Sect. 3. rid himself of them both together, which accordingly came to passe, both being cast into the ashes; though *Darius* was hardly brought by her perswasions to make away his brother: now also *Pharnacyas*, who with *Secundianus* had slain *Xerxes*, was put to death, and *Menostanes* being apprehended shunned the same punishment by laying violent hands upon himself.

This Rebellion was followed by the revolt of *Pisuthnes* the Governour of *Lydia*, against whom *Tissaphernes* and others being sent, he met them, having in his Army *Lycon* the *Athenian*, with such *Greeks* as he had brought with him, who being corrupted by the Kings Captains revolted from him, so that with fair words he was drawn in, and carried to the King, who cast him into the ashes, and gave his Government to *Tissaphernes*, and the Cities with the regions adjoyning to *Lycon* for a reward of his treachery. After this followed the treason of *Artoxares* in great power with *Darius*, who conspired about killing him, and transferring the Kingdom to himself. For this purpose being an Eunuch, he caused his wife to make him a beard, that he might seem no other than a perfect man; but the matter being revealed by her, he was delivered up into the hands of *Parasytis*, who put him to death.

23. *Arsaces* (afterwards called *Artaxerxes*) the eldest son of *Darius*, married *Statira*, the daughter of *Idarnes*, a man of prime rank amongst the *Persians*; and *Terituchmes* the son of *Idarnes*, who after his death succeeded in his Government, married *Amistris* daughter to the King. She had a sister named *Roxana*, who being very beautifull, and well skilled in shooting, *Terituchmes* fell in love with her, and having to do with her detested his wife, insomuch as he resolved to murder her by the help of 300 men, with whom he practised to revolt. Whilest he thought hereof, one *Udiastes*, a man in great power about him, being promised great matters if he could deliver the Kings daughter from so great a danger, slew him; but the son of this *Udiastes*, who was Armour-bearer to *Terituchmes*, and was not present at his death, after he had notice thereof cursed his father, and seizing upon the Citie *Zaris* delivered it up to *Terituchmes* his son. Then did *Paysatis* bury alive the Mother, Brethren, and Sisters of *Terituchmes*, and commanded *Roxana* to be cut in pieces alive. *Darius* would have had her to have made away *Statira* his daughter-in-law together with the rest; but through the importunity of *Arsaces* her husband, she spared her; of which *Darius* told her, that afterwards she would sorely repent, as it came to passe.

From the second year of this King, * *Sulpicius Severus*, and * many learned men with him, count the beginning of the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, ending them with the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because the number of years do agree, and the Angel maketh mention of that desolation; though nothing be spoken in any place concerning any going out of a Decree during the reign of this Prince, from which those weeks must needs have commenced. They must needs allow the work now to have been carried on by the sollicitation of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, which had been interrupted for 115 years, ever since the second year of the return of *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, at which time they began to build. But now at this time, and before this, lived *Malachias* the last of all the Prophets, who exhorts not the people to the building of the Temple as the others did, which is an evidence of the finishing of it before; but reprehends those corruptions which * *Nehemiah* in his second Government had observed amongst the *Jews*, viz. marriages with strangers, unjust detention of Tithes, and corruption of Divine worship. And because the succession of Prophets was no more to be expected; in the later end of his Prophecie he exhorts the people to keep the Law of *Moses*, untill such time as the great Prophet the *Messias* should be revealed, before whom *John Baptist* was to come, in the spirit and power of *Elias*. The ending of the Canon of holy Scripture is by *Eusebius* placed in the 32th year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. After these Prophets the *Hebrews* held the men of the great Synagogue to have succeeded; but the later *Jews* reckon the three last Prophets amongst them, and *Esra* as the President of the Council.

* *Hist. sacr. lib. 2.*
* *Josephus Scaliger, Usher, Livelaus, Junius.*
* *Cap. ult.*

24. Against

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24. Against this *Darius* the *Medes* rebelled, but were after some time reduced again into obedience. At this time the States of *Greece* being plunged deep in the *Peloponnesian* War, he made his advantage thereof as much as he could, siding with the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, who did him most hurt in *Asia*, both by their great skill and practice in Navigation, and being allied to the *Ionians*, whom as their Colonies they helped against him; so that much entercourse, and great transactions passed betwixt *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, and those of *Sparta*, which are involved in the affairs of *Greece*. In the 17th year of his reign he sent his son *Cyrus* (born since he came to the Government) down to the Sea-side as *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant, with a kind of power over the other his Lieutenants there, and Captain General of all the forces which were wont to muster at the plains of *Castolus*: giving him in charge to assist the *Lacedæmonians* in the War against the *Athenians*, and by his help did they recover to the hopes of their former fortune. When he had continued in his charge a year or two, he grew so high that he killed his two Cousin Germans, *Autobesaces* and *Mitreus*, because they came not to him with their hands folded under their Clothes, which Ceremony was onely observed in the presence of a King. Their Parents of this complaining highly to his father, and alleging how unjust it was to connive at such practices, he sent for him to come to him, alleging he was not well, lying then incamped in the Countrey of the *Medes*, against the *Cadusians*, bordering thereupon, who had revolted.

Xenoph. Hellenic. 1.

Idem ibid. & Exped. Cyri lib. 1.
Diodorus ad Olymp. 93. an. 1. ad Olymp 94 an. 2.
Justin. lib. 5.

Cyrus for his misdemeanors sent for.

25. Leaving the command of the Cities, with all his Treasure, and the assignment of his Tributes to *Lysander* the *Spartan*, he went up, taking along with him *Tissaphernes* as his friend, with 300 *Greeks*, under the leading of *Xenias* the *Parrhasian*. His father lived not long after he came to him, whom in his sickness *Parasytis* his wife having ruled him all his life, loving *Cyrus* above her eldest son, urged him to leave him his Successor, as *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* did *Xerxes*, for that he was born to him being a King, and the other but a private person. But he thinking it not just refused to do it, but left him those Cities over which he had made him Governour, and his Kingdom to *Arsaces*, or *Artaxerxes* his eldest son, and so died after he had reigned 19 years, in the fourth of the 93th *Olympiad*, the 27th of the *Peloponnesian* War now ending. A. M. 3600. 403 years before the birth of Christ.

Xenoph. ibid.

A.M. 3600. *Ol. 93. an. 4. V.C. 349.*

Ochus dieth.

Arsaces then, by the pleasure of his father, or his interest in the great ones, obtained the Kingdom, and changed his name into *Artaxerxes*, being for the excellency of his memory surnamed *Mnemon*. When he had made sure his possession, his wife *Statira* thinking it then time to revenge the death of her brother, and the rest of her kindred, caused *Udiastes*, who slew *Teritachmes*, to have his tongue drawn backwards through his neck, and cut off, and got his son *Mitridates*, who had delivered the Citie *Zaris* into the hands of *Teritachmes* his son, to succeed in his Government. Not long after his fathers death *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, there to be initiated by the *Persian* Priests in the royal mysteries. There was a Temple dedicated to some warlike Goddesse, thought to be *Diana*, whose Temple he that was to be initiated entring must put off his own Clothes, and put upon him a Garment worn by *Cyrus* the Great, before he came to the Empire; there was he to eat such a quantity of Figs, to drink Milk mingled with Vinegar, and perhaps used some other unknown Ceremonies. Whilest the King was about these things came *Tissaphernes* unto him, and with him a Certain Priest, who having been appointed the instructer of his brother *Cyrus* had taught him the Magical Arts. He accusing him of treasonable practices, had more credit given to him, because *Cyrus* had resolved to set upon the King in the Temple, and kill him as he should put off his Clothes; some say he was apprehended upon this accusation, others, that he came indeed into the Temple, and being hid by the Priest, was discovered and taken.

Artaxerxes Mnemon succeedeth. Cicilius.

Plutarch. in Artaxerx.

Cyrus attempting his brothers death.

26. The King was minded to put him to death, and out of reverence to his Family caused him to be bound in golden chains, but their mother took him

Idem & Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri lib. 1.

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in her arms, wrapped him in her hair, laid her neck to his, and with great lamentations and intreaties prevailed for his pardon, and sent him back again into his former Province of *Lydia*, and the Sea-coasts. When he came there, not at all contented with this command, nor so much as remembering that he was saved by his mother's intercession, as that he was taken and bound by his brothers, burned more than ever with a desire of reigning. And to this purpose as secretly as he could gathered forces of the *Greeks*; and under one pretence or other, laid out for forein aid both far and near, hoping to surprise his brother, The *Ionian* Cities given up now into the hands of *Tissaphernes* revolted to him, all except *Miletus*, the Inhabitants of which he finding to practise the same, killed some, and drove away the rest, who flying to *Cyrus*, he besieged the City both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore them. Then wrote he submissively to his brother, desiring he might have the Government of those Cities rather than *Tissaphernes*, and herein he was furthered by his Mother, who lying as it were his Lieger at Court, made the best of all things. Hence was *Artaxerxes* deluded, suspecting nothing, but accounting these forces to be kept together against *Tissaphernes*, betwixt whom and *Cyrus* he little regarded though there were a War, and the rather, because *Cyrus* sent him the Tributes due from the Cities, which *Tissaphernes* had formerly kept in his hands.

Idem & Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri, lib. 1.

Is pardoned but

Practiseth new matters.

27. *Clearchus* at this time being banished from *Lacedæmon*, came to *Cyrus*, who after conference with him admired the man, and gave him 10000 *Daricks*, wherewith he levied an Army, and passing out of *Cherronesus* warred upon the *Thracians* that inhabited above the *Hellespont*, thereby greatly promoting the affairs of the *Greek* Cities, insomuch that they willingly furnished him with money to maintain his Forces which were onely raised for *Cyrus*, though thus employed for a cover to the design, and till he could be in a readinesse. There was also one *Aristippus* a *Thessalian* a guest of *Cyrus*, who being overpowered by his Country-men of the contrary faction, came to him, and requested him to spare him 2000 Mercenaries and three monerhs pay, alleging that thereby he should be able to overcome his adversaries. He granted his request, and doubled both the number of men and sum of money, desiring him withall, not to agree with his adversaries till they two had had conference together; and so this Army in *Thessalie* (though not discovered) was kept on foot and maintained for him. Further he sent to *Proxenus* the *Bœotian*, his friend, to bring unto him as many men as he might, under pretence of warring against the *Pisidians*, who spoiled his Country; and *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, with *Socrates* the *Achæan*, who likewise were both his Guests, to come to him with as many men as they could make, under colour, together with the banished *Milesians*, of making Warre upon *Tissaphernes*.

Idem ibid.

28. When he was now resolved to march up into the higher Provinces against his brother, and for that purpose must gather all his Forces together, he gave out, that his purpose was to chace the *Pisidians* wholly out of the Country, and so, as for that intent, assembled both his *Barbarian* and *Grecian* Troups. He commanded *Clearchus* with the Army he led to come unto him, *Aristippus* to compound with his adversaries, and send him his Forces, and *Xenias* the *Arcadian* (whom he had appointed General of the Mercenaries that lay in Garrison in the Cities) leaving onely so many as should be necessary to keep the Cittadels, gathered those Forces together, and brought them to *Sardis*, being about 4000 armed Foot. He sent for those that lay before *Miletus*, and invited the banished men to his service, promising, if his affairs succeeded, not to give over till he had restored them, which they gladly accepted of. *Proxenus* came with 1500 heavy-armed and 500 light-armed foot. *Sophanetus* the *Stymphalian* brought 1000 armed, *Socrates* the *Achæan* about 500, *Pasion* the *Megarean* 300, and as many Peltasts or Targetiers.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 94. ann. 4.

29. He had before this sent to *Lacedæmon*, desiring of that State, that as he had formerly aided them against the *Athenians*, so they would not refuse now

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now in his need to do the same for him: boasting in his letters, that if they sent him Foot-men, he would provide for them Horses, if Horse-men, Chariots, if they had before of their own certain pieces of ground, he would give them whole Villages, and that he would not count but measure their pay to them. They counting it but just and agreeable enough to their own interest (not considering against whom they ingaged) decreed aid to be sent to him, thinking hereby if he overcame to ingratiate themselves with him; but if *Artaxerxes* should get the better, to excuse themselves well enough, as having decreed nothing against him absolutely. The *Ephori* then presently wrote to their Admiral, to do whatsoever he should command, who accordingly went to *Ephesus* and joyned himself with *Tamos* the *Ægyptian* and Admiral to *Cyrus*, with whom he sailed into *Cilicia*, and there prevailed that *Syennesis* the Prince of that Country hindred not *Cyrus* as he passed by Land against his brother. *Tissaphernes* conceiving that these preparations were greater than fitted the War against the *Pisidians*, with a Party of 500 Horse hasted to the King with all possible speed, who as soon as by him he had the intelligence, made contrary preparations. *Cyrus* after he had committed the care of *Lydia* to some *Persians* of his kndred, and given the charge of *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and the parts adjacent to *Tamos* of *Memphis* his faithful friend, he presently set forwards toward *Cilicia* and *Pisidia*, it being bruted up and down that some of these people had revolted. From *Sardis* he marched through *Lydia*, and after four encampings, came 112 miles and an half to *Colosse*, a great, rich, and well inhabited City, where he stayed seven dayes, and *Menon* the *Thessalian* came to him with 1000 armed Foot, and 500 *Dolopian*, *Ænian*, and *Olynthians* Peltasts. From thence he marched in three encampings 75 miles and an half to *Celæne* a great and rich City of *Phrygia*, where he rested thirty daies, & *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* came to him with 1000 armed Foot, and 800 *Thracian* Peltasts, and 200 *Cretian* Archers; and *Sosias* the *Syracusian* brought 1000 armed Foot, and *Sophænetus* the *Arcadian* the same number. Here he also mustred the *Greeks*, and found them to be 11000 Armed, and about 200 Peltasts or Targetiers.

Plutarch in Artaxerxe.

Justin. lib. 5.

Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri, lib. 1.

Diodorus.

Xenoph. ibid.

Cyrus marcheth up against his brother.

30. From *Celæne* he marched in two encampings ten Parasangs, or thirty seven miles and an half, and came to *Peltæ*, where he stayed three dayes; and thence in two encampings 45 miles, and arrived at the Market of the *Ceramanians*, a City full of People, and the last in the Country of *Mysia*: and hence in three encampings he marched 30 Parasangs 112 miles, and reached to the Plain of *Cayster*, a City well peopled, where he rested his Army five dayes. Here the Army made much adoe for pay, being more than three moneths behind, which he was enabled to pay them, with a moneth over, by the coming of *Epiaxia* wife to *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*, who brought good store of treasure with her. From thence in four encampings he proceeded 75 miles as far a *Tyriæum*, a City full of people, and hence in three encampings 75 miles and arrived at *Iconium* the last City of *Phrygia*. He stayed here three dayes, and then marched in five encampings through *Lycaonia* 112 miles, which Country he suffered the *Greeks* to spoil as Enemy. Now he sent away the *Cilician* Queen by the neareſt way into her own Country, and with her *Menon* the *Thessalian* and his Regiment, to make way for his passage into that Country.

31. *Cyrus* with the rest marched through *Cappadocia* 25 Parasangs, or 93 miles and an half in four dayes, and came to *Dana* a great and wealthy City, where he put to death two *Persians* for treason against himself. From hence attempt was made to break into *Cilicia*, but the Streights were so narrow, that one Chariot could but passe at once, and withall exceeding steep, so that if resistance was made it was impossible, which *Syennesis* the King was said to be ready to make at the height of the Streights, and the Army, for that reason staid in the Plain. But the next day word was brought that he had quitted the passage, after he perceived *Menon*'s Troops to be got into *Cilicia* beyond the Mountains, and heard how a Fleet of *Lacedæmonian* Gallies were with those of *Cyrus*, under sail to passe from *Ionia* thither, under conduct of *Tamos*.

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Tamon. Then ascended he the Mountain without any opposition, from which descending, in four encampings he marched 93 miles and an half, and came to *Tarsus* and a great rich City of *Cilicia*, where was the Palace of *Syennesis*, and through which runneth *Cydnus*, a River two hundred foot in bredth.

32. The Inhabitants thereof, except such as bought and sold, fled with their King to the tops of the Mountains, leaving the City to be sacked with the Palace by the Soldiers, inraged for the losse of 100 of their Companions of *Menon*'s Regiment. *Cyrus* sent for the King to come to him, who refused it, till overcome by the perswasions of his wife, and then he gave him great sums of money to uphold his Army, and received back such gifts as were accounted most honourable amongst Kings, as an Horse with a golden bit, a Chain of gold, Bracelets, a sword decked with gold, a *Persian* Garment, and Freedom of his Land from spoil; as also restitution of Slaves taken in spoil by the Soldiers wheresoever they could be found. Here the soldiers now imagining that they were lead against the King flatly refused to go any farther, it being, as they said, no part of their agreement. *Clearchus* went about to force his men to proceed, but they, as soon as he offered to go forwards, cast stones at him and at his carriage beasts, whereby he was forced to betake himself to a fair and politick way, and to effect it (which with trouble enough he did) *Cyrus* gave out that he went against *Abrocamas* an Enemy of his, who lay upon the River *Euphrates* about twelve encampings from thence, that if he found him there, he would be revenged on him, and if he fled away they should deliberate what to do. Hereupon, though they suspected the matter, yet they resolved to hold on, and upon demanding more pay, he promised them half as much more as formerly they had: *viz.* a *Darick* and an half instead of one *Darick* to every Soldier. All this while no man heard in publick they were led against the King.

33. From *Tarsus* in five encampings he marched about 83 miles to *Issos*, the last City of *Cilicia*, well peopled, large, and rich, and situated upon the Sea, where he remained three dayes. Hither out of *Peloponnesus* came to *Cyrus* 35 *Lacedæmonian* ships, under the command of *Pythagoras*, together with *Tamos*, who brought from *Ephesus* 25 of *Cyrus* his ships, wherewith he had besieged *Miletus*, and *Cherisophus* the *Lacedæmonian* whom *Cyrus* had sent for, and who brought with him 700 armed Foot. Whilst the Army lay here, the *Gracian* Mercenaries that served *Abrocamus*, viz. 400 armed Foot revolted and came to *Cyrus*. From hence in one encamping he came about eighteen miles to the Streights of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, defended with a wall on each side, betwixt which ran the River *Kersos* 100 foot broad. The distance betwixt the walls was three furlongs, admitting no passage by force, the neither way toward the Sea being narrow and fenced with strong walls, and the upper nothing but inaccessible Rocks, in either wall there being set a gate. This passage *Cyrus* suspecting to be stopped by *Abrocamas*, sent for his ships to transport so many men as might force it: but he upon hearing of *Cyrus* his coming into *Cilicia*, returned with all speed out of *Phœnicia* to the King, though reported to have an Army of 300000 men.

34. From the Streights he marched in one encamping eighteen miles, and upwards, and came to *Myriandrum* a City of *Syria*, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*, upon the Sea, being a place of traffick, where many ships of burthen then rode in the Haven. Here he remained seven dayes, and *Xenias* the *Arcadian* Collonel, with *Pasion* of *Megara* shipping themselves sailed homewards, discontented, as was thought, because *Cyrus* suffered *Clearchus* to keep their Soldiers, which refusing to go any further against the King, removed into his Camp, with intent to return into *Greece*. From thence in four encampings he marched 75 miles to the River *Chalos*, 100 foot broad, which was full of great tame Fish, which the *Syrians* counted gods, and therefore suffered them not to be harmed no more than Pigeons. The Villages wherein they encamped belonged to *Parisatis*, being assigned her for her maintenance. Thence in eight encampings he marched 168 miles to the River *Euphrates*,

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Euphrates, whose breadth was 3 furlongs, and upon which was built the great and rich Citie *Thapsacus*, where the Army remained 5 dayes.

35. Here it was openly declared to the *Greeks*, that they were led against the King, for which they were very angry with their Officers, who, they said they were sure, knew it before, for not acquainting them sooner with the design; and refused to stir one foot forwarder, except upon promise of as much as their Countrey-men had, who formerly waited on *Cyrus* to his father. He promised to give every man five pounds of silver (of the value of 14. *l.* 11. *s.* 8. *d.* sterling) as soon as they came to *Babylon*, and to continue their whole pay, till they should be sent back into *Ionia*, to which conditions most of them yielded, and *Menon* prevailing with his Regiment to passe over the River first, whilest the other were yet in consultation, thereby to gain greater favour with *Cyrus*, all the Army followed, not a man being wet above the breasts in wading over; so that this passage seemed to be miraculous, and to portend more good to *Cyrus* than followed, the River giving way to him, which they of *Thapsacus* reported never to have been passed over on foot before, but onely with shipping, which *Abrocamus* had burnt to hinder him in the passage. Thence in nine encampings he marched fifty parasangs, or 187 miles and upwards through *Syria*, and came to the River *Araxes*. Here they stayed three dayes, and made provision of victuals, and then departing thence, marched through the Wildernesse of *Arabia*, 130 miles in five encampings, having *Euphrates* on the right hand, and proceeding through this Countrey came to the River *Masca*, where they stayed three dayes in making provision for the army; whence in 13 encampings they marched through the desart 90 parasangs, or 337 miles and an half, and came to the Straights.

Myã.

36. Proceeding in their journey hence, they might discover the footings, and dung of horses; for a party had been sent of about 2000. which going before the Kings Camp, burnt up the fodder, and made havock of all things profitable for use. Now came *Orontes* a *Persian* to *Cyrus*, whom having fought to betray him in times past, and pardoned by him, attempted now to do the like, but was discovered, and put to death. Marching still forward they proceeded in three encampings 45 miles through the Countrey of *Babylon*. In the third encamping at midnight *Cyrus* set his men in order, thinking his brother to be near, and would give him battel the next morning. The *Grecians* were in number 10400 Armed, and 2400 Targetiers, the *Barbarians* with *Cyrus* were ten Myriads (or 100000) besides about 200 sythed Chariots. From hence in order of battel he marched some twelve miles, thinking the King would have fought that day, because at the end of this half dayes journey he found a Trench cast five fathoms broad, and three deep, running up 45 miles into the Countrey, as far as the Wall of *Media*, where the four Chanels begin that derived out of the River *Tigris*, fall into *Euphrates*. This Trench the King caused to be made after he heard that *Cyrus* was stirring, who now passing it without any disturbance, he and all his Army were strongly perswaded that the King determined not to fight; whence he had not so great care of his March the next day, and the third day after he advanced sitting in his Chariot: the most of his Army marched confusedly, many of the Souldiers having their Arms laid upon the wains, and carriage of beasts.

37. Now it was time, the Market was full, and the place of encamping where they should quarter was at hand, when *Patagyas* a *Persian*, one of the faithfullest of *Cyrus* his Train was seen to come upon the spur, his horse dropping with sweat, crying out in the *Persian* and *Greek* language that the King was hard by, with an huge Army, ready and prepared for fight. This news made a great confusion, all thinking they should be charged in that disorder, *Cyrus* leaping from his Chariot, put on his Curace, and mounting on horseback, took his Darts in his hand, and commanded the rest to Arm, and every man to take his place. *Clearchus* stood in the point of the right Wing, by the River *Euphrates*, *Menon* and his Regiment held the point of the left, and *Cyrus* himself the midst with 600 horse-men Armed with great Curaces, and Tases, and all of them with Casks, except he alone, who stood waiting the fight

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fight with his head unarmed, according to the custom of *Persia*. The King had with him 90 Myriads (or 900000) and 150 Chariots, having on both sides sythes prominent, and bearing straight forth from the Axle-trees, and some from the former seat of the Chariot with their points turned toward the ground, that they might cut in pieces whatsoever they met and struck upon: His purpose was to send them with high speed against the Ranks of the *Grecians*, to break and rent them asunder.

38. The Kings Army came on an equal and slow pace, in great silence, quietnesse, and order, which amased, and discouraged *Cyrus*, and the *Grecians*, little expecting any such thing. *Cyrus* now galloping up to the right Wing, cried out to *Clearchus* to lead the *Grecians* against the middest of the Enemies battel, because the King was there, saying, that if he were overcome, there would be no more for them to do. *Clearchus* seeing the middest of the battel, and hearing from him that the King, by reason of his multitudes which stretched out the body, was far without the point of the left Wing of the *Grecian* Phalang, would not for all that draw away the right Wing from the River, fearing to be confronted, and incompassed on both sides: but answered, he would have a care that all things should go well. The word was betrayed before they joyned, so that they were forced to change it to *Jupiter the saviour, and victory*, after the giving of which the *Grecians* singing the *Paan*, and running on with a shout, the *Barbarians*, before they came within an Arrows shot turned their horses and fled, the other following the Chace with all speed, and crying to one another not to haste too much, but to follow in good order. The Chariots void of Guides were carried, some upon the Enemies themselves, some upon the *Grecians*, who upon a forecast opened, and let them passe through, onely some were overthrown by fear, who notwithstanding were reported to have had no harm, nor yet any other *Grecian* in this whole fight, one onely excepted, who was strucken with an Arrow in the left side.

Artaxerxes and *Cyrus* joyn battel.

39. *Cyrus* beholding this fight much rejoyced, and was now worshipped as King by those about him; notwithstanding he followed not the Chase, but keeping by him his 600 horse, observed what the King would do, who being in the midst of his Phalang, without the point of *Cyrus* his left Wing, and seeing no man to fight against him on the contrary part, wound, and turned his battel to the left hand, to overwing, and encompasse in his Enemies. *Cyrus* perceiving it, and fearing, lest coming on the backs of the *Grecians* he should cut them in pieces, galloped forth, and met him in front, and charging with his 600. overcame, and put to flight the 6000 that were ordered before him, and with his own hands (as was reported) slew *Ariageres*, one of his Generals. His 600 pursuing hotly were dispersed, except a few that were left with him, for the most part such as usually sat at his Table, with which being accompanied, he espied the King, and the Troup about him, and after he had said *I see the man*, flew out directly against him, struck him on the breast, and wounded him through the Curace, as *Ctesias* of *Gnidus* the Kings Physician related, who reported also that he cured the Wound. Whilest *Cyrus* thus fought, one with a Dart hit him a sore blow under the eye.

Cyrus worshipped as King.

40. The King and *Cyrus* with their followers in defence of either of them thus coping together, *Cyrus* was slain by the King, as his flatterers said, as others by a Carian, though *Ctesias* writeth his death to have hapned after the King had withdrawn himself to an Hill, being first wounded besides the eye, and then dispatched by a thrust into his left Leg, by a Caunian of a base condition, who with other of his Companions had thrust himself, it being now dark, in amongst his followers. Here he died in the battel of *Cunaxa* a place distant from *Babylon* 500 furlongs, or 60 odd miles, a man in the opinion of such as had acquaintance with him, of a most Kingly disposition, and most worthy a Crown of all the *Persians* that succeeded *Cyrus* the Great. *Clearchus* before the fight advised him to keep himself behind the Army, and not to venture into danger, to whom he replied as one who wished him to carry himself unworthy a Kingdom whilest he fought for one. In the opinion of *Plutarch*

Xenoph. ut supra & Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

Cyrus slain.

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tarch, not so much his rashnesse (though inexcusable) as the lazinesse, not to say cowardise, of *Clearchus* is to be condemned, who having marched so many miles for no other purpose than to place him in the Throne, not so much endeavoured his safety and Conquest, as his own ease and security: The event of the fight shewed, that none of those about the King would have endured the least brunt from the *Grecians*, and that after they had been put to flight, and he with them, or else killed in the place, the victory and Kingdom must have remained to *Cyrus*. But this advantage was lost by *Clearchus*, who so placed his men that *Artaxerxes* could not have desired a more convenient order, on his part, they being at greatest distance from him and his Army, insomuch that he neither perceived himself overcome by them, and *Cyrus* was sooner slain than they could reap any fruit of their victory. This battel was fought about the beginning of the fourth year of the 95 *Olympiad*, *Epaenetus* (or *Xenaenetus*) being Archon at *Athens*, in the third ending, or fourth beginning of *Artaxerxes*.

A.M. 3609. *V. C.* 353. *Xenoph. & Plutarch. ut prius & in Pericle.*

41. *Artaxerxes* commanded the head, and right hand of *Cyrus* to be cut off, and following the Chace, chanced upon his Camp, which they plundred, and took thence his *Phocaan* Concubine, called the *wise* and *beautifull*, whose name in her own Countrey was *Mitto*, but by *Cyrus* called *Aspasia*, whom the King most loved, and kept amongst his 360 Concubines. Now were he and the *Grecians* near four miles asunder; these last giving Chace to such Enemies as stood before them, as if they had been Conquerours of the whole Army; the other rifling the Camp of the *Grecians*, as if his Army had gained the victory. After this, both parties rallied again for a new engagement, but the *Barbarians* received not the *Grecians*, but fled with greater speed than before. Having persued them some way, the *Grecians* made an *Holt*, and rested themselves, wondring they saw not *Cyrus*, being ignorant what was befallen him. Then after some consultation what was to be done they returned to the Camp about Supper time, where they found the most of their other goods rifled, and especially the meat and drink, and the 400 Wains loaden with Meal and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepared to relieve them, in case the Army should at any time be driven to want. The most of them therefore were supperlesse, having also wanted their Dinner that day: for that the King came in sight before they could refresh themselves. Thus this day ended, and together with the story the first book of the *Ascent of Cyrus* commonly ascribed to *Xenophon* as the Author.

The *Grecians* having the better in the battel, are ignorant of *Cyrus* his death.

42. The *Grecians* hearing of *Cyrus* his death were much troubled, and offered *Arianus* (a *Persian*, who followed *Cyrus*, and commanded his left Wing) to place him in the Throne; but he refused it, for that, as he said, there were many *Persians* in all respects better than he, who would never endure that he should be King. *Artaxerxes* sent a Message to them to lay down their Arms, and to repair to his Gate, there to submit themselves to his mercy. The Coronels were divided in their opinions concerning it, and gave several answers according to their apprehensions, but *Clearchus*, for all a doubtfull one, *viz.* that if they might be accounted as his friends, they should be better friends having Arms, than delivering them up to any man; if no remedy there was but War, they should better make War with Arms, than without, after they had rendred them up. And whereas he offered them Truce, as long as they abode in the same place, but threatned War if they stirred thence, he replied onely, that they would expect accordingly. Then resolved he, after he knew *Arieus* his answer, and how he invited them to march back again into *Ionia*, for that the sacrifice killed about marching against the King was not prospitious, to joyn the Army unto his, which accordingly he did, *Arieus*, and the Officers of the *Grecians* taking an Oath to be friends, confederates, and not to betray one another. The League was entred into on this manner: They killed a Boar, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram; and the *Grecians* dipped the point of a sword, the *Barbarians* of a Spear in the bloud of these beasts, being powred out into the hollowesse of a Target.

Xenoph. An. lib. 2.

They joyn with *Arieus*, and retreat.

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43. The length of the journy from *Ephesus* in *Ionia* to the place of the battel was 93 encampings, 535 parasangs, 16030 furlongs, 2000 miles and above, which though very long, yet resolved they to take another and longer way through *Paphlagonia*, because the former was destitute of provisions. Then set they forward that way, marching more slowly for the better gathering of necessaries, and after the King had somewhat recovered of his wound, he pursued them, and pitched his Tents hard by theirs; but with the noise of them his men were so affrighted, that some of the neareſt to them removed their Tents, and on the next day setting their men in order for battel, he who before had made such large demands, sent and offered them truce, and covenanted to let them have free passage through his Territories till they came to the Sea, and afforded them provisions for their money, which was also granted to all the Mercenaries who served under *Arians* (or *Ariæus*) and *Clearchus*. Then proceeded the *Greeks* on their journy, and the King returned to *Babylon*, where rewarding those that had best deserved on him in the last battel, he judged the service of *Tissaphernes* to have been most eminent, therefore as a reward (amongst several other noble gifts) he gave him his own daughter to wife, and the government of such places as formerly had been under *Cyrus*, binding him to him thereby so, as he proved ever most faithful to him.

Xenoph. Ascens. Cyri, lib. 2. *&* *Diodorus ad ann.* 4. *Olymp.* 94.

The King pursueth and is forced to dismisse them.

44. *Tissaphernes* seeing how the King was incensed against the *Græcians*, promised him to destroy them all, if he were but furnished with Forces to that purpose, and could but withdraw *Arians* from them, by whom he doubted not but they might easily be betraied. The King accepting his offer, gave him leave to chuse of the most valiant of his Army as many as he would, with which he followed after, and incamping near to them, sent for *Clearchus* and the other *Coronels* to come to him, pretending he had somewhat for their good to say to them. They with the Captains of the several Companies going to him, with 200 more (who went to buy Victuals) he secured the Coronels called into his Tent, and killed the Captains at the door with the other 200, of which one chanced to escape with the news thereof to the Camp. The Coronels were sent to the King, who put them all to death except *Menon*. The Soldiers at first greatly terrified, having now no body left to command or lead them, by the advice of *Xenophon* made choice of other Leaders, amongst whom *Cheirisophus* was chief, and he himself was one, being elected into the place of *Proxenus*, who being his ancient friend and guest sent for him, and promised him if he would come, to make *Cyrus* his friend, who, as he esteemed him, would be more to be prized than his own Country. He communicated the matter to *Socrates* the Philosopher and his Master, who, for that *Cyrus* his interest seemed crosse to that of the City of *Athens*, seeming to stand with the *Lacedæmonians*, advised him to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*. Thither he went, and enquired how he might best accomplish his journy, to which was answered, that he must sacrifize to those gods to whom he ought to sacrifize, which he reporting again to *Socrates*, he blamed him for so propounding his question, alleging he ought to have asked whether he should travel or no, and not as one resolved already to do it; but seeing it was so, he must do as he was bidden, and accordingly he followed *Cyrus* to *Sardis*, where *Proxenus* presented him to him.

Tissaphernes intrappeth their officers.

Xenoph. Exped. lib. 3.

The Soldiers make a new choice, in which *Xenophon* is one.

45. The *Græcians* marching on towards *Paphlagonia*, were dogged at the heels by *Tissaphernes*, who being affraid of the valour of desperat men, never durst ingage in any battel with them, but onely flanched them or fell in upon their Rear, as he could have opportunity, and yet followed them as far as the borders of the *Carduchians*, after which, seeing he could not do them any considerable hurt, he departed with his men towards *Ionia* another way. The *Carduchians* a warlike Nation and at Enmity with the King, and much exercised in slinging of great and masse stones, much disturbed the *Græcians* in their passage of their Country, and in the passing the Mountains thereof were spent seven dayes. With great difficulty and danger having passed it, they went over the River *Centrites* into *Armenia*; of which *Artabazus* being then Governour, entred into league with them, and suffered them quietly to passe; but in travelling thorow the Mountains they were near all being overwhelmed in the snow, the discerning of wayes being taken away thereby. The whole Army had perished also by extream cold, had they not light upon some Villages near hand, wherein being furnished with plenty of necessaries, they refreshed themselves. The houses stood within the ground, into which the Men descended by stairs, and their Cattel by desents made for that purpose. Having here stayed eight dayes, they journyed thence to the River *Phasis*

Idem ibid. & Diodorus ut prius.

Xenoph. lib. 4 *Diorus.*

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46. Having continued four dayes at this River, they marched through the Country of the *Taochi* and *Phasiani*, by whom being opposed, they fought, and made great slaughter of them, and then seized upon their Villages, which were plentifully furnished with such things as they wanted, they there rested fifteen dayes. Thence marching through the Territories of the *Chalcidenſians*, in seven encampings they came to the River *Harpasus*, and thence coming into the Plains of the *Taſcutin*, they there refreshed themselves three dayes, and proceeding, in four encampings they arrived at a great City called *Gymnasia*. The Prince of this Country entring into a League with them, furnished them with Guides to the Sea, of which, after fifteen dayes being got up to the hill *Chenius*, they got a sight afar of, at which the Front shouted so for joy, that those in the Rear thinking they had been set upon by some Enemy, prepared themselves for a Fight, and there laid they a great heap of stones as a Monument to Posterity, of the spoils obtained from the *Barbarians*, and the immortal memory of their Expedition.

47. Then came they into the Country of the *Macri*, with whom they made a League, by taking and receiving a Spear, according to the custom of these *Barbarians*. Having got over their Mountains they came into the Territories of the *Coleti*, where a great multitude opposing them, they made no small slaughter of the Inhabitants, and made great spoil, where they found a kind of Honey, of which whosoever did eat, became according to the quantity eaten, drunken, mad, or as dead, but the next day at the same hour returned to their right Senses, and after three or four dayes arose as having received some Medicine. Thence in two encampings they come to *Trapezond* a *Græcian* City well inhabited, situate upon the *Euxine* Sea, being a Colony of the *Sinopeans*, placed in the *Colchian* Country. Here *Jason* with his Companions are reported to have arrived with their ship *Argos*. They sacrifized to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, and celebrated Games of Exercise, and hence was *Cherisophus* sent to *Byzantium* to provide ships for the transportation of them home, and for him here they staied thirty dayes, but after that term he returning not, their provisions growing scarce, though they had made excursions both by Sea and Land, they put on shipboard (having obtained a little shipping of the *Trapezuntans*) the sick, all those above forty years of age, with the women and children, and passed in three dayes to *Cerasunt* a *Græcian* City situate upon the Sea, being also a Colony of the *Sinopeans* in the *Colchian* Country. Here they remained ten dayes, and taking a muster, found 8600 remaining of those that ascended with *Cyrus* into *Persia*, the rest being consumed by the Enemies hand, or Snow, or sickness. Here also they divided the money that arose out of the sale of Captives, the tenth part of which the Officers took into their hands, being severed as an offering to be made to *Apollo* and *Diana* of *Ephesus*; every one keeping and preserving a share for his gods.

They came to *Trapezond* upon the *Euxine* Sea.

Exped. Cyri, l. 5.

Diodorus ut supra.

48. From *Cerasunt* they came into the Country of the *Mesynecans*, the veriest *Barbarians* they had met with in the whole journy, which they passed by force in eight encampings, and in three more that of the *Tibarenes* through which they came to *Cotyora* a *Græcian* Colony also of the *Sinopeans*. Thus far the Army marched on foot, the whole length of the retreat from the place of the battel in the *Babylonian* Territories hither, being 122 encampings, 620 parasangs, 10820 furlongs, 1353 miles and something more. At *Cotyora* they continued 50 dayes, making excursions upon the neighbouring

Sect. 3. people of *Paphlagonia*. Then the *Heracleans* and *Sinopeans*, a Colony of the *Milesians* in *Paphlagonia*, furnished them with shipping, into which they put themselves and their baggage, and sailed away, *Cherisophus* meeting them with a few Vessels. Holding on their course they sailed by *Jason*'s shore, where the Ship *Argo* is said to have anchored, and by the mouths of the Rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, & *Parthenius*, by which after they had passed, they arrived at *Heraclea* a *Grecian* City and Colony of the *Megarean*s, situate in the Territory of the *Maryandens*, and came to anchor near the *Cherronnesus* or *Peninsula* of *Acherousia*, where *Hercules* is said to have fetcht the Dog *Cerberus* out of Hell; the marks being there shewn of his descent, and the depth of the place, being more than two furlongs.

Xenoph. lib. 6. Diodorus.

49. Here the Soldiers, through the perswasion of *Lycon* an *Achaian*, making unreasonable demands of money from the *Heracleans*, they shut their gates upon them, and provided for their own defence, which bred a sedition in the Army, so that they parted asunder. The *Arcadians* and *Achaans* being more than 4500 all heavy armed, sailed away first, having got shipping of the *Heracleans*, that falling sodainly upon the *Bithynians*, they might prevent the rest, and make the greatest prey. *Cherisophus* a little before chosen General, having 1300 armed, and 700 Peltasts, (who were the *Thracians* that followed *Clearchus*) marched on foot from *Heraclea*, and as soon as he entred *Thrace*, led along by the Sea-coast being now sick, and presently dead of a Medicine he took in an Ague. *Xenophon* with 1700 Armed, 300 Peltasts, and 40 Horse, taking shipping, landed in the confines of *Thrace*, and marched through the midst of the Land. With great difficulty passed they through the Country on foot, the *Thracians* of *Asia* and the *Bithynians*, grievously afflicting them, till meeting together again, they resolved no more to part, and decreed it should be death for any one to move such a thing. Then came they safe, though with great difficulty, to *Chrysopolis* a City in *Chalcedonia*, whence without much trouble some returned home, others were employed by *Seuthes* the King of *Thrace*; and after that *Thymbro* joyning them to the rest of the *Grecian* Forces, made War with them against *Tissaphernes*.

They part asunder at *Heraclea*.

Xenoph. l. 7. Diodorus.

They return home.

50. The Governours of the King's Provinces through which they journyed were *Artymas* of *Lydia*, *Artacamas* of *Phrygia*, *Mithridates* of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*; of *Cilicia Syenesis*, of *Phœnicia* and *Arabia Dernes*, of *Syria* and *Assyria Belesis*, of *Babylonia Roparas*, of *Media Arbacas*, of the *Phasians* and *Hesperites Teribazus*. The *Carduchans*, *Chalybes*, *Chaldeans*, *Macrons*, *Cholcans*, *Mosynecans*, *Coitans*, and *Tibarens*, were free people, and under no man's subjection. *Paphlagonia* was ruled by *Corylas*, the *Bithynians* by *Pharnabazus*, the *European Thracians* by *Seuthes*. The total number of the Ascent and Descent, was 212 encampings, 1150 parasangs, 34255 furlongs, 4281 miles and more. The time of the Ascent and Descent one year and three moneths. Thus these Strangers wanting all things, ignorant of the Countries through which they passed, over precipitous Mountains, straight and (almost) impassable wayes, notwithstanding the malice of Enemies, sharpness of air, and difficulty of the Soil, by the wonderful Providence of God, and singular prudence of *Xenophon*, returned home into *Greece*, as we have it described by *Xenophon* himself, though the seven Books of this Expedition, notwithstanding the constant opinion of Antiquity, are adjudged by a late Learned Man (by reason of the disagreement of their manner of writing from his other works) from him, and are ascribed to *Themistogenes* the *Syracusian*, whom * elsewhere he mentioneth to have related these matters. However this service performed to *Cyrus* cost him the losse of his Country, being for that banished by the *Athenians* his Countrymen; but the *Lacedæmonians* taking pitty of him, gave him some Lands in the Country of *Elis* and the Territories of *Triphyllis*, whence we may very well fetch an account of his writing that elegant Treatise of the form of their Commonwealth.

The Governours of the King's Provinces at their return.

* *Hellen.* 3°.

51. In this mean time whilst the *Grecians* were on their way homewards, *Paysatis*

Plutarch in Artaxerxe.

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Paysatis rageth against such as had any hand in the death of her son *Cyrus*.

52. *Paysatis* after this, having won from *Artaxerxes* her son at Dice, the Eunuch *Megates*, who had cut off the head and hands of *Cyrus*, caused him to be flead alive. Her study then was how to rid herself of *Statira* her daughter-in-law, whom she never cared for, now hated mortally, and emulated her by reason of her hatred against *Cyrus*, and her power with the King her husband, so as she resolved in the procurement of her destraction to hazard her own safety. Being now in appearance reconciled, and all old things forgotten, so as they met and supped together, she thence took occasion secretly to work her death. There was a bird in *Persia*, called *Rhyntaces*, in which being nothing superfluous, or of excrement, all the inward parts were filled with fat. This, as *Ctesias* wrote, she cut in two with a knife, whereof the one side was onely poysoned, & then taking the clear half to herself, she gave the other which the poyson had touched unto *Statira*, who suspecting nothing, for that she see her eat herself of the bird before her, did eat it up, and died after great convulsions and torment. She suspected her before her death, and possessed the King with the matter, who knew sufficiently the cruel, and implacable disposition of his mother. He presently with Tortures examined her neerest servants, but she kept *Gygis* a woman who had been accessary to the fact, and would not give her up to him, till at length having notice that she should go out of the house by night, he surprized, and condemned her to die the death due to poysoners by the *Persian* Law, which was, that the head of the Malefactor being laid on a great stone, with another it was broken and flatted. As for his Mother he hurt her not at all, either by word or deed, but she desiring to go to *Babylon*, he sent her, adding onely this, that he would not see that Citie so long as she lived. This was the state of the Domestick affairs of *Artaxerxes*.

Idem ibid.

The Bird *Rhyntaces*, wherein *Paysatis* poysoneth *Statira*.

53. After the overthrow of *Cyrus*, he sent down *Tissaphernes* (not *Pharnabazus*, as is falsly written in *Diodorus*) to the Sea-Coasts to recover them into his power, the Governors of which fearing now to pay dearly for their compliance with *Cyrus*, sent to make their peace with this new General, and sought all wayes possible to be received into his favour. But *Tamos* a man of prime note amongst them, and Governour of *Ionia*, shipping his goods,

Diodorus ad an. 1. Olymp. 95.

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goods, and all his sons (except one, named *Cyaxes*, who afterwards became Captain of the Kings forces) sayled for fear of *Tissaphernes* into *Egypt* to *Psammitichus* the King, hoping for former curtesies to be received; but he, without consideration of former benefits, to get his ships and money to himself, murdered his friend with his Children.

In the mean time the *Ionians* fearing *Tissaphernes*, and desirous to enjoy their liberty, sent to the *Lacedæmonians*, now the chiefest State in *Greece*, desiring, that being the Captains, and Protectors of all *Greece*, they would not neglect them Originally of the same stock, but endeavour that they might enjoy their liberty, retain their Lands, and not utterly be destroyed, as danger seemed to threaten them from *Tissaphernes*, whom they had incensed by revolting from him to *Cyrus*. They, who were nothing contented with the doubling of their power by the accession of that of *Athens* lately subdued, but still according to the nature of men desiring more, began to cast in their heads how they might attain to the Empire of *Asia*, being also encouraged by the retreat of their Countrey-men, did not unwillingly receive the embassy; but promising them speedy relief, first sent to *Tissaphernes*, desiring him not to offer any violence to the *Greek* Towns, but he neglecting their Message, and falling upon *Cuma*, in the Territories of which he did much harm, and took many prisoners, they then created *Thymbro* their Captain General against the King, giving him 1000 of their own Citizens, and order to take up as many from amongst their associates as he should think convenient.

Idem ibid. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 6. init.

Thimbro sent to the aid of the *Greek* Cities, falleth on *Magnesia.*

54. *Thimbro* then with these marched to *Corinth*, where making them up to the number of 5000. besides 300 *Athenian* horse, he thence sayled to *Ephesus*. Having there out of the Associates and others, raised 2000 men more, he removed, and fell upon *Magnesia*, a Town subject to *Tissaphernes*, which he took at the first onset, and presently after attempted *Tralles*, a Town of *Ionia*; but it being to no purpose, he retreated to *Magnesia*, which being Fortified with no Wall, fearing that *Tissaphernes* might after his departure recover it, he removed it to an Hill hard by, named *Thorax*. Then invaded he, and harazed the Enemies countrey, but hearing that *Tissaphernes* was coming towards him with a great power of horse, he thought himself unable to grapple with him, and therefore returned unto *Ephesus*. Not long after upon promise of pay he procured *Xenophon* his forces to joyn with him, with which then he took the field against *Tissaphernes*, whereupon *Pergamus* yielded to him, together with *Teuthrania*, and *Halisarnia* Governed by *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, who were descended from *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*. Other Towns also were delivered up to him, and some he took by force, till at length he fate down before *Larissa*, called the *Egyptian*, which attempting for some time to no purpose, his Superiours at *Lacedæmon* were nothing satisfied with his management of the War, so that he received orders from the *Ephori* to leave *Larissa*, and remove the Army into *Caria*. He obeyed, and when he was come on his way as far as *Ephesus*, to *Caria*. He obeyed, and when he was come on his way as far as *Ephesus*, the *Dercyllidas* (a man so famous for his rare invention and cunning, that he got the surname of *Sisyphus*) being appointed his Successor, there met him, and discharged him of his employment. Returning home, he was accused by the Associates for giving his Souldiers liberty to spoyl the friends and confederates of the State, and for that was banished.

Diodorus & Xenoph. ut prius.

Dercyllidas succeedeth him.

Xenoph. ibid. Justin. lib. 6. init. Diodorus ad Olymp. 95. an. 2.

55. *Dercyllidas* taking the Army into his hands, and not ignorant how he had to do with two *Persian* Lieutenants, *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, who feared and hated each other; lest he should be overmatched with both, he resolved if he could to make peace with one of them. He had conceived some distaste against the later for an affront he put upon him, when he formerly served under *Lysander* in *Asia*: wherefore he made peace with *Tissaphernes* upon certain conditions, and lead his Army into *Æolis*, without any hurt to the confederates in the way, which was under the Command of *Pharnabazus*, where taking nine Cities in eight dayes, and getting into his hands all the Cities of *Troas*, he consulted by what means he might so quarter his Soul-

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Souldiers in Winter, as not to be burthensom to the Associates as *Thimbro* was, and yet prevent *Pharnabazus* from troubling the Cities with the excursions of horse, of which he had good store. He sent then presently to *Pharnabazus* to offer him either war, or peace, who making choice of a Truce, for that he stood in fear of *Phrygia*, which bordered upon *Æolis*, and where he had his seat, he thereupon lead his forces into *Bithynia* to Winter there; the other not being unwilling he should so do, because the *Bithynians* were often troublesom to him.

56. In the beginning of Spring *Dercyllidas* marching out of *Bithynia* came to *Lampsacus*, where he met with three *Lacedæmonians* sent from the State to signifie to him the Prorogation of his Command for another year, who also by order from the *Ephori*, rebuked the Souldiers for the injuries offered by them to the associates in the time of *Thimbro*, and commended them for their great moderation last year, warning them for the time to come, to which one of the Officers answered (who had followed *Cyrus*) that the Souldiers were one and the same, but that the change of Generals produced a change in their behaviour. The messengers being departed out of *Asia*, he sent again to *Pharnabazus*, offering him either peace, or war, as before, who making the same choice, he out off hand passed over the *Hellespont*, and by the hands of his Souldiers, amongst whom the work was divided, fortified the *Isthmus* of the *Cherronesus* of *Thrace* with a Wall, thereby to defend it from incursions of the *Thracians*, who now had fallen upon it, and whom to repell he was sent for. He so incouraged the minds of the Souldiers by hope of reward, that the work being began in Spring was finished before Autumn, being thenceforth a great advantage to the inhabitants. After this he returned into *Asia*, where visiting the Cities he found that the Exiles of *Chius* having seized upon *Atarna*, there lurked, and lived upon such booty as they could make out of *Ionia*; wherefore he besieged the place, though strong, and well victualled, and after a siege of eight moneths forcing them to yield, he committed the care of the Town to *Draco* a *Pellenian*, and returned unto *Ephesus*.

57. In the mean while *Pharnabazus*, after he had made Truce with him, went up to the King, to whom he accused *Tissaphernes*, as not having repelled the *Lacedæmonians* out of *Asia*, but suffered them there to continue at his cost and damage, alleging how unworthy a thing it was to fight more with money than Arms, and to restrain an Enemy more with rewards than valour. He advised him to make ready a Fleet, and give the Command thereof to *Conon* the *Athenian*, a man of great experience in things that concerned War, who since the disaster of his Countrey sojourned with *Evagoras* the King of *Cyprus*. *Artaxerxes* yielding, gave him 500 Talents to provide ships; and *Conon* hoping by this means to do some special service for his Countrey, undertook the charge, but the Fleet being not yet ready, he sayled with fourty *Phœnician* Vessels into *Cilicia*, there to set all things in order. About the same time the *Ionians* sent to *Lacedæmon* to declare to that State, that if *Caria* were invaded in which *Tissaphernes* his principal seat was, there might be hope that he would leave them to their Laws and Liberty. This so wrought with the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* thereupon sent order to *Dercyllidas* to lead his forces into that Countrey, and to *Pharaces* their Admiral to sayl thither with his Fleet.

Diodorus ibid. Justin. ibid. Pausan. in Atticis & Isocrates in Evagora & ad Philip.

Conon the *Athenian* is made Admiral to *Artaxerxes.*

Tissaphernes though impeached by *Pharnabazus* continued in his power.

58. Notwithstanding the secret accusations of *Pharnabazus*, yet still was *Tissaphernes* trusted by the King, and so far as with the Chief power in the War against the *Græcians*; insomuch that *Pharnabazus*, though much against his will, was forced to come to him at such time as *Dercyllidas* invaded *Caria*. He first carried him thither, where taking what order their affairs required, and re-inforcing their Garrisons, they returned into *Ionia*, and *Dercyllidas* perceiving they had crossed the River *Meander*, after he had consulted with *Pharaces* the Admiral about the preservation of the *Ionians* at that time but naked of defence, he also passed the River after them. The *Persian* forces were in number 20000 foot, and 10000 horse; *Dercyllidas* his whole

Xenoph. & Diodorus ut supra.

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whole Army amounted but to 7000, and though the *Peloponnesians* well enough behaved themselves, yet such as came from *Priene*, and out of the *Ionian* Cities and Islands had listed themselves under him, some of them throwing their Arms into the Corn (which grew plentifully by the River,) took them to their heels, and the rest sufficiently evidenced what they would do if they came to fight. Yet *Tissaphernes* having not forgot how such *Greeks* as followed *Cyrus* had put them to it, and judging all their Countrymen to be of the same metal, would by no means hear of fighting, which *Pharnabazus* sore pressed him to; but sent to *Dercyllidas*, desiring to come to interview. After Hostiges given and received on both sides, they met, and an accommodation was made on these terms: *That the King should leave all the Greek Cities to their own liberty; that the Greekish Forces should all depart out of his dominions, with all Lacedæmonian Governours from his Cities, and that a truce should be for so long a time, till both parties could hear from their Superiours, concerning their resolutions herein.* Then marched away the Armies to their quarters, the *Persian* to *Tralles*, and that of the *Greeks* to *Lexcophrys*.

Dercyllidas maketh an agreement with them.

59. Notwithstanding this truce entred into by these Captains, yet the rigging of a new Fleet went forwards in *Phœnicia*, and nothing do we hear concerning the confirmation of the Treaty by the King. It hapning that one *Herodas* a *Syracusan*, living with a Set-man in *Phœnicia*, and taking notice how great diligence was used in preparing a Fleet, which he heard should be completed to the number of 300 Vessels, he took the first opportunity of a ship and sailed into *Greece*, giving notice that such a Navy was providing by the King, and *Tissaphernes*, though he knew not, as he said, upon what design. The *Lacedæminians* hereat startled, began to look about them, when *Agesilaus* one of their Kings, through the perswasion of *Lysander*, offered himself to undertake an Expedition into *Asia* against the *Persian*, provided they would send with him thirty of his choosing, by whose advice he might manage affairs; give him 2000 men from home, and 6000 more of the associates, which being granted him, together with provisions for half a year, he sailed with *Lysander* (who had procured himself to be one of the 300, hoping by this means to restore the *Decemvirates* in the *Asian* Cities, which he having erected, the *Ephori* had again dissolved) unto *Ephesus* with such speed, that he landed his Forces before the *Persian* Lieutenants knew so much as of his coming, and thereby took them at unawares.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 3. Plutarch. & Æmilius Probus in Agesilao.

Agesilaus the *Lacedæmonian* King invadeth *Asia*.

60. At *Ephesus* he raised new Forces to the number of 4000, and increased his Army to 10000 Foot and 400 Horse, with which he took the field, a great company of rascally men, not inferiour in number to the other, following the Camp out of greedinesse for prey. *Tissaphernes* sent to him to know the cause of his coming into *Asia*, to whom he answered, that it was to restore the *Greek* Cities to their liberty; to which the other replyed, desiring a cessation of Arms for so long a time, as he could send to the King, hoping to obtain from him that which he required. *Agesilaus* gave little credit to his bare word, thinking, as indeed it was, that he protracted onely the time; but swearing most solemnly, that without any deceit he would do what in him lay to procure a Peace, he also upon this condition sware to hold the Truce; but *Tissaphernes* having little regard of his oath, sent onely to the King for new forces to joyn with his old ones, which though *Agesilaus* sufficiently knew, yet kept he his Faith inviolable in preservation of the Truce; and when he denounced war against him, except he would forthwith quit *Asia*, he give notice thereof joyfully to his Soldiers, and sent to the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and the *Greeks* living upon the *Hellespont*, to dispatch their supplies unto *Ephesus*. Contrary then to the expectation of *Tissaphernes* (who thought he would have made for *Caria*) he invaded *Phrygia*, where setting upon the Cities at unawares, he got much booty, and without any losse came to the confines of *Daschylium*, where his Forlorn-hope meeting with a Party of Horse belonging to *Pharnabazus*, were worsted, losing twelve Men, and two Horses, till he with the Infantry coming in to their relief, the *Barbarians* retired

Xenoph. ibid. & in Agesilao cum Plutarcho & Æmilio Probo, sive Cor. Nepote.

retired with the losse of one Man, and *Agesilaus* spending the greatest part of Summer in wasting *Phrygia*, marched back with his Army mightily inriched, & came back in Autumn unto *Ephesus*, where he took up his Winter quarters.

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61. Whilst the *Lacedæmonians* thus acted in *Asia* against *Artaxerxes*, that they might strengthen their interest abroad, they sent to *Nephereus* the King of *Ægypt*, which now for a good space had revolted from the *Persian* Empire, to procure him to joyn with them in the War, who sent them 100 Gallies, and 500000 measures of Wheat for a supplie. *Pharax* then with a Navie consisting of 120 Sail departing from *Rhodes*, sailed to *Caunus*, where he set upon *Conon*, who there had forty Ships lying at anchor; but *Artaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* coming in to the relief of the Ships and Place with great Forces, he retired back to *Rhodes*, the Inhabitants of which not long after expelled his Fleet, and revolting to the *Persians* received *Conon* and his Navy. It hapned after this revolt, that those that brought the Corn from *Ægypt* being ignorant of what had happened, thrust their Ships into the Haven, which *Conon* and the *Rhodians* seizing upon, thereby well furnished the City. Afterwards came in to *Conon* 90 Gallies more: 10 from *Cilicia*, & the rest out of *Phœnicia*, of which the petty King of *Sidon* had the charge. And here the soldiers of *Conon* mutinied for want of pay, who therefore more earnestly called for their Arrears, because their service was the stricter under so great a Captain.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 96. ann. 1.

Justin lib. 6.

62. *Agesilaus* knowing that without Horse he could not well carry on the War, in Champain places, in the Winter-time took order about it, permitting such rich men in the City as would not fight themselves, to furnish him with each of them an Horse and a Man in their stead. Then upon the approach of the Spring, drawing together all his Forces to *Ephesus*, he trained and exercised them in the management of Arms, that City serving them as the shop of War, during these Exercises. When he had thus prepared their minds, and encouraged them by rewards, and otherwise, he gave out he would march straight into the most fortified places of the Enemies Country, further to exercise them for the Fight. *Tissaphernes* thinking this tumor to be spread on purpose to deceive him, again marched into *Caria*, whither he thought indeed he meant to go; but *Agesilaus*, as he said, invaded the Territories about *Sardis*, which wasting round about, on the fourth day his men straggling about for plunder, were set upon by the Enemies Horse, which slew many of them. He going in to their relief, understanding the *Persians* had no Foot there, and considering how he had all things in a readinesse, resolved to make something of it, so that falling on in good earnest, he got a considerable Victory near the River *Pactolus*, and plundering the enemies Camp, from what belonged to friend and foe, got booty worth above 70 talents, amongst which was Camels which he carried with him into *Greece*.

Xenophon. Plutarch. & Æmilius Probus ut prius.

63. *Tissaphernes* at the time of this engagement (if we may believe *Xenophon*, who accompanied *Agesilaus* in this Expedition, rather than *Diodorus* or *Pausanias*) was at *Sardis*, and upon that account was accused by the *Persians* to have forsaken and betrayed them. About this time it hippened that *Conon* the Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet, having to no purpose for a long time sollicited the King by letters, for money to pay his men, resolved now himself to go to him, *Pharnabazus* egging him on that he might accuse *Tissaphernes* of treachery. Leaving then his Fleet to the care of two *Athenians*, he came to *Thapsacus* in *Syria*, and passing down *Euphrates* unto *Babylon*, made application to *Tithraustes*, to whom hee signified that hee would speak with the King. But none being to be admitted to his presence, except he adored him, he transacted his businesse by letters and messengers, and prevailed to have *Tissaphernes* adjudged an enemy, the *Lacedæmonians* to be prosecuted with War, and to chuse whom he pleased for the paying of moneys; and with great gifts returned he to the Sea, having commission to charge the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, and other maritime Inhabitants, with long ships, and having *Pharnabazus* for his associate, according to his desire, to provide a Navie for the defence of the Seas against the next Summer.

Diodorus & Justin ut supra. Æmil. Probus in Conone.

64. These accusations of *Tissaphernes* were so prosecuted by *Paryssatis* who bore

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bore him mortal hatred in the behalf of her son *Cyrus*, that *Artaxerxes* made *Tithraustes* Captain General of the War in his stead, enjoyning him to make him away, and granting letters to all the Cities and Lieutenants to be obedient to him. He gave him two letters at parting, whereof the one was written to *Tissaphernes*, being a pretended Commission to him to have full and absolute power in the War: the other to *Ariæus* Lieutenant of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes* in the apprehending of him. He delivered the letter as soon as he came to *Colossæ* in *Phrygia*, whither *Ariæus* procured *Tissaphernes* to come, as to advise together about the War, and as he was in the Bath having laid by his scimiter, caused his servants to take him, and sent him to *Tithraustes*, who carrying him as far as *Celænæ* cut off his head, which he conveyed to the King. He sent it to his Mother, who greatly rejoyced at the sight, with her also the *Grecian* women who had lost their sons or husbands through his fraud; and the whole Nation in the death of their mortal Enemy.

Xenoph. *Diodorus ut prius.* *Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & Agesilao.* *Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7.*

Tissaphernes put to death.

65. *Tithraustes* now sent to *Agesilaus* to acquaint how the incendiary betwixt the King and the *Græcians* was deservedly punished, so that his Master thought it reasonable that he would withdraw his Forces out of *Asia*, and the *Greek* Cities being left to their own laws, should pay their accustomed tribute to him. He denyed to do any thing herein without consent of the *Lacedæmonian* State, whereupon they agreed that *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents for the maintenance of his Army, he should depart into the parts subject to *Pharnabazus*, till such time as he understood the will of his Superiours. Then led he towards *Phrygia*, when in the way he met with an order come from *Lacedæmon*, whereby not onely the power at Land, but over the Navy also was given unto him, over which he might make Admiral whomsoever he pleased. He then to gratify the Cities and those who at home studied to pleasure him, made up a Navy of 120 ships, over which he set *Pisander* his wives brother, a man indeed greedy of honour, and of prompt boldnesse, but of little experience in such great concerniments.

Xenoph. Hellen. 3°. *Plutarch. in Agesilao.* *Pausan. in Lacon.*

Agesilaus called home through the device of *Tithraustes.*

66. *Tithraustes* taking notice hereof, and how *Agesilaus* did not intend to quit *Asia*, but rather conceived great hopes of overthrowing the King, resolved there was no way to be taken but to find his Countrymen such work at home, that they must necessarily recall him. To this purpose he sent one *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* into *Greece*, with gold to the value of 50 Talents, to the intent that he might therewith corrupt the leading and the principal men of the several Cities, and engage them into a War with the *Athenians* against *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly brought about. *Agesilaus* in the mean time entring *Phrygia*, which was subject to *Pharnabazus*, about Autumn, spoiled the Country, and by fair or foul means took many Cities. Thence marched he into *Paphlagonia*, which he withdrew from the obedience of the *Persian*, and received 1000 Horse and 2000 Foot from *Cotys* the King, and after this he went to *Dascylium*, where *Pharnabazus* his Palace was, and there, it being a place plentious of provisions, he took up his Winter-quarters.

Xenoph. ibid. *Plutarch. in Artax. & Agesilao.* *Pausan. ibid.*

67. Whilst his Soldiers straggled abroad for booty in great contempt of the *Barbarians*, *Pharnabazus* light on a Party of Horse, and thereof slew 100. Three or four dayes after *Herippidas* (the principal of the 30 Counsellors who accompanied *Agesilaus*) having notice from *Spithridates*, that *Pharnabazus* lay incamped in a large Village named *Cave*, 20 miles of, procured of *Agesilaus* 4000 Foot and as many Horse-men as he could perswade to accompany him, with which beginning his march as soon as it was dark, by break of day he fell in upon the Enemies Camp, killing most of the *Mysians* who kept the watch before it. Then the *Persians* fled; *Pharnabazus* fearing to be besieged, so that he wandred from place to place like the *Scythian Nomades*, and *Herippidas* got much rich plunder, amongst which the costly stuff of *Pharnabazus*, but seeking out too austerely all the concealed prey, he took from *Spithridates* and the *Paphlagonians* all that they had gotten; with which disgrace being exceedingly affected, they went away by night to *Ariæus* lying at *Sardis*, who had formerly rebelled and waged War with *Cyrus* against the King. At this departure of *Spithridates* and *Megabates* his son (who was most

Pharnabazus defeated.

most dear to him) *Agesilaus* was so troubled, as also at that of the *Paphlagonian Forces*, that nothing more vexed him of all things that fell out in this *Asiatick* Expedition.

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68. Afterwards *Agesilaus* and *Pharnabazus* met together to treat about a Peace by the procurement of *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicus*, who was guest unto them both. *Pharnabazus* professed that if he were not made General of the War he would revolt from the King; but if he should be, he would carry it on against the other with all his might, and to his utmost ability. *Agesilaus* on the other side promised he would speedily depart out of his Territories, and as long as any other remained to make War upon, would spare him and his estate. Upon the approaching of Spring, he led down his Forces into the Plains of *Thebes*, where pitching his Tents near the Temple of *Diana Astyrena*, he levied all the Forces he could; for he intended an Expedition into the upper Countries, being confident to turn all in his passage from their obedience to the King, his fame being spread abroad far and near, having spent now two years in the War. But the gold sent into *Greece* the last year by *Tithraustes*, had by this time so wrought upon the humours of the several States there, that they conspired together in a great and dangerous War against the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon sent to *Agesilaus*, setting him a day by which he must needs be at home with his Army for the preservation of his Country. It troubled him much to leave *Asia*, for the conquest of which he was in so fair a way, yet he resolved to obey the call of his distressed Country, seeing (as he himself expressed in his answer to the *Ephori*) a General then truly and justly commandeth, when he obeyeth the Laws, and the *Ephori* or whatsoever Magistrates else are in the City. At his departure he is reported to have said, that the King expelled him *Asia* by 30000 Archers, wittily intimating the same number of *Daricks* stamped with the effigies of an archer, whereby he had procured the conspiracy of the *Grecian* Cities against *Lacedæmon*.

Plutarch in Agesilao, Artax. & Apoth. Laconic. *Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 4°.*

69. Having passed the *Hellespont*, and being come to *Amphipolis*, he received news of a Victory obtained by the *Lacedæmonians* about *Corinth*, whereupon he dispatched *Dercyllidas* presently back into *Asia*, by these tidings to confirm the associated Cities. In the mean time while he marched through *Macedonia* and *Thessalie* towards the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, *Conon* the *Athenian* and *Pharnabazus*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, lay about *Doryma* a place in the *Chersonesus*, with about 90 Gallies, who having notice that the enemies Fleet were about *Gnidus*, prepared themselves for an engagement. *Pediarchus* (or *Periander*) the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral weying anchor sailed from *Gnidus* with 120 ships to *Physcus* another place in the *Chersonesus*, and thence directed his course strait against the Kings Fleet, and at the first had the better of it, but the *Persian* Gallies coming in apace to the relief of their friends, the *Lacedæmonian* confederates began to shift for themselves. The Admiral thought it unseemely and unworthy of the *Spartan* valour to run away, and therefore directed his ship to the front of the Enemy, where first killing many of his Enemies, at length he was slain. Then the followers of *Conon* pursuing the *Lacedæmonians* to the contnent, took 50 Vessels, and 500 men, the most part swimming to shore and saving themselves; & the rest of the Gallies with safety recovered *Gnidus*. By this victory of *Conon* (who made use of the Kings Forces for the recovery of the estate of his own country) *Athens* and all *Greece* which heretofore were under the *Lacedæmonian* yoke, again recovered their liberty. *Diodorus* placeth it in the second year of the 96th *Olympiad*, when *Diophantus* was *Archon* at *Athens*; but *Lycias* in the year following, being under the government of *Enbulides*, and the eleventh of *Artaxerxes*.

Xenoph. ibid. *Plutarch in Agesilao.* *Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 4.* *Diodorus ad ann. 2. Olymp. 96.* *Corn. Nepos in Conone.* *Justin l. 6.*

Conon the *Athenian* obtaineth a Victory against the *Lacedæmonians.*

70. *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* for the improvement of this Victory, laboured with the Islands and Maritime Towns of *Ionia*, to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, which they effected, some casting out the Garrisons, and maintaining themselves in their antient liberty, others yielding unto *Conon*, onely *Dercyllidas* lying at *Abydus* at the time of the fight, retained that place, and *Sestos* over against it, still in hostility against the *Persians*, though endeavoured also to be *reduced*. In the next Spring the two *Persian* Generals

Idem ut supra, & Plutarch in Apoth. Laconic.

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Idem cum Diodoro Olymp. 96. an. 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of this, being very fearful the *Athenian* State should again recover it's antient power, sent away *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus* another of the *Persian* Lieutenants who governed *Sardis*, if possible to draw him to their Party, and reconcile them to the King. After this was known at *Athens*, they also sent *Conon* and others to him, and with them joyned several other States, as the *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*, who were weary of the power of the *Spartans*. *Antalcidas* declared how those that sent him were ready to imbrace a Peace upon such terms as the King pleased, for that they would no longer contend with him about the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*, thinking it sufficient, that the rest which were elsewhere situated might be left to their own Laws and liberty: he also laboured earnestly to render *Conon* suspected to the King, alleging, that at the King's cost he onely promoted the affairs of his own Country, seeking with his Forces to obtain as many Cities as he could for the *Athenians*, to whom under-hand he went about to restore *Ionia* and *Æolia* also. This offer concerning the leaving of the *Greek* Cities to the King's disposal, so nearly concerned his affairs, that the other Ambassadors in no case admitting it, for private respects returned home, without any thing concluded of; and though *Teribazus* durst not without commission joyn himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, yet gave he privately monies to *Antaclidas* to enable them to build a Fleet, wherewithall to constrain their adversaries to submit to an accommodation, and laying hold of *Conon* committed him to custody, till such time as going himself to the King he might know his pleasure concerning these things.

Antalcidas sent from the Spartans to Artaxerxes.

71. Some have reported how *Conon* was carryed to the King, and by him put to death, but others that he made an escape. Whilst *Teribazus* was yet with the King, he sent *Struthas* into *Asia* the lesse, to take care of the Sea-Coasts, who shewing himself very bitter against the *Lacedæmonians* for the evils which the Provinces had suffered of *Agesilaus*, and favourable upon that account to the *Athenians*, the *Spartans* sent over *Thymbro* to make War upon him. He with 8000 men took *Coressus* the high hill some five miles distant from *Ephesus*, whence he made excursions into the King's Dominions; but *Struthas* lying not far from him with a great power of Horse, besides Foot, at such time as with a Party he was ranging about for booty, fell upon him, killed him amongst many others, and putting the rest to flight, took many; the other securing themselves where they might best do it. The year after, the *Lacedæmonians* sending *Ecdicus* to the aid of the exiles of *Rhodes* with eight ships, dispatched away with him one *Diphridas*, with order to passe into *Asia*, there to gather up the remnant of the Forces, with which, and as many more as he could raise, he was to protect those Cities which had received *Thymbro*, and to grapple with *Struthas*. He acted accordingly, and so ordered his affairs, that he proved hard enough for *Struthas*, and amongst other commendable actions took prisoner *Tigranes* his Son in Law, as he was going with his wife to *Sardis*, whom releasing for a great ransome, he seasonably made use of the money for the payment of his Soldiers.

Isocrat. in Panegyr. Æmil. Probus in Conone. Diodorus ad Olymp. 97. an. 3.

Xenoph. ut supra.

72. Whilst these things passed betwixt *Artaxerxes* and the Commonwealth of *Sparta*, he was also imployed about the affaires of *Cyprus*, which he strove to get into his hands. There was in that Island one *Evagoras* of great birth (being descended from those who first built *Salamine* the principal City therein) who being lately expelled through a Sedition, returned with a little force of Auxiliaries, and expelling *Abdemon* the *Tyrian*, who then had the power over the City, and a great friend of the King of *Persia*, made himself

Diodorus ad an. 2. Olymp. 97. Isocrates in Evagora.

Artaxerxes looketh after Cyprus.

himself King of *Salamine*, and within a short time growing very rich gathered forces, and by the help of his son *Protagoras* subdued almost the whole Island. But the *Amathusians* with the *Solians* and *Citians* stood out against him, and by their Ambassadors sollicited *Artaxerxes* for aid, accusing *Evagoras* for the death of *Agyres*, who had been confederate with the King, and offering him their help for the possessing himself of the whole Island. He being jealous of the growth of *Evagoras*, and considering how convenient this Island might be, by reason of its situation, for the promoting of his affairs at Sea, by which especially *Asia* could be defended, resolved to assist them, and dismissing the Ambassadors to their content, gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-Coasts to build ships with all speed, he himself travelling into the upper Provinces for the raising of a great Land Army. SECT. 3.

73. Till he had composed matters with the *Græcians*, no considerable thing could he attempt upon *Cyprus*, and though they favoured the cause of *Evagoras* in opposition to him, yet their enmity one against another hindred that effect which their Union might have produced, to the great impairment of his affairs. The *Athenians* sent ten ships to the aid of *Evagoras*; but it hapning that *Teleutias* being sent by the *Lacedæmonians* at that time to succeed *Ecdicus* in the Fleet, and to defend their interest in *Asia*, met with them, and intercepted them all, whereby it hapned that those who were Enemies to *Artaxerxes* overthrew those who went to make War against him. After this these two Commonwealths contending sore with each other at Sea to their mutual damage, at length *Antalcidas* was sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to the Government of the Fleet, because they knew him to be in great grace with *Teribazus*. He coming to *Ephesus*, left *Nicolochus* his Lieutenant, and according to his private instructions went with *Teribazus* to *Artaxerxes* about a peace, towards whom he so behaved himself (to please him casting off the *Spartan* gravity, and not refusing to dance before him) that the King, who before could not endure the *Spartans*, as counting them the most impudent of all men, imbraced him with singular respect and courtesie.

Xenoph. ut supra. Diodorus ad annum 2. Olymp. 98. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

Antalcidas concludeth a peace with him.

74. He concluded of a peace with him for the *Lacedæmonian* State, in case the other *Græcians* would not consent to such overtures as the King made, and returned with *Teribazus*, who giving notice that all who would might accept of the conditions which his master proposed, they dispatched their several Depuries to him. He shewing them the Kings Seals, opened the Letters, wherein was contained, that *Artaxernes the King accounted it meet that the Cities in* Asia, *and the Islands* Clazomenæ *(since joyned to the Continent) and* Cyprus, *should be under his Dominion: as for the other* Greek *Cities, both great and small, that they should be left to their own liberty; except* Lemnus, Imbrus, *and* Scyrus, *which having been subject to the* Athenians *time out of mind, he thought it reasonable they should so continue. Those that should not receive this peace, he with the rest who would embrace it would prosecute with War to his utmost power, both at Sea and Land.* The Ambassadors went home, and made report of what was proposed to the several Commonwealths, who grudged it much that the Cities of *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agesilaus* had taken so much pains, should be so unworthily again betrayed. But being necessitated to submit, they accepted of the conditions; and the peace was sworn to at length by all *Greece*, in the second year of the 96th *Olympiad*, and the 18th year of *Artaxerxes*. A. M. 3618.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 5. Diodorus & Plutarch. ut prius.

A.M. 3618.

75. *Artaxerxes* being thus freed from this tedious controversie with the *Græcians*, set himself to a preparation for the Wars of *Cyprus*, from which as yet he had been diverted. *Evagoras* by this time, through the assistance of *Chabrias*, whom the *Athenians* had sent to his aid with 800 Peltasts, and ten Gallies, had brought under the whole Island, having got together also a most numerous Army, whilest the King was kept in play by the *Græcians*. For he entred into society with *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, who furnished him with great store of money, and *Hecatomnus* the Viceroy of *Caria* under-hand supplied him with some for the hiring of forein Souldiers; and the King of *Arabia* with others, who bore no good will to *Artaxerxes*, sent a great power

Diodorus l. 16. ad Olymp. 98. ann. 3.

Artaxerxes turneth his forces from the Græcians against Cyprus.

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power of men. He had in a readineſſe 90 Gallies, whereof twenty lay at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, which with other Cities he had got into his hands, and the reſt anchored readily furniſhed before *Cyprus*. The King gathered together both his Land and Sea forces, the former conſiſting of 300000 men, and the later of 300 Gallies. Over his Land Army he appointed General *Orontes* his ſon-in-law, and *Teribazus* Admiral of his Navy, who taking up their forces out of *Phocæa* and *Cuma*, marched down into *Cilicia*, whence paſſing over into *Cyprus* with great induſtry they began the War.

76. *Evagoras* having 6000 men of his own, many more Auxiliaries, and having hired a great force of ſtrangers over and above, (money being very plentifull with him) firſt with his Pinnaces well Armed ſet upon the Enemies ſhips as they brought in proviſions, whereof ſome he took, others he ſunk, or chaced away. Hereby it came to paſſe, that no Commodities being imported into the Iſland, a great dearth enſued in the *Perſian Camp*; and hereby a mutiny of the Souldiers, eſpecially of the mercenaries, who fell upon their Officers, and killed ſome of them. This put *Glos* the Admiral upon a reſolution to ſayl with the whole Fleet into *Cilicia*, whence he brought ſufficient ſupply; which *Evagoras* ſeeing, and conſidering his Navy to be far inferiour to the *Perſian*, he got ready other ſixty ſhips, and procuring fifty more from *Acoris* (who readily furniſhed him with all things neceſſary for the War) he made up his Fleet 200 ſayl. Then exerciſed he his men often to prepare them for a fight, and that to the terror of the Enemy who beheld it, and at length as the *Perſian* Fleet ſayled by *Citium* he fell upon it, taking ſome Veſſels, and ſinking others, but the Admiral and other Commanders ſtanding cloſe to their tackling, a ſharp conflict enſued, in which though *Evagoras* at the firſt prevailed, yet *Glos* with all his power, and with great earneſtneſſe and valour grapling with him, he was at length after great loſſe put to flight.

Getteth a victory at Sea againſt *Evagoras*.

77. The *Perſians* after this victory muſtered all their forces, both by Sea and Land at *Citium*, and preſently both wayes laid ſiege to *Salamine*. Now *Evagoras*, though he had had the better of it formerly in ſome ſallies out upon the beſiegers, cooled in his courage after this defeat. Though the ſiege was very ſtraight and preſſing, yet reſolving to continue the War, he left his ſon *Pythagoras* for the defence of the Citie, with full Authority, and departed by night with ten Gallies into *Egypt*, where he laboured hard with *Acoris* the King, to perſwade him to carry on the War with him, and that with all his power. He granted him ſome money; but for that he was diſcouraged by the late defeat, nothing according to his expectation, ſo that returning, and finding the Citie very much ſtraightned, and himſelf deſtitute of ſuccour, he was forced to ſend about an accommodation: *Teribazus* offered his conſent upon theſe terms, that quitting all the Cities except *Salamine*, he ſhould for that pay a yearly Tribute to the King, and be at his command as a ſervant to his Lord; which though hard, he conſented to, except the laſt, thinking it a great diſgrace to be at his back as a ſervant, and more reaſonable to be ſubject to him as one King to another.

Diodorus ad ann. 4. Olymp. 98.

His Captains diſgrace, and peace is made.

78. *Teribazus* not admitting of this exception, *Orontes* his colleague, and emulator, accuſed him by ſecret Letters to the King, as well for other matters, as that having an opportunity ſufficient to take *Salamine*, he did not uſe it, but ſpent his time in treaties with the Enemy; he farther laid to his charge privatly entring into friendſhip with *Lacedæmon* ſending to conſult the Oracle about warring againſt the King, and eſpecially alluring the Officers by honours, gifts, and promiſes. *Artaxerxes* believing theſe things, wrote back to *Orontes* to arreſt *Teribazus*, and ſend him preſently unto him, who accordingly ſent, earneſtly deſired to be brought to his tryal, but being for the preſent committed to priſon, and the King employed in the *Caduſian* War, his judgement was ſtill delayed. In the mean time *Orontes* being now General with full power and authority in *Cyprus*, finding that *Evagoras* with great courage ſtill held out, and that his own Souldiers taking ill the impriſonment of *Teribazus* refuſed to obey him, ſent to *Evagoras* to treat of peace, offering

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offering him the ſame conditions he was formerly willing to admit of from *Teribazus*. He being thus delivered beyond hope, concluded a peace on theſe terms; to pay yearly Tribute for the Kingdom of *Salamine*, and as King, to be obedient to the King of *Perſia*. And thus the *Cyprian* War ended ten years after the firſt preparation for it, and after it had been managed 2 years. *Artaxerxes* after all this time, and the expence of 50 Talents, leaving *Evagoras* in effect, in the ſame condition he was before.

Iſocrates in Evagora.

79. *Gaus* the *Perſian* Admiral, after this War, having married the daughter of *Teribazus*, fearing, leſt becauſe of his affinity, he ſhould be ſuſpected alſo by the King, and ſuffer upon that account, reſolved for a prevention to fortifie himſelf againſt him by entring into league with his Enemies. This he did preſently with *Acoris* of *Egypt*, and wrote to the *Lacedæmonians* to excite them to break the peace, making large offers of what he could do for *Greece*. They had of late as before caſt in their heads how to make themſelves maſters of all *Greece*, and finding that they heard ill for the peace concluded with *Artaxerxes*, in which the intereſts of their Countrey-men were betrayed, they ſought for, upon a new advice, a fit opportunity to renew the War againſt the *Perſians*, and therefore now not unwillingly accepted of this confederacy with *Gaus*.

Diodorus ut ſupra.

Gaus out of fear conſpireth with the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the King.

80. At this time *Artaxerxes* made War upon the *Caduſians*, leading againſt them an Army of 300000 foot, and 10000 horſe. He caſt himſelf into great ſtraights marching into a Countrey uneven, rainy, and bringing no Corn, but nouriſhing onely its inhabitants with Pears, Apples, and ſuch like fruits; ſo that finding there no proviſion, and not able to come by it from elſewhere, the carriage beaſts were killed for meat, an Aſſes head could ſcarce be bought for 60 drachms, the Kings ſet meals were laid down, and very few horſes remained; the reſt being all eaten up. Then *Teribazus* under diſgrace ſaved the King and his whole Army; for there being two Kings of the *Caduſians*, he himſelf went to one of them, and ſent his ſon to the other, each of them ſignifying to him whom he went to, that his Colleague had ſent about a peace to *Artaxerxes*, having left him out, wherefore his adviſe was, that they ſhould ſend with him Ambaſſadors to treat, and conclude a pacification firſt, which, being both deceived, they did, and a League was entred into by both apart. Then returned he homewards, and in the way, to give a good example to others, alighted from his horſe, and with Quiver and Target upon him travelled on foot over the mountainous, and rough places, and coming at length to a place called the *Kings Inne*, compaſſed with pleaſant Gardens and Groves, becauſe of the extremity of cold, he gave leave to the Souldiers to cut down the Cypreſſes and other Trees, which becauſe they out of modeſty refuſed, he took an Axe, and himſelf cut down the moſt beautifull. But coming home, and upon ſence of his great loſſe, both of men and horſes, ſuſpecting he was contemned for his ill ſucceſſe, he ſlew many of his principal ſubjects, of whom he thought he had cauſe to be jealous.

Plutarch. in Artax. cum Diodoro ad Olymp. 98. ann. 4.

Artaxerxes invadeth the *Caduſians* to no purpoſe.

81. The *Caduſian* War being finiſhed, he cauſed *Teribazus* to come to his tryal, commending the matter to three of his moſt eminent Judges, who upon conſideration of what was alleged, *pro* and *con*, and of his former great merits, abſolved him, to the ſatisfaction of the King, who then beſtowing on him the greateſt honours, expunged the name of *Orontes* his falſe accuſer out of the Catalogue of his friends, and caſt upon him the greateſt ignominy. About the ſame time, following herein the example of *Cambyſes* his Predeceſſor, he cauſed certain Judges convicted of unjuſt Decrees to be flead alive, and their skins ſpread over the judgement ſeat, where the reſt heard, and determined cauſes, that they might have a conſtant *Memento* before their eyes.

Not long after *Gaos* the *Perſian* Admiral, who, as before was ſaid, had entred into ſociety with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the King of *Egypt*, whileſt he was managing his revolt, was ſlain by ſome that cunningly laid in wait for him. One *Tachos* undertook the carrying on of his deſign, and fortifying himſelf with an Army, built a Citie in an high Rock upon the Sea, called *Leuca*,

Diodorus ad Olymp. 99. ann. 2. Gaos ſlain.

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Leuca, where was a Chapel dedicated to *Apollo*; but he dying a little after, great controversie hapned about the place betwixt the *Clazomenians* and *Cumæans* (whereof the former obtained it) and thereby those rebellions in *Asia* fell of themselves, and the *Lacedæmonians*, thinking it best to intermedle no more with *Persian* matters, gave their minds wholly to establish their power in *Greece*, got into their hands several Cities by one means or other, and not obscurely sought after the Empire of all *Greece*, contrary to the form of the League, made by the means of the *Persian* King at the procurement of *Antalcidas*, amongst all the *Gracians*, as *Diodorus* telleth us.

Idem ad Olymp. 100. ann. 4.

82. *Acoris* the King of *Ægypt*, who of late had entred into society with *Gaus*, and before had given assistance to *Evagoras* against *Artaxerxes*, as one who laid claim unto his Kingdom, to strengthen himself raised a great Army of Strangers, and for that he gave very good pay, and sought otherwayes to deserve well of Military men, many *Gracians* gave their names and listed themselves in his service. But wanting still some famous and expert General, he procured *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, a man of great command and no lesse valour; though without the consent of the people. *Artaxerxes* made *Pharnabazus* (now of late his Son in Law) the General of his Forces, who furnished with money made great preparations for the War, and sent to *Athens* to complain of *Chabrias*, who as he said, by his service to the *Ægyptian*, alienated the Kings affection from that State; and desired that they would send *Iphicrates* to be a Captain in his Wars. The *Athenians* being desirous to have both the King and *Pharnabazus* their friend, presently recalled *Chabrias*, and gave order to *Iphicrates* to assist the *Persians*.

Acoris of Egypt strengtheneth himself against Artaxerxes.

Idem ad ann. 3. & 2. Olymp. 101.

83. *Pharnabazus* spent several years in preparation for the War, of which *Iphicrates* being weary, told him he wondred, that he being so quick in speaking should be so slow in doing, to which he answered, that the reason was, that he himself was master of his words, but the King of his actions. The *Gracians* were again fallen into civil dissentions, the former Peace being not long continued through the ambitious practices of the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Artaxerxes* considering, and how needful their help was to him in this *Egyptian* Expedition, he sent to them to mediate and take up their differences, which they all liked well and accepted, except the *Thebans*. At length after three or four years spent in preparation, the King's Forces were drawn down into *Ace* a Town of *Syria*, where being a general Muster, three were found 200000 *Barbarians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20000 *Greeks* under the Ensigns of *Iphicrates*: the Navy amounted to the number of 200 Gallies, besides a great number of Vessels of burthen. In the beginning then of Summer they marched for *Ægypt*; the Fleet sailing along the Coasts, and coming near the mouths of *Nile*, found the *Ægyptians* furnished sufficiently for a War; warning enough having been given them by the delay of *Pharnabazus*, who (as other *Persian* Generals) having not the full disposal of things in his power, was constrained to send to the King, to know his pleasure concerning particulars, whose answer not being quickly obtained at a great distance, procured much slowness in all Expeditions.

Artaxerxes against him.

Pharnabazus and Iphicrates sent against Acoris.

Idem ad Olymp. 101. ann. 3.

84. *Nectanebis* the King of *Ægypt* (for *Acoris* was now dead) sent to spie out the number of the *Persian* Army; but his chiefest hope was in the strength of the Country, which was mightily fortified against any invasion, by the seven mouths of *Nile*, whereof each strengthned with a Castel, and a wodden bridge to hinder the passage of any ships up the River. But especially he took care of *Pelusium* the readiest passage from *Syria*, stopping up such places as might be passed by water, and drowning such as gave accesse by Land. *Pharnabazus* his Officers finding *Pelusium* so strongly fortified, resolved there was no passing there, and to carry the Fleet up to the *Mendesian* mouth of the River, where landing 3000 men, *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* set upon the Castle. The *Ægyptians* brought in 3000 Horse and Foot to the relief of it, and thereby ensued a most sharp encounter; but being at length overpowered by the number of *Persians* which coming in continually to the fight,

The Ægyptians defeated.

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fight, encompassed them; a great slaughter was made of them, and many taken alive. The rest betaking themselves to the Fort, *Iphicrates* his men brake in with them, took it, and razing it, carried the Defendants away prisoners.

85. *Iphicrates* now understood by these Prisoners, that the Garrison was called out of *Memphis* the strongest City in *Ægypt*; whereupon he advised *Pharnabazus* with all speed to sail thither, before the *Ægyptians* should have time to unite their Forces. *Pharnabazus* answered, he would first stay till all his Army arrived, by the which the taking of *Memphis* would be more easie; but the other replyed, that if he would but let him have all the Mercenaries onely in the Army, he would promise to reduce the City. *Pharnabazus* hereupon grew jealous of his valour, and fearing he might thereby, from his skill and courage bring *Ægept* into subjection, denyed him what he required; to which refusal he opposed this solemn protestation, that if the *Persians* should let slip out of their hands this fair opportunity, this Expedition through their fault would prove successlesse. Nothing being procured hereby but hatred and ill words, the *Ægyptians* by the means of this delay re-inforced the Garrison of *Memphis*, and with all their Forces came to the Fort which the *Persians* had demolished; when dividing their men into several parties, they set upon the Enemy, and prevailed so much upon him, that making great slaughters, the *Persian* Generals, having spent much time about the Place, and now the *Nile* swelling, and beginning to overflow all the grounds about them; lest they should seem to strive with Nature it self, resolved to retreat out of the Country: And this was the fruit of so long a preparation, and so much expence.

Emulation betwixt Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, frustrateth their design.

86. Being returned into *Asia*, the differences betwixt them brake out afresh, insomuch that *Iphicrates* fearing lest he might be attached as *Conon* formerly had been, withdrew himself by night, and returned to *Athens*. Thither *Pharnabazus* sent after him, to accuse him as guilty of the miscariage of the Expedition, to which the *Athenians* answered, that if they found him guilty, they would punish him; but within a while they gave him the command of their Fleet. This year *Nicocles* the Eunuch slew *Evagoras* the King of *Salamine*, and seized on the Kingdom, according to *Diodorus*, who in no case is to be believed, as to the Author of the Paricide; for though it be confirmed by one (*a*) that he was killed by an Eunuch; yet it appeareth from another, that his name was *Thrasydæus*; seeing it is clear from *Isocrates*, that *Nicocles* (to whom he wrote one Oration; another concerning the Office of a King he stiled by his name; and made a Funeral one concerning *Evagoras*) was the very son of *Evagoras*, and succeeded him in the Kingdom, and is not to be reckoned amongst Eunuchs.

(*a*) *Aristot. Polit. lib. 5. cap. 10.* (*b*) *Theopompus apud Photium Biblioth. num. 176.*

87. The next year, *Artaxerxes* understanding how *Greece* was shaken with intestine broiles, which he still looked upon as by it's help to recover *Ægypt*, sent to compose the differences amongst the several States. They all assented to his offers, except the *Thebans*, who having a design to be Masters of all *Bœotia*, would not enter with the rest into the League, which the *Lacedæmonians* ill resenting, and suspecting their ambitious practices for the dominion of all *Greece*, invaded them as the publick Enemies. Hereupon ensued a great and bloody battel at *Leuctra*, in which the *Thebans* had the better, through the conduct of *Epaminondas*, who so abated the strenght of the *Spartans*, that they sent *Agesilaus* their King into *Ægypt*, and *Antalcidas* to *Artaxernes*, to desire a supply of money. But the King, either because they sought to his Rebels the *Ægyptians*, or upon some other account, slighted the Message, and rejected *Antalcidas*, insomuch that returning home, when he found that he was laughed at by his Enemies, and fearing the severity of the *Ephori*, he starved himself to death.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. ann. 1.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 6. Plutarch in Artaxerxe.

88. Yet still did the King endeavour to reconcile the *Gracians*, for that as long as they exercised mutual feud, he could not have any considerable supply from them. This year on the former message *Philiscus* of *Abydus* was sent to them, who procured both the *Thebans* and their associates, and the *Lacedæmonians*

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 7. Diodorus ad Olymp 102. ann. 4.

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89. *Pelopidas* found the most favour at the King's hands, pleading (and not falsely) that the *Thebans* had onely assisted the *Persians* at *Platea*, and since that had never fought against that Kingdom; and that for this onely cause were they invaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, because they refused to follow *Agesilaus* against the King, having also prohibited him to sacrifize at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* sacrifized when he passed into *Asia* and took *Troy*. The late Victory of the *Thebans* at *Leuctra*, and the invasion of the *Lacedæmonian* Territories, did not a little add to the esteem of *Pelopidas*, who to inhance the renown of his Country, stuck not also to aver, that the reason why the *Argives* and *Arcadians* had of late been overthrown by the *Lacedæmonians*, was, because the *Thebans* were not at the battel. He obtained of the King, that *Messene* being exempted from the jurisdiction of the *Lacedæmonians*, should be left to it's own liberty, and that the *Athenians* should withdraw their ships, or else War was to be made upon them, which being read to the publick Ministers of the other Republicks, *Leon* the *Athenian* openly said, that the *Athenians* must find out another friend besides the King, who replyed, that if they knew any more equal thing, they should acquaint him therewith. *Xenoph. ibid.*

90. With *Pelopidas* was joyned in Commission *Ismenias* the *Theban*, as we have it from *Plutarch*. He being brought by *Tithraustes* a Colonel into the King's presence, and commanded, according to the custom, to adore him, took off his Ring secretly from his finger, and cast it down at his feet, and then stooping down to take it up, as he thereby satisfied the King, and obtained his requeſt; so he thought he provided sufficiently for the credit of himself and Country. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* communicated by letter some secrets to *Artaxerxes*, for which he was rewarded with 1000 *Daricks*, a costly Supper, and 80 Cows to find him with milk for his health; with a costly Bed and furniture to it, and some *Persians* that knew how to make it, the *Greeks* being accounted ignorant in these things. But returning home with the rest of the Ambassadors he was put to death; either because he accepted of these gifts, as *Plutarch* believed; or for that he adored the King after the *Persian* manner, wherewith they counted their whole State to be reflected on, or (what is most likely) because of this intercourse betwixt him and *Artaxerxes* they questioned his fidelity; his Colleague moreover impeaching him at their return for refusing his company, and imparting all the secret of their negotiation to *Pelopidas*. *In Artax. & vide Ælian. var. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 21.* *Val. Max. l. 6 c. 3. exter. exemp. 2.* *Xenoph. ut prius.*

91. After the return of the Ambassadors, the *Thebans* sent for the Deputies of the several Cities, whom, when the letters from the King were read, they commanded, all that would be accounted his and their friends, to swear to the contents of them. The Deputies answered, their Commissions were to hear, and not to take any Oath, which if they would exact from the Cities, they must send to them. This they did, hoping that the particular States would not dare to refuse the society of the King and them; but the Messengers first coming to *Corinth*, and that City refusing to swear, the rest followed their example, and so this device of the *Thebans* came to nothing. Then fell the *Græcians* into great broyls again, making havock of the Territories, *Idem ibid.*

tories, and goods of one another, which *Artaxerxes* still looking upon as against his design for the recovery of *Ægypt*, sent once more and procured a Peace betwixt them, whereby the *Laconick*, or *Bœotian* War (as it was called) ended, after it had endured about five years from the first beginning, in the 39th year of *Artaxerxes*. Sect. 3. *Diodorus ad Olymp. 103. ann. 3.*

92. This Peace yet effected nothing on his behalf, the interests of the several States being at this time so contrary, that they presently after broke out afresh into civil Wars; and what Forces could be spared out of *Greece*, being not employed for, but against him. For, three or four years after, the maritime parts of *Asia* revolted from him, and *Tachos* now King of *Ægypt* made great provision for the War, both by Land and Sea; and hiring many Soldiers out of several Republicks in *Greece*, drew also to his party the *Lacedæmonians*, who had conceived displeasure against *Artaxerxes*, because he made *Messene* to be comprehended in the general Peace. At the same time had he then to deal with the *Ægyptians*, the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*, and the *Lacedæmonians*; and besides them several of his Lieutenants in *Asia* revolted; amongst whom were *Ariobarzanes* of *Phrygia* (who had lately seized upon that Country after the death of *Mithridates*) *Mausolus* of *Caria*, a powerful Prince, having many strong places, especially *Halicarnassus*, in his power; with whom joyned *Orontes* of *Mysia*, *Autophradates* of *Lydia*, and of the *Ionian* race, the *Lycians*, *Pisidians*, *Pamphylians*, *Cilicians*: and besides these the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and almost all that bounded upon the Sea. The General command over all was given to *Orontes*. By this so general a defection, half of the Tributes were withdrawn from the King; and the other half sufficed not for warlike preparations. *Idem ad Olymp. 104. ann. 3.*

A defection from *Artaxerxes*.

93. But *Orontes* having got the chief command, and therewith received a years pay for 20000 men, betrayed those that had entrusted him with so great a power. For promising himself no small matters from the King, he first sent up to him those that brought him the money, and then betrayed many Towns, and a Band of Mercenaries to those who were sent from him for that purpose. At the same time things went in the same course in *Cappadocia*, accompanied with some memorable circumstances. *Artabazus* the King's General invaded that Country with an numerous Army, and *Datames* the Governour thereof, who had revolted, meeting him with a great Party of Horse, and 20000 Foot, pitched his Tents against him. The Captain of *Datames* his Horse was his Father in Law, who to ingratiate himself with the King, and to provide for his own safety, having first agreed with *Artabazus*, by night passed over with all his Troops unto him. But *Datames* not at all discouraged hereby, exhorted his Mercenaries to constancy, and promising them a large donative, presently led them against the Revolters, whom he fell upon just as they were joyning with the Enemy, and with great violence made great slaughter of both. *Artabazus* being ignorant of the matter, suspected that the Revolters went about again to betray him, and return to *Datamus*, and therefore gave order to his Souldiers to fall upon the Horse approaching; whence *Mithrobarzanes* (for so was the Revolter called) being shut up in the midst, whilst one part laboured to repel the Traytor, and the other to be revenged upon him for his treachery, was reduced into great straights, and out of extreme despair made great slaughter on both sides, till at length having lost 10000 men, the rest were put to flight by *Datames*, to whom some returned and asked pardon; others betook themselves to a place, whence being not able to stir they were killed, to the number of 500 men.

94. Whilest these things were thus carried on, *Rheomithres* was sent into *Egypt* to *Tachos* for aid, from whom obtaining 500 Talents, and 50 Gallies, he returned to *Leuca*, a Citie in *Asia*, where sending for many of the Officers of the revolters, he laid hands on them all, and sent them up to the King, by which Treachery he reconciled himself unto him. *Tachos* by this time had prepared all things for the War, having obtained out of *Greece* 200 Gallies, 10000 most valiant Souldiers, and out of *Egypt* it self raised 80000 foot.

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Ageſilaus the King of *Lacedæmon* he alſo procured to come to him, promiſing him the command of all his forces. Upon the report of his landing, all ſorts of preſents were diſpatched to him; but the Courtiers finding no Train, nor any thing of State about him, onely an old man, little of ſtature, not at all trimmed, but with coarſe and old Clothes, ſitting on the ſhore upon the graſſe, they greatly deſpiſed him, and were ſeized with wonder at his poornesse of ſpirit, when they beheld how amongſt the preſents, taking the Meal, Calves, and Geese to himſelf, he gave the ſweet Meats and Oyntments to be divided amongſt the ſlaves. And *Tachos* himſelf gave him not the chief command according to his promiſe, deriding him for the ſmalneſſe of his ſtature, and ſaying, that the fable was fulfilled in him, *the Mountains are in Travel, and a Mouſe is brought forth*; to which with anger and ſcorn he anſwered, that *afterwards he ſhould have cauſe to think him a Lyon.*

Xenoph. & Plutarch. & Æmilius Probus in Ageſilao.

Tachos King of *Egypt* ſtrengthneth himſelf.

Diod. & Plutarch.

95. With *Tachos* alſo was *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, though not ſent from the State as was *Ageſilaus*, but on his own account, who adviſed him wanting Treaſure, to command his richeſt ſort of ſubjects to furniſh him with as much money as they could ſpare, and he would repay them out of his yearly Tributes, which courſe he following got great ſtore of money, and yet injured no man. To him he committed his Fleet, to *Ageſilaus* the conduct of the 10000 mercenary *Gracians*, to *Nectanebus* his ſon (or rather the ſon of his brother, or ſiſter, being called his Nephew) reſerving to himſelf the command over all; and though *Ageſilaus* adviſed him rather to manage the War by his Lieutenants, and ſtay in *Egypt*, he ſayled into *Phœnicia*, the *Spartan* following him, though againſt his dignity and diſpoſition. Coming into *Phœnicia*, he ſent *Nectanebus* againſt the Cities in *Syria*, to whom came a meſſage from the Viceroy of *Egypt* left there by *Tachos*, ſignifying that he had revolted, and now invited him to ſeize upon the Kingdom; to which he conſenting, drew preſently to his party, all the Officers by gifts, and the Souldiers by large promiſes. *Tachos* now being in fear of his own ſervants, and *Ageſilaus* whom he derided, betook himſelf to *Sidon*, and thence to *Artaxerxes*, by whom he was courteouſly entertained, though not declared General in the *Egyptian* War, (and ſo by the help of *Ageſilaus* recovered his Kingdom) as *Diodorus* writeth.

Ageſilaus.

Nectanebus King of *Egypt.*

96. Another King beſides theſe two was made by the *Egyptians* of *Mendeſium*, of whom 10000 aroſe, and for him made War upon *Nectanebus*. The caſe being thus, *Ageſilaus* took part with *Nectanebus*, whom he thought more to favour the *Gracians*, took the other priſoner, and confirmed him in the Kingdom, who importuning him to ſtay and winter with him, he refuſed, haſting homewards, for that he knew the *Lacedæmonian* State to be at this time ingaged in a War, deſtitute of Treaſure, and yet to keep ſtrangers in conſtant pay for want of their own men. *Nectanebus* when he would not ſtay, diſmiſſed him with great gifts and honours, giving him 220. or 230 Talents for the maintenance of the War at home, with which taking ſhip, he ſayled homewards, though in the midſt of Winter; making haſte, leſt through his abſence the State ſhould do nothing the next Summer; but being carried by Tempeſt into a deſart place, called the *Haven of Menelaus*, lying betwixt *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, he there fell ſick and died. His friends laying his Corps in Wax, for want of Honey, carried it to *Lacedæmon*, where it was buried according to his worth, and dignity.

Plutarch. Xenoph. Cornelius Nepos & Diodorus ut ſupra.

Ageſilaus having ſerved him, in his return dieth.

97. About the time of his death died alſo *Artaxerxes* the King of *Perſia*, after he had reigned 43 years. He had 115 ſons, of which three onely were legitimate; *Darius*, *Ariaſpes*, and *Ochus*, the reſt being begotten of Concubines, of which he kept 360. with which yet he could not be contented without the addition of *Atoſſa* his own daughter, his own mother to pleaſe him becoming a Bawd to his inceſtuous affections. When he was grown old, perceiving his ſons to ſtrive about the ſucceſſion, and eſpecially *Ochus* (who although the youngeſt, hoped by the means of *Atoſſa* to procure the Kingdom of him) fearing leſt after his death he might do as his Uncle *Cyrus* had formerly done, contrary to the cuſtom of *Perſia*, which admitted not of two Kings

Plutarch. in Artaxerxe, Juſtin. lib. 10.

Artaxerxes dieth, having before his death made *Darius* King, who plotting againſt him.

Kings at the ſame time; he made *Darius* the eldeſt, now 50 years old King, whileſt he lived, leſt his death ſhould involve the Empire in civil broils. It was the faſhion for him that was made King, to aſk, and receive ſomething at the hands of him that made him, according to which *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* to wife, which formerly having been Concubine to *Cyrus*, *Artaxerxes* took, and afterwards married. He out of indulgence to him firſt granted his requeſt, for that ſhe being a free woman, and no ſlave, might chuſe whether ſhe would have him, and hoping ſhe would refuſe; but ſhe willingly accepting of the thing, and he then repenting of what he had raſhly promiſed, conſecrated her as a Nun to *Diana*, that ſhe might live for the remainder of her dayes a ſingle life. *Darius* hereby inceniſed, through the provocation of *Tiribazus*, (who bore *Artaxerxes* malice for defrauding him of his daughter *Amiſtris*, whom he promiſed to him, but married her himſelf) entred with 50 of his brethren into a conſpiracy againſt the life of his father, and the plot being revealed by an Eunuch, was put to death with his complices.

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Is put to death.

Darius being removed out of the way, *Ochus* was more inflamed with a deſire of reigning, to which he was more incenſed by *Atoſſa* his ſiſter. But he feared two of his brothers; *Ariaſpes* legitimate, and the elder, and one *Arſames*, who though baſe born, and the younger, yet was much eſteemed for his wiſdom, and eſpecially beloved by his father. Both of them he reſolved to deſtroy; the former by his cunning, and the later by down-right cruelty; for he hired ſome who never ceaſed to tell *Ariaſpes*, as a great ſecret, that his father was reſolved to make him away by a cruel, and ſhamefull death, and ſo often inculcating it unto him as ſpeedily to be done, drove him to that fear and deſperation that he poyſoned himſelf. *Artaxerxes* mourned for him, but knowing the kind of his death, and ſuſpecting the cauſe, yet through extream age was unable to ſearch into the matter and find it out: onely he imbraced *Arſarmes* more affectionatly than ever, and not obſcurely ſignified that he onely could truſt, and rely upon him. *Ochus* judging then that no delay was to be uſed, procured *Harpates* the ſon of *Teribazus* (who fell in the treaſon of *Darius*) to murder him. *Artaxerxes* was already ſo ſpent with age that he ſeemed to want but the leaſt furtherance to his death, ſo that word being brought him of the death of *Arſames*, he was not able to bear it, but died heart-broken with ſorrow, after he had lived 94 years, in the 43th of his reign; in the third of the 104 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3644. about 360 before the birth of Chriſt. He was eſteemed mild and loving towards his ſubjects, which opinion was mightily confirmed by the cruelty and paricide of his ſucceſſor.

Ochus his wicked practices for the Kingdom.

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From the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, *and the beginning of* Ochus, *to the death of* Darius Codomannus, *containing the ſpace of 32 years.*

1. *Ochus* ſucceeded his father, after whom he was alſo named *Artaxerxes*, and whoſe name the *Perſians* put upon his Succeſſors for a memorial of his mild and proſperous Government. Some think him by the *Perſians* to have been called *Ochoſueros*, or *Achoſueros*; and that he is to be taken for that *Acheſuerus*, or *Ahaſuerus* the husband of *Eſther*, mentioned in Scripture, who by the ſeventy, and *Joſephus* after them, is named *Artaxerxes*. Some have thought *Cambyſes* to have been the man, but he reigned onely ſeven years, whereas above twelve are given to *Ahaſuerus*. Neither could *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* be he, if the *Jews* with others rightly accounted the book of *Eſther* to have been the laſt in order of all the Canonical Scripture of the Old Teſtament, and for that *Vaſhti* his wife is thought to be *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, it cannot be, becauſe he never put

Diodorus.

Ochus ſucceeded.

Jacobus Capellus, alii.

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put away *Aristona*, on whom he begat *Xerxes*. And although some plead hard for *Xerxes*, because his wife is called by *Herodotus*, *Amestris*, which they take in the *Persian* tongue to be onely *Ham-Esther*; yet 'tis apparent out of the same Author, that she was the daughter of *Otanes* a *Persian Satrapa*, by Religion an Heathen, and of a most cruel disposition. Besides, *Ahasuerus* in the seventh year of his reign was at *Susan*; but *Xerxes* in the seventh of his reign was absent in the War with *Greece*, and though the *Greeks* corrupted forein names, and might call *Xerxes* him, whom the *Persians* named *Artachsasta*, or *Artachsa-ta*, yet not one in his own language called *Achoschvarosch*. Neither is it probable that *Longimanus* could be the man, who is both in sacred, and prophane story called *Artach-sasta* and *Artaxerxes*; but no where *Achasuerus*. The same may be said of *Nothus*, who both by *Nehemiah* and *Greek* writers is called *Darius*, and of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, concerning whose wife *Statira*, such things are written as can neither agree with *Vashti* nor *Esther*. Now if that of *Esther* be the last Canonical book; and *Nehemiah* lived to the time of *Darius Nothus*, then is it probable, that *Esther* lived in the reign of his son, or Grand-son, and cannot so conveniently be assigned for a wife to any as to *Ochus*.

Esther's husband.

2. *Ochus* knowing of how great Authority his fathers name was to his subjects, and how contemptible he should be after his death was known, procured of the Eunuchs, Chamberlains and Colonels to conceal it for ten moneths, and in the mean time sending about the Royal Seal commanded in his fathers name, to proclaim *Ochus* King. When all owned, and obeyed him as King, he then confessed his fathers death, and commanded a general mourning, according to the custom of *Persia*, and presently took away all Competition, filled (*a*) the Court with the bloud of his kindred, and relations, no regard being had, either to Sex or Age. Amongst the rest he put to death his (*b*) sister *Ocha*, being also his mother-in-law, with cruel torments, and his Uncle with his two sons and Nephews, he caused to be set in an empty place, and killed with Darts, who seemeth well to have been father to *Sisygambis* (mother to *Darius* the last *Persian* King) whose 80 brethren together with their father *Curtius* reporteth to have been murdered by *Ochus*.

Polyænus Strategem. lib.7.

(*a*) *Justin. lib.10.*

(*b*) *Valerius Max. lib.9. cap.2. Ext. ex. 7. Lib.10.cap.8.*

3. From *Ochus* revolted *Artabazus*, against whom were sent some of the *Persian Satrapaes* with 70000 men, and yet by the help of *Chares* the *Athenian* he overthrew them, and rewarded *Chares* with a great summe of money, which he laid out in the paying of his Souldiers. *Ochus* knowing of this, expostulated seriously with the *Athenians* about it, who hearing that he intended with 300 ships to assist their Enemies (with whom they were now ingaged in the *social* War) presently clap't up a peace with them. *Artabazus* being forsaken of the *Athenians*, betook himself to the *Thebans*, who ordered *Pammenes* with 500 men to passe over into *Asia* to assist him; by whose help *Artabazus* again overthrew the King's forces sent against him in two great and bloudy battels, which got no small credit to *Pammenes*, and his *Bœotians*. Yet a few years after, when the *Thebans* were ingaged in the *Phocian* War, and reduced to extremity for want of money, they sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and obtained of him 300 Talents, which he did as it seemeth to put an obligation upon them to assist him in the War, which he renewed against the *Egyptians*.

Diodorus ad Olymp.106. ann.1.& 4.

Artabazus revolteth from him.

Idem ad Olymp. 107. ann.2.

4. Although *Egypt* had long before this revolted from the *Persian* Empire, yet *Ochus* not at all affecting War kept himself quiet; for, having sent some Armies thither, by the treachery, or ignorance of their Captains, they miscarried, so that having several times badly sped, though despised on that account by the *Egyptians*, yet being a lover of his ease and quiet he submitted to the disgrace. But now at this time (about the eleventh year of his reign) the *Phœnicians* and *Cyprians* taking heart, and rebelling also, he resolved to chastise them all with Arms, and that in his own person; and making great provision of all things for the War, raised 300000 foot, 30000 horse, and 200 Gallies, besides Vessels of burthen. The first Tempest of the War fell upon *Phœnicia*, which revolted upon this occasion. A famous Citie there

He invadeth *Phœnicia.*

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there was therein named *Tripolis*, consisting, according to it's name, of three Cities distant a furlong from each other, and inhabited by *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Arcadians*, in which the assembly General of the *Phœnicians* met and resolved of their most important affairs. Herein the *Persian Satrapaes* and Ambassadors, behaving themselves very uncivilly, and abusing the *Sidonians*, they thereupon resolved to rebel, and perswading the other *Phœnicians* to side with them for the obtaining of their liberty, sent to *Nectanebus* King of *Ægypt* to desire him to receive them into confederacy against *Ochus*. Then to begin their hostility they cut down the Paradise wherein the Kings of *Persia*, when they came that way, used to divert themselves; burnt the hay which the *Satrapaes* had gathered for use in War, and punished such Officers as by whom they had been abused.

5. *Ochus* having notice of this, longed to be revenged of all the *Phœnicians*, but especially on them of *Sidon*; and gathering his Forces together at *Babylon*, set out thence against them. In the mean time whilst he was on his way, the President of *Syria* and *Mazæus* Governour of *Cilicia*, with joynt Forces set upon the *Phœnicians*; but *Tennes* King of *Sidon*, having received out of *Ægypt* a supply of 4000 *Græcians*, over which *Mentor* the *Rhodian* was General, with them and his Citizens together, fell upon the *Satrapaes*, worsted, and expelled them out of *Phœnicia*. Whilst things were thus carried there; another War arose to the *Persians* out of *Cyprus*, wherein were nine Cities of good account, having the lesser Towns in their subjection, and each of them a King; but all Subjects to the *Persian*, all which now, imitating the *Phœnicians*, revolted. *Ochus* receiving tidings hereof, wrote to *Adrieus* Prince of *Caria* (who being newly come to the Government, was by the tenure of his Principality a friend and associate in war to the *Persian* Empire) to provide Forces both for Sea and Land against them, who accordingly with great expedition making ready 40 Gallies and 8000 Mercenaries, sent them into *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Phocion*, the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, who heretofore had held the Island as King. These two landing their men, laid close siege to *Salamine* both by Land and Sea, and the Island having been quiet of late, and for that reason abounding with riches, great numbers flocked out of desire of plunder from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, insomuch that the number of the besiegers was doubled. Hereupon all the other Cities submitted themselves; onely *Protagoras* held out still, and *Evagoras* thought by force to re-invest himself of that Kingdom, devolved upon him from his Ancestors: But at length *Protagoras* also submitting, obtained *Salamine* still; and *Evagoras* contented himself with a larger Dominion given him in *Asia*, which ill governing, he fled again into *Cyprus*, and there taken was put to death.

Mentor the Rhodian offereth to betray *Sidon* to him.

6. The King was on his march towards *Phœnicia*, when *Mentor* the *Rhodian* understanding what strength he had, and how unable the Rebels were to make resistance, sent one to him privately, offering to betray *Sidon* into his hands, and to do him especial service in the conquest of *Ægypt*, being very well skilled in that Country and the River. *Ochus* not onely promised him indemnity, but a large reward, if he would perform what he promised, and placing his greatest felicity in the recovery of *Ægypt*, sent to the chiefest of the *Grecian* States, to desire aid. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* signified their desire to retain amity and a good correspondence with him, but at present could yield him no assistance; but the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men, the *Argives* 3000, and the *Greeks* in *Asia* willing to shew their readiness, furnished him with 6000. Before their arrival the King was got into *Phœnicia*, and sate down not far from *Sidon*, which the Inhabitants had by this time strongly manned within, and fortified with a threefold large ditch, and high walls, besides a Fleet of 100 Gallies. For they exceeded by far all their neighbours in riches.

7. But *Tennes* their King had associated himself with *Mentor* to betray the City, whom leaving therein with command of a part thereof for the better carrying on of the treachery, he himself with 500 Soldiers went out, pretending

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Tennes King of *Sidon* joyneth with him, and yet put to death by *Ochus*.

tending to go to the publick convention of the *Phœnicians*, having with him 100 of the prime Citizens as his Counselors. These he brought straight to *Ochus*, who put them all to death as authors of the rebellion, and after them 500 more, who came as Suppliants with Olives in their hands, after he had understood from *Tennes* that the City should be surrendred to him without any conditions, thereby to strike a terror into the other Towns. After this, *Tennes* easily prevailed with the mercenary *Ægyptians* to let him and the King into the Town, which being done, and *Ochus* having it in his power, judging him now to be of no use to him, he commanded him also to be slain. The *Sidonians* before the King approached had burnt all their ships, left any private person should convey himself away during the Siege. Now seeing themselves betrayed, and their City full of the Enemy which swarmed on every side, they set fire on their houses, and therein burnt themselves with their wives and children, so that (accounting slaves) above 40000 are thought to have perished in the flames. The King sold the rubbish thereof for many talents, much gold and silver being found, because it had flourished with great riches. By this Tragedy of *Sidon* the other Cities being terrified, yielded themselves unto the *Persian*.

Sidon taken & burnt by the Inhabitants.

8. The (*a*) Auxiliaries out of *Greece* being come to *Ochus* after the taking of *Sidon*, he set forward with his whole Army towards *Ægypt*, (*b*) taking *Jericho* a City of *Judæa* (as its probable) in his way, and drawing many *Jews* along with him in his Expedition. Coming (*c*) to the Lake *Sirbonis*, he lost part of his Army in the Whirl-pits and Bogs, through ignorance of the place, and a length arrived at *Pelusium* the first frontier-town, which was held with a Garrison of 1000 men. Now the King divided the *Grecian* Forces into three bodies, and over each constituted a Captain of their own Nation, and joyned a *Persian* with him: the other Forces he kept in his own Command, being greatly intent about the main business. On the other side *Nectanebus* was not a whit discouraged, having in pay 20000 *Græcians*, and as many *Africans*, besides 60000 of his own *Ægyptians*, and an innumerable Compapany of boats for the River. But by his conceitedness and want of skil he miscarried, having formerly prospered whilst he used the conduct of the *Grecian* Captains, but now his Fortune changing upon his sole managing the War, for which he thought himself sufficiently able. After then he had fortified his Garrisons, with 30000 *Ægyptians*, 5000 *Greeks*, and half of the *Africans*, he seized upon such places, as were most advantagious for passage into the Country.

(*a*) *Diodorus ut supra Olymp.* 107. *ann.* 3.
(*b*) *Solinus cap.* 35. *Aristus de Iude p.*
(*c*) *Diodorus ibid.*

Ochus invadeth *Ægypt.*

9. Things standing thus betwixt them, *Nicostratus* the Captain of the *Argives* getting some *Ægyptians* for Guides, passed with the Fleet through a ditch, and in a place something remote and out of sight landed his men, and pitched his tents; which being known by the Garrison, a party issued out, and fell upon them; but the *Græcians*, after a sharp contest, slew their Captain, and of them about 5000 nem. *Nectanebus* upon report made of this defeat was greatly discouraged, fearing all the rest of the *Persian* Army might be easily transported, and suspecting lest the Enemy should bend his utmost strength against *Memphis* the Metropolis, was especially concerned for it, and with that party which accompanied him returned thither. In the mean time *Lacrates* the *Theban*, General and principal of all the *Grecian* Captains drained the Chanel by cutting a ditch, and passing over his Soldiers raised a battery against *Pelusium*, by which the walls being much broken the defendants raised still Pallisadoes in the place, and the *Grecians* within stoutly defending the Fort, a great contest hapned for several dayes. But as soon as they heard of the Kings departure, they desired a Parley, and *Lacrates* interposing an Oath, that upon yielding of the place, they should depart with such things as they brought out of *Greece*, they presently yielded. Then *Artaxerxes* sent *Bagoas* an *Eunuch* of great authority with him, with a party of *Barbarians* to take possession of *Pelusium*, who meeting the *Græcians* took from them many things contrary to the agreement. This they received in great disdain, and called to their gods as witnesses of the Oath, which to keep

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keep *Lacrates* fell upon the *Barbarians*, put them to flight with the losse of some, and defended his Country-men, for which being accused by *Bagoas*, the King defended what he had done, and punished the Authors of the violence.

10. *Pelusium* being taken, the other Towns were easily reduced by this stratagem of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, the third Captain of the *Græcians*. These places being held by Garrisons consisting of two sorts of Nations, *Græcians* and *Ægyptians*, he caused this rumour to be spread abroad, that *Artaxerxes* had resolved to deal mildly with all those who should deliver up any Towns, but such as should withstand him, he would prosecute with as great severity as the *Sidonians*; and he gave in charge to the Sentinels to let as many Citizens go out as would. By this means this report was presently spread all over *Ægypt*, and thereupon mutinies followed betwixt the Strangers and Natives in every Garrison, each endeavouring first to betray their trust, and gain credit of the Conquerours by their speedy treachery. Accordingly when *Mentor* and *Bagoas* laid siege to *Bubastis*, the *Ægyptians* secretly sent to the latter to yield to him the Town upon security of a free dismission. The *Græcians* suspecting the matter, persued the Messenger, and getting from him the whole truth, in a great great rage fell upon the *Ægyptians*, whereof some they slew, others they wounded, and drove the rest into a corner of the Town. They signified this to *Bagoas*, and desired him with all speed to come and take possession of the Town, and in the mean time a messenger was sent to *Mentor* from the *Græcians*, who advised them as soon as *Bagoas* should enter the Town to fall upon the *Barbarians*. As soon therefore as part of his Soldiers with him was entred, they shut the gates, and killing all the Soldiers, took *Bagoas* himself prisoner.

11. *Bagoas* (*a*) seeing his onely hope to be in *Mentor*, earnestly besought him to be the means of his deliverance, promising him to do nothing for the future without his approbation, who procuring his release, and having the Town delivered up into his own hands, as he got the credit of the enterprise, so ingaged he *Bagoas* to him, who entred by Oath into friendship and endearedness, which he also kept to the last, and by which union they both became afterwards the most powerful of all the King's Officers. After the surrender of *Bubastis*, the other Cities made their peace, but *Nectanebus* lying at *Memphis*, and seeing what progresse the Enemy made in his conquest, would not endanger his personal safety for a Kingdom, but packing up all his treasures got him away into *Æthiopia*. Then became *Artaxerxes* Master of all *Ægypt*, and demolishing the walls of the greater Towns, spoyled the Temples, and got much treasure. He carried away the Writings of the Priests, which afterwards *Bagoas* restored to them for a great sum of money, he (*b*) derided *Apis* and all their gods, and for that the *Ægyptians* had for his dulnesse (*c*) called him an *Asse*, he sacrificed *Apis* being taken by violence, to an *Asse*, making his flesh also be dressed up for meat. Then rewarded he the *Gracians* with great munificence, according to their particular merits, and making *Phœrendates Satrapa* of *Ægypt*, he returned laden with glory and spoyl unto *Babylon*, taking (*d*) in his way a great number of *Jews* captive, of whom some he placed at *Babylon*, and others in *Hyrcania* upon the *Caspian* Sea.

(*a*) *Diodorus ut supra.*

Nectanebus flieth out of *Ægypt.*

(*b*) *Sulp. Severus Hist. Sacr. lib.* 2.
(*c*) *Elian. var. Hist. lib.* 4. *c.* 8.
Suid. in Ocho.
(*d*) *Orosius l.* 3. *cap.* 7. *quere Diodorus ad Olymp.* 107. *ann.* 4.

12. *Ochus* rewarded *Mentor* the *Rhodian* with 100 talents of silver, and much costly houshold-stuff, and making him governour of the Coasts of *Asia*, gave him full power to make war upon his Rebels. He used his power moderately towards *Artabazus* and *Memnon*, who formerly had revolted, and now were fled to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*: those he reconciled to the King, and sent for them both with their Families; for *Artabazus* had by the Sister of *Mentor* and *Memnon* eleven Sons and ten Daughters, by which number *Mentor* being much affected, not onely procured him his pardon, but preferred by degrees all the youths to honourable command in the Army. After this promise of pardon he allured *Hermias* the Eunuch Governour of *Atarnus* into his hands, whom casting into prison, he took his Ring and therewith signed letters,

Idem ibid. Polyænus lib 6. *Strabo lib.* 13.

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13. *Philip* the son of *Amyntas* at this time reigning in *Macedonia*, grew very potent, and besieged *Perinthus*, a Town in *Thrace*, situate upon the *Propontis*, with 30000 men, and very strong provision for War; so that he straightly pressed the inhabitants, giving them no rest through his continual attempts. This *Artaxerxes Ochus* taking notice of, and being very jealous of his sudden growth, commanded the *Satrapaes* of the Maritime Coasts of *Asia* to relieve the *Perinthians* as effectually as might be, which they so performed as he missed of his design; and this afterwards was objected as a sufficient cause, amongst others, for the invasion of *Asia*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 109. *ann.* 4.

Philip King of *Macedonia* opposed by *Ochus.*

14. In the reign of *Ochus*, as some think, hapned those things which are * said to have been done in *Judea*, during the reign of *Artaxerxes*, and to have given an occasion of imposing a Tribute upon that Countrey. After the death of *Eliashib* the Priest, his son *John* succeeded him in his Office according to his birth-right, who had a brother named *Jeshua*. This *Jeshua* being in great favour with *Bagoses*, the Kings General, had a promise from him that he should have the Priesthood, by which he was so heartned as to strive with *John* in the Temple, and so far provoked him as he slew him there. *Bagoses* hearing this, endeavoured to enter the Temple, and when he was forbidden asked if they counted him more impure than the Carkess that lay within, and entring by force, took thence occasion to punish the *Jews* seven years for the death of *Jeshua*. For two Lambs being dayly offered in the constant sacrifices, he imposed upon every one a Tribute of fifty drachms, which amounted to the yearly rate of sixty *Attick* Talents. But if these things hapned in the time of this *Artaxerxes*, and he be taken for *Ahasuerus*, then must this murther have been committed towards the beginning of his reign, and this Tribute of seven years been exacted before *Mordecai* the *Jew* came in favour, which was after the fall of *Haman*, in the twelfth year of *Ahasuerus*.

* *Josephus Antiquit. lib.* 11. *cap.* 7.

Affairs of *Judea* in the time of *Ochus.*

15. During the reign of *Ochus*, in his ninth year, died *Mausolus* the petty King of *Caria*, more famous after his death than whilest living, to whom his wife *Artemisia* succeeding, because he left no Children, burned with such affection towards him, that reducing his bones and ashes into pouder she drunk it, desiring to become a quick and breathing monument of her husband. She proposed great rewards to such Orators as would speak eloquently in his commendation, in which did several notable men of that time. For the preservation of his memory she raised such a monument as deserved to be reckoned amongst the seven wonders of the World, and in the work whereof the most exquisite artificers that then could be found were employed. *Scopas* on the East part, *Bryaxes* on the North, *Timotheus* on the South, and *Leochares* on the West, who notwithstanding *Artemisia* died of melancholy before the work was compleated, yet proceeded to the finishing of it, intending it as a monument, not onely of *Mausolus* (upon which account the * *Romans* called their most exquisite pieces of Architecture *Mausolea*) but also of the excellency of their Art; to transmit their own names as well as his posterity.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. *ann.* 4.

Strabo lib. 14. *Gellius lib.* 10. *cap.* 18.

Mausolus his monument.

Plinius lib. 36. *cap.* 5.

* *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

16. *Bagoas* had risen to that power with *Ochus*, that he ruled all things at his pleasure, the King doing nothing without his consent. Yet either misdoubting of his security through the cruel disposition of the King, or willing to have a greater power, owing *Ochus* also some displeasure for killing the *Egyptian* God *Apis* (he belonging to that Countrey) poysoned him by the means of a Physician, after he had reigned 23 years. Being dead, he cast him to the Cats to be devoured, another being buried in the Royal Sepulchre, in

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 2. *Alian. Var. Hist. lib.* 6. *cap.* 8.

Bagoas killeth *Ochus*, and setting up *Arses* maketh him away within a while.

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in his stead, and that he might expresse his cruel disposition, of his Thighbones he caused sword hilts to be made. In his stead he made King his youngest son *Arses*, killing all his other sons, that the new King being destitute of kindred & friends, might yield the more obedience to himself. In reality he now reigned, usurping all, except the meer Title; but *Arses* beginning to look to himself, when he had ground to suspect that he intended to call him to an account for his wickedness, he made him away also with all his Children in the third year after he had set him up.

Darius Codomannus.

17. All the Children of *Arses* perishing with him, and the Royal family thereby being desolate, *Bagoas* made choice of one (*a*) *Codomannus* his friend, and placed him in the Throne, whom some Authors would have not at all to be descended of the Royal line, being a Carrier of Letters, but others make him the son of *Arsames* (brother to *Ochus*) by *Sisygambis* his sister, according to the custom of the *Persian* marriages. Whilest a private man in the *Cadusian* War he shewed himself valiant, killing an Enemy, who challenged any one of *Ochus* his Army to a single Combat, and thereby for the present procuring great rewards, honour, and the Government of *Armenia*, after *Arses* his death came to be remembred by the people, which made choice also of him for their King, and that nothing of Royal Majesty might be wanting to him gave him the name of *Darius*. Not long after his preferment *Bagoas* repented him of what he had done, and being much versed in King killing, provided a potion to send him after *Ochus* and *Arses*, which he having notice of, called him to him, and in a pleasant humour offered it to himself to drink, and thereto compelled him, satisfying the people sufficiently in that he thus required him, who sought the same way to entrap him.

(*a*) *Diodorus. Strabo lib.* 15. *& Plutarch. in Alexand. alibi, Diodorus, Arrianus, Curtius.*

Justin. lib. 10.

Curtius lib. 6. *cap.* 6.

By this *Darius* was sent into *Samaria*, as a *Satrapa*, *Sanballet*, a *Cuthean* by birth, and so of the same Original the *Samaritans* themselves were. He thinking it good policy to procure Amity with the *Jews*, his Neighbours, married his daughter *Nicaso* to *Manasses* the brother of *Jaddus* the High-Priest.

Josephus Antiquit. lib. 11. *cap.* 7.

Together with his Kingdom espouseth a quarrel with the King of *Macedonia.*

18. *Darius* with the Empire of *Persia* was necessitated to espouse a quarrel with the greatest Monarch then known in the World except himself, and with such a people in combination with him, as easily excelled all others in Military skill and valour. The quarrels which hapned betwixt the *Persians* and *Gracians* had been many, and as many bickerings and contests in the field had ensued thereupon, wherein as the *Greeks* both at home and abroad had constantly had successe agreeable to their dexterity, so each foil of the *Persians* gave as great a stroak to their credit, insomuch as they were sleighted by the other, especially after the retreat of those that assisted *Cyrus*, who in despight of all *Artaxerxes* could do, marched through the midst of his Territories as Conquerours, and having seen the great riches of those Countreys through which they passed, carried home a longing desire after them, and an indignation that such things should be enjoyed by those who seemed not in capacity to defend them.

19. The disadvantage of the *Persians* was the rising of the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, to that high pitch of greatnesse to which it had been of late advanced by the abilities of *Philip* the present King, who though he might have pretended a cause where none was, yet was there some occasion of offence given him, though but counted a necessary allay to his rising fortune so terrible to the *Persian* Empire: For when with great preparations he had besieged *Periathus* a Citie of *Thrace*, *Ochus* gave order to his Lieutenants to assist the besieged, which was so powerfully done, as his design miscarried. Yet he having brought all *Greece* to his beck, and established his interest sufficiently in *Europe*, resolved upon *Asia*, and assembling the estates at *Corinth*, procured himself to be declared General of all *Greece* for the *Persian* War; for which he made mighty preparations, imposing a certain number of Souldiers upon every Citie. The next Spring he sent over as before him into *Asia* three Captains, *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, under pretence of freeing the

Vide Arrianum lib. 1. *pag.* 41.

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Greek Cities there, which hapned the same year that *Arses* died, and he lived himself not long after, being stabbed by one *Pausanias*, as he was solemnizing the nuptials of his daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. Hereupon *Darius*, who before studied how to turn the War into *Macedonia*, thought himself secure, despising the youth of *Alexander* his son and Successor, who exceeded not the age of 20 years.

20. But *Alexander* being a young man of a great and restless spirit, and of wisdom & valour far above his age, overcame all difficulties, both in *Greece* and *Asia*, which his Enemies had raised (getting himself to be chosen in a little time General of the one, as his father had been, and in the other suppressing betimes the sedition of the Army of *Attalus*, by taking of him out of the way) and most vehemently burnt with a desire of the Conquest of the *Persian* Empire; from an endeavour after which he might by no means be diverted. Having either by fair, or foul means setled his matters in *Europe*, he passed over into *Asia* two years after his fathers death, and landed at *Troas* with a Fleet of sixty long ships. He first cast a spear out upon the shore, and leaped out in a frisking manner, as taking possession of the Continent. Then presently he made a visit to the Tombs of *Achilles* and *Ajax*, to whom he made a parentation, and mustered the Army he had brought over with him. Concerning the number of Forces, those that were there present themselves have not agreed in their relation, but according to the greatest probability, there were of foot 13000 *Macedonians*, of the Associates 7000. and 5000 Mercenaries, besides of *Odrysa*, *Triballi*, and *Illyrians* 5000. and 1000 Archers, with such as fought with Darts. Of horse there were 1800 *Macedonians*, 1800 *Thessalonians*, and of other *Grecians* 600. besides a Guard of 900 *Thracians* and *Paonians*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 3. *Justin. lib.* 11. *Arrianus lib.* 1.

Alexander of *Macedonia* invadeth *Asia*.

21. *Darius* after he had heard how *Alexander* was declared General of *Greece*, and was much spoken of for his valour, shook off his former security and buckled himself to preparation for resistance. He got together a considerable Navy, and raised great Forces, for command of which he made choice of most expert Captains, and amongst the rest of *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, a man very excellent in Military matters, whom he sent into *Phrygia* with a band of 5000 Mercenaries to reduce *Cyzicus* to his obedience. He passed over the Hill *Ida*, and on a sudden set upon the Citie, and had well-nigh taken it; but the Defendants making strong resistance, he plundred the Territories adjacent, and then retreated with much booty. In the mean while *Parmenio*, one of the three Captains sent into *Asia* by *Philip*, and who stood close to the interest of *Alexander*, took by storm *Strynium*, a Town of *Phrygia*, and sold the inhabitants. From thence he went to *Pitanes* to attempt the same upon it, but *Memnon* coming upon him struck such a terrour into his men that he was forced to raise his siege. After this, *Callas* with a band of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries ingaged with the *Persians* in a battel at *Troas*, but being overmatched in numbers, he was worsted, and betook himself to *Rhoteum*. These things fell out before the passage of *Alexander* into *Asia*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 2.

22. After (*a*) *Alexander* was landed, the *Persian* Captains met to consult about carrying on the War, whom *Memnon* advised by no means to hazard a battel with him; but to lay waste the Countrey before him, thereby to hinder his march any farther for want of necessaries, and then to passe all their Forces over into *Macedonia*, and so to transfer the seat of the War into *Europe*. This wholesom Counsel was rejected as below the *Persian* courage, and a resolution taken to ingage, so that gathering their forces together they marched into *Phrygia* towards the *Hellespont*, and pitched their Tents upon the River *Granicus* (which runneth through the plains of *Adrastea*) intending it as a defence to them. (*b*) *Alexander* in his way thither passed by *Lampsacus*, the inhabitants of which either having already revolted to the *Persian*, or else suspected of such an intent he resolved utterly to destroy. As he was thus minded *Anaximenes* an Historian of that place, well known formerly to his father, and also to him, presented himself to him, to whom he swore in so many words, that he would not grant what he was about to ask, which the other readily apprehending, desired of him *that he would destroy Lampsacus*, so that with his sharpnesse of wit being circumvented, he was constrained to spare it against his will.

(*a*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 111. *ann.* 3.

(*b*) *Valer. Maximus l.* 7. *cap.* 3. *Exter Exemp.* 4. *Pausan. Eliac. lib.* 2.

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23. *Alexander* having with great trouble and danger passed the River *Granicus*, then (*a*) ingaged with the *Persians* in a great and bloody battel, wherein much valour was shewn on both sides. *Spithrobates*, a *Persian Satrapa* of *Ionia*, and Son in Law to *Darius*, a man of a great courage, with a strong body of Horse fell upon the *Macedonians*, whom no one being able to sustain, *Alexander* himself grapled with him, a fierce combat ensued, he wounding the King, who yet at length slew him. But *Rosaces* his brother coming in upon *Alexander*, gave him such a blow on the head as broke his helmet and lightly wounded him, and a second had killed him outright but that *Clitus*, Sirnamed *Niger*, a *Macedonian*, putting spurs to his Horse, in good time cut off the hand of the *Barbarian*. A great conflict then ensued betwixt the principal *Persians* and *Macedonians*, and many of the former lost their lives upon the place; amongst which of most special note were *Atyxes* and *Pharnaces*, brother to the wife of *Darius*, and *Mithrobarzanes* Captain of the *Cappadocians*. These being slain, those that opposed *Alexander* began to flye, and afterwards all the rest; of the 100000 foot which the *Persians* brought into the field about 10000 being slain, and of the 20000 Horse, 2000. Of *Alexander* his Army one (*b*) reports nine Foot-men, and 120 Horse-men to have fallen, but (*c*) another onely 34 in all, amongst which were nine Foot-men. The King by confession of all deserved most commendation for his valour, and next to him the *Thessalian* Horse-men. (*d*) *Arsites* the *Persian* fled into *Phrygia*, and there killed himself, because through his advice, he seemed to have been author of this overthrow.

The battel of *Granicus*.

(*a*) *Diodorus ibid.*

(*b*) *Justin ex Trogo.*

(*c*) *Plutarch. ex Aristobulo.*

(*d*) *Arrianus lib.* 1.

24. After he had refreshed his Army, *Alexander* marched through *Lydia*, having *Sardis* delivered up to him, and came to *Ephesus*, where he dissolved the Oligarchical form of Government, and set up a Democratical one in its room, commanding the same to be done in all *Greek* Cities, which he ordered to be left to their own Laws. The *Persians* which had escaped at *Granicus* were come to *Miletus* with *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, against which City he went and besieged it both by Land and Sea, and by his Engines making great breaches in the walls, the Inhabitants yielded themselves to his mercy, to whom he gave both life and freedom, but such *Barbarians* as he took he either slew or scattered them up and down in the quality of slaves. A little after he dissolved his Fleet, consisting of 160 Ships or more, onely reserving a certain number for the conveying of Engines and other instruments for a siege, amongst which were twenty Auxiliary Vessels belonging to *Athens*.

Diodorus ut prius.

25. *Memnon*, after the taking of *Miletus*, with the most considerable *Persian* Officers, and a multitude of Mercenaries, betook themselves to *Halicarnassus*, the greatest and most elegant City in *Caria*, which he took upon him to defend for the King, to whom he sent as Hostages his Wife and Children, and thereupon command was given to all the Maritime parts of *Asia*, to obey him as their Captain General in the War. *Alexander* in the mean time sent his Engines thither by water, together with provision for his Army, and marched himself by Land thitherwards with his whole Forces, setting at liberty in his way all the *Greek* Cities, which he left to their own Laws, and freed from Tribute, professing that he undertook this Expedition for the freedom of the *Greeks*. In his way he was met by *Ada* the Queen of *Caria*, who after the death of her Husband *Idrieus*, was deposed by her Brother *Pexodarus*. She delivered up *Alinda*, the strongest City in the Country wherein she dwelt, into his hands, and imploring his help for the recovery of the Kingdom, adopted him for her son. He despised it not, and left her the Government of *Caria*, over which he declared her Queen, by which courtesie the Cities being overcome, sent him Crowns of gold, and delivered up themselves into his power.

Alexander setteth at liberty all *Greek* Cities.

26. *Oromobates* a *Persian*, Son in Law to *Pexodarus*, after his death kept

Sect. 4. kept possession of *Halicarnassus*, with whom *Memnon* the *Rhodian* and other *Persians*, after the taking of *Miletus*, joyned themselves. *Alexander* now besieged it, and with all his might endeavoured the taking of it by assault; but such was the pertinaciousnesse of the defendants, that they held him out, and making a sallie had given him a defeat, if the old Soldiers buckling their Arms to them had not come in in good time, and repulsed them with great slaughter; after which the Soldiers forsook the City, and so he took it, and levelled it with the ground. The Castle he fortified with a wall, and a notable ditch, in which for the defence of *Caria* he left 3000 forein Foot, and 200 Horse, under the command of *Ptolomy*; and restored to his adoptive Mother *Ada*, the Principality of the Country. From thence he proceeded towards *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, that reducing the Sea-Coasts into his power, he might render the Enemies Navy unserviceable to him, which he in a good measure performed, and came in the midst of Winter into *Mylias* a Region of *Phrygia*, where he entred into League with the Ambassadors sent to him from *Phaselis*, and the lower *Lycia*, who surrendred all the Cities into his hands. Afterwards he went into *Phaselis*, where he stormed a Castle built by the *Pisidians*, to infest the Country.

Diodorus & Arrianus ut supra.

He taketh & razeth *Halicarnassus.*

27. Whilst (*a*) he here remained, he understood of a plot against his life, by *Alexander Aeropus*, called also *Lunceστes* (from *Lyncus* a Town of *Epirus*, as it's probable) who was promised by *Darius* the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, and 1000 talents of Gold besides, if he could any way procure his death. His Mother had by letters advised him to take heed of him, and the thing being confessed by *Asisines* a *Persian*, whom *Darius* under a shew of a Message to the Governour of *Phrygia*, had sent to deal with him in this matter, he committed him to custody, not thinking it safe to put him to death, lest thereupon some trouble should follow, in *Macedonia*. From *Phaselus* he marched to *Perga* on the shore of the *Pamphylian* Sea, concerning which many ancient Historians reported, that it by an extraordinary providence gave way to him, and herein *Josephus* hath rather been too credulous, whereas (*b*) at a low water the place used to be dry, and gave way to passengers; only *Alexander* hapning to come thither in Winter-season, and trusting all to the goodnesse of his Fortune, would march through before the water was fallen off, so that his men waded all the day in water up to the navel. (*c*) Subduing all in his passage, at length he came to the Lake of *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, and thence in five Encampings to *Celana*, the Castle of which being held by the *Satrapa* of *Phrygia* with 1000 *Carians*, and 100 mercenary *Gracians*, after 60 dayes truce (in which they had in vain expected relief from *Darius*) was yielded unto him.

(*a*) *Arrianus lib.* 1.

The treason of *Alexander Lyncestes.*

(*b*) *Strabo lib.* 14.

(*c*) *Arrianus ibid.*

28. In *Celana* he left a Garrison of 1500 Soldiers, and declaring *Antigonus Satrapa* of *Phrygia*, went forward for *Gordium*, having wrote to *Parmenio* to meet him there with his Forces, who accordingly came; and there arrived also a supplie of 1650 men out of *Greece*. This *Gordium* a City in *Phrygia*, had been the regal City of *Midas* the Son of *Gordius* King of this Country (concerning whom notable Stories are related) and herein was a Temple of *Jupiter*, wherein *Alexander* heard that there was a yoak belonging to *Gordius*, the bands of which whosoever could untie, the Oracles promised him the Empire of all *Asia*. When he had taken the Town he came into the Temple, and asked for the yoak, which being brought to him, when he could not find the ends of the thongs which were hid amongst the knots, lest his frustrate endeavour should be ominous, he cut them in pieces, with his sword, and thereby either eluded or fulfilled the Oracle.

Curtius lib. 3. *Arrianus lib.* 1. *& 2. Plutarch in Alexand. Justin lib.* 11. *Curtius l.* 3. *c.* 2.

He cutteth in two the *Gordian* knot.

29. *Darius* this while sent a great sum of money to *Memnon*, whom he had declared General of all his Forces, wherewith he raising many men all over where he came, and rigging a Navie of 300 ships, betook himself seriously to his work. He presently reduced *Chius*, and sailing to *Lesbus* easily took *Antissa*, *Methymnus*, *Phyrrhus*, and *Eressus*; but *Lesbus* and *Mitylene* more strongly fortified, with great losse of men. His name being blazed abroad by these actions, most of the Islands *Cyclades* sent their Ambassadors about

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 4.

Arrianus l. 2.

about a Peace, and a rumour being spread that he intended to fall upon *Eubœa*, a great fear seized upon the Inhabitants thereof, and many of the *Gracians* who envied the Fortune of *Alexander*, began to take courage, and conceive new hopes, amongst which were the *Lacedæmonians*, who alwaies had despised both his alliance and that with his Father. Thus prosperously succeeded *Darius* his affairs under the management of *Memnon*; but Providence having otherwise determined concerning his estate, *Memnon* died shortly after, and with him the King's successe was even extinct. He was in good hope that the War would have been translated out of *Asia* into *Europe*, by necessitating *Alexander* to return; but understanding of his death, he consulted with his Friends whether he should manage the War by his Lieutenants, or go himself in person, and give the *Macedonians* battel.

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Memnon Darius his General dieth.

30. The *Persians* perswaded him to march in the head of the Army, which thereby would fight with more alacrity, but *Charidemus* (or *Eudemus*) an *Athenian*, a man much admired for valour and prudence (who by the command of *Alexander* being banished his Country, was come to the *Persian* Court) advised him not rashly to commit the fortune of his Empire to the hazard of his own life, but keeping the chief power in his own hands to send some expert Lieutenant to the War. He told him that 100000 men would be sufficient for this enterprize; a third part of them being *Gracians*, with which he doubted not to engage to perfect what already was well begun by *Memnon*. The King at first gave ear to what he said; but the *Persians* obstinately opposed it, and so interpreted his words as if he affected the chief command, for that end, that he might betray the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Hereat he grew angry, and in his passion upbraided the *Persians* with cowardise, which so far incensed the King, before this exasperated against him, that his anger overtopping his reason, he cast a belt about him after the *Persian* manner, and commanded him to be put to death, who foreseing his ruine, cried out as he was led away, that shortly he would repent it, and pay sufficiently for so unjust proceedings. After the cooling of his passion he repented too late of his rashnesse, and considering the valour of the *Lacedæmonians*, bethought himself what man of worth he might find fit to succeed *Memnon*; but finding none to whom he might commit so great a trust, was necessitated to expose himself to danger for the preservation of his Kingdom. Then raised he Forces in all places, wich he commanded should meet at *Babylon*, where accordingly were found 400000 Foot, and above 100000 Horse, and with this number (taking his Mother, Wife, one Son of six years of age, and two Daughters marriageable along with him) hee marched towards *Cilicia*.

Diodorus ibid. Curtius lib. 3.

31. *Alexander* in the mean while placed *Satrapaes* over *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, which voluntarily yielded themselves, and hastned towards the Straights of *Cilicia* called *Pylæ*, which being quitted by those that were there placed to maintain them, he easily passed, and came to *Tarsus*, which *Arsames* the *Persian* also forsook, and wasting *Cilicia* to straighten the *Macedonian* Army of provisions, fled amain to the King. Here he fell sick of a disease, which (*b*) one wrote he got by too much toil, (*c*) others assign no particular cause at all; but according to the general tradition, (*d*) he contracted it by casting himself all hot and sweaty into the River *Cydnus*, whence such a cold seized upon his Nerves that he fell speechlesse, and so small hopes there were of recovery, that little probability was conceived of protracting the danger. Onely one Physician named *Philip* an *Acarnanian*, who used a speedy and desperate kind of course in his practice, undertook the cure. But by letters from *Parmenio* he was lately advised to beware of him, as being corrupted by *Darius* for a great sum of money to make him away. Yet he counting it safer to commit himself to the doubtful fidelity of the man than perish by a certain disease, put himself into his hands, and taking the potion, gave him the letters of *Parmenio* to read, fixing his eyes upon him as he drank, whom as he saw nothing troubled at the matter, he took more courage, and recovered the fourth day after.

Arrianus & Curtius ut supra.

(*b*) *Aristobulus.* (*c*) *Diodorus.* (*d*) *Justin l.* 11. *Curtius. Plutarch. Arrianus & Val. Maximus lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. *extern. exemp. ult.*

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32. *Darius* having notice of the sickneſſe of *Alexander* haſted towards *Euphrates*, thinking to prevent him, and ſeize upon *Cilicia*. But he ſending *Parmenio* before re to poſſeſſe himſelf of the *Pylæ*, or Straights that part *Cilicia* and *Syria*, followed from *Tarſus*, and came to *Anchiale* built by *Sardanapalus*; and thence to *Solus*, where he placed a Garriſon, and fined the inhabitants 200 Talents of ſilver for their affection to the *Perſians*. Hence he marched againſt the *Cilicians*, inhabiting the Mountains, which having brought under, he returned, and underſtanding how *Ptolomy* and *Aſander* his Lieutenants had overthrown *Orontobaces* the *Perſian*, who held the Caſtle of *Halicarnaſſus*, whereby the parts adjacent were reduced to obedience; upon this good news he ſacrifized to *Æſculapius*, and reſtored the Democratical Government to the *Solians*. Then giving order to *Philotas* to lead about the horſe to the River *Pyramus*, he marched with the foot by the Sea-Coaſts, and came thither, whence he paſſed over to the Citie *Mallos*, where he had notice that *Darius* lay at *Sochus*, a place diſtant two dayes march from the Straights. From *Mallos* he paſſed to the Citie *Iſſus*, which being forſaken by the *Perſians*, *Parmenio* had ſeized on, and cleared the paſſage thither, where he conſulted whether he had better paſſe forwards, or there expect his ſupplies out of *Macedonia*. *Parmenio* perſwaded him that no place could be more convenient for him to fight in than that ſtraight one about *Iſſus*, becauſe both their Armies would then be equal in effect, ſuch narrow places being uncapable to receive a multitude. After three dayes he paſſed the Straights and came to *Myriander*, where much rain falling held the *Macedonians* in their Tents. *Amyntas Curtius ibid.*

33. *Darius* in the mean while by the perſwaſion of ſome *Gracians* about him, had made choice of the plains of *Syria*, moſt capable to receive his multitudes, and opportune for the horſe to charge in; and for ſome time here he continued; but *Alexander* delaying his march, he was perſwaded by his Courtiers that he dared not to adventure any further, or look him in the face, and becauſe Winter approached he would loſe no time, and therefore ſending away his money and ſtuff of moſt value, with ſuch as were not fit for War, unto *Damaſcus*, he haſted into *Cilicia*, where he ſuppoſed *Alexander* to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the difficult paſſages, as not daring to try battel in open field. Suppoſing that he pretended ſickneſſe, and hid himſelf in the ſtraights, he paſſed over the Mountain, and went to *Iſſus*, moſt imprudently paſſing by, and leaving him at his back. Taking this place, and therein ſuch of the Enemy as being ſick and weak were there left, he cut off their hands, and then fearing their Arms ſent them away to tell their King what they had ſeen; for he thought now the Enemy to have left *Iſſus*, and fled for fear of him, and for that reaſon haſted over the Hill *Pinarus*, thinking to fall upon him in the Rear. *Alexander* knowing for certain that he was paſſed by, took thence occaſion to encourage his Souldiers, who now could not be overmatched by multitudes, and ſending a party of horſe to view the ſtraights, returned thither by night, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of them. Then refreſhing his men for the reſt of the night, he ſet a ſtrong watch upon the Rock, and in the morning went down into the path, and ſet his Army in order for a battel.

The battel of *Iſſus*.

34. This being done, the Armies joyned ere long, and *Alexander* ſeeing where *Darius* was, made towards him, which when *Oxyathres* the brother of *Darius* ſaw, to prevent him, he placed a Company of moſt valiant horſ-men before the Chariot, which cut off many of *Alexander* his men, who preſſed forwards. But the *Macedonians* giving way to none in valour, with great violence broke in amongſt them, and then a mighty ſlaughter followed, and a great heap of Carkaſes lay before *Darius* his Chariot. Many of the moſt noble Captains amongſt the *Perſians* fell, ſome of the *Macedonians*, and *Alexander* himſelf received a wound in his Thigh. *Darius* his Chariot horſes being wounded with ſpears began to fling, & threatned the overturning of him, when fearing he ſhould be taken alive he leaped out, and mounting an horſe ready for him, he caſt away his Royal apparel, and ſhifted for himſelf, after which his horſe was put to the rout and ran away. The Infantry diſcouraged herewith made no conſiderable oppoſition, the great multitudes being unſerviceable in ſo ſtraight and precipitous a place, and being put to the rout ſo hindred the flight, and trode one another down, that more damage accrued hence than from the meer ſtrength of the Enemy. Of the *Perſian* horſe *Arrianus* writeth 10000 to have been ſlain, and of the foot 90000. with whom others conſent as to the number of the horſe, but as to the foot there is little agreement, ſome accounting more, and others leſſe: 40000 are reported to have been taken.

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35. Of *Alexander's* men 504. *Curtius* ſaith were wounded; 32 foot-men were ſlain, and of horſ-men 150. which ſome reckon leſſe by 20. though another increaſeth them to 300. *Alexander* following the Chace was forced to paſſe with his phalange over the Enemies dead bodies, and with 1000 horſe did great execution, but was not able to reach *Darius*, who rode upon a Mare that had a Foal left at home, and therefore ran with more ſpeed, he being accuſtomed to have ſome kept for ſuch neceſſities. His Tents were eaſily taken, and therein his Mother, Wife, Son, and two daighters; but of money not above 30000 Talents; the reſt being ſent before-hand to *Damaſcus*. The women hearing that *Alexander* was returned with the Robe of *Darius*, made great lamentation, which he underſtanding, ſent *Leonatus* to them to put them out of fear as to his death; to promiſe them the maintenance of their former dignity, and a Viſit from him to be made the next morning. As ſoon as it was light, he went to them with *Hephaſtion* his greateſt favourite, both whom when the Mother of *Darius* ſaw, and knew not which was the King, ſhe made reverence to *Hephaſtion*, as ſeeming to her from the worth of his Clothes to be the greater perſon, which when ſhe underſtood to have been amiſſe, was troubled at it, and asked his pardon; to which he anſwered, ſmiling: *Be not troubled Mother, for he alſo is* Alexander. This battel of *Iſſus* was fought in the moneth *Mamacterion*, *Nicoſtratus* (or *Nicocrates*) being *Archon* at *Athens*, in the fourth year of the 111 *Olympiad*, the fourth of the reign of *Darius*, and the fourth of *Alexander*. A.M. 3672. A.M. 3671. *Olymp.* 111. *ann.* 4. *Darii* 4. *Alexand.* 4.

36. *Alexander*, after this victory, marched for *Syria*, and ſent *Parmenio* before him to *Damaſcus* to ſeize upon *Darius* his Treaſure, which by *Cophenes* the Keeper thereof was betrayed into his hands, and for that was rewarded with death by one of his Complices, who ſent his head to *Darius*. Of Coyn here was found 2600 Talents, beſides 500 pound weight of Bullion, and a World of other riches. Of men and women 30000 were alſo taken, with 7000 beaſts that carried burthens. Then was *Parmenio* ſent to ſeize upon the *Perſian* Fleet, and others to take in the Cities of *Syria*, which upon the report of the ſucceſſe of the battel at *Iſſus* was eaſily done, the Governours of *Darius* yielding themſelves with their Treaſures. As *Alexander* travelled into *Syria*, many petty Kings met him adorned with their Diadems, whereof ſome he received into friendſhip, and others he deprived of their principalities, as they had deſerved of him. When he came to the Citie *Marathon*, he received Letters from *Darius*, wherein he deſired the ranſom of his Wife, Mother, and Children, with ſome other conditions of peace; but ſuch as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been thrice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing, in his direction, to *Alexander* the Title of King. He diſdained his offers, juſtified his War from the invaſion of *Greece* by the former *Perſian* Kings, and the treachery of *Darius* himſelf, who hired one to murder him, as *Philip* his father had formerly been by ſome ſet on by them. He promiſed him his relations without Ranſom, if he would come himſelf as a Suppliant for them, and ſafe conduct, he both knowing, as he ſaid, to overcome, and ſhew favour to the Conquered. And the next time he wrote he bad him remember that he did it not onely to a King, but to his own King alſo.

Curtius lib. 3.

Darius his Lieutenants revolt to *Alexander*.

Justin. lib. 11. Curtius lib. 4.

His offers ſcorned by *Alexander*.

37. *Alexander* marched to *Byblus*, which yielded to him upon compoſition, and thence to *Sidon*, the inhabitants of which being ſo hardly uſed formerly by *Ochus*, in hatred of the *Perſians* ſending for him. The King of *Sidon* was one *Strato*, who being the ſon of *Geroſtratus* the King of *Aradus* the

Arrianus lib. 2. Curtius lib. 4. Justin. lib. 11.

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38. Now was all *Syria* in the hands of the *Macedonians*, and whole *Phœnicia* also except *Tyre*, which Citie was seated in an Island about half a mile distant from the Continent. As he marched thitherwards, the *Tyrians* sent him a Crown of Gold of great value, in a Congratulatory way, and a large quantity of provisions; which he received as from friends, and friendly signified to the Messengers his intention to go into their Citie, to pay some vows he had made to *Hercules*. They told him there was a Temple of *Hercules* without the Citie, in the place called *Old Tyre*, wherein his devotion would be most suitably performed, and so disswaded him from entrance, that he was inraged thereat, and threatned ruin to the Citie, telling them, that though they were confident in the strength of the place, and despised his Land-Army, yet in short time he would make them find they were in the Continent. And in confidence that their Town, not onely fenced with high and strong Walls, but also with the Sea, was impregnable, they resolved to stand out against him, being incouraged also by the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who after their yearly custom (in token of observance to their Mother City) were come to celebrate the sacred Anniversary, and promised them certain, and speedy supply by Sea, which for the most part at that time was commanded by their Fleets. *Curtius lib.* 4. *Justin. lib.* 11. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 112. *ann.* 1. *Plutarch. in Alexandro.* *Arrianus lib.* 2.

39. *Alexander* yet having not his Navy at hand, and foreseeing that a long siege would be a great hindrance to his designs, sent to them about an agreement; but contrary to the Law of Nations, they slew the Messengers, and threw them into the Sea, with which affront being much moved, he resolved to besiege them. Ere he could do this, such a quantity of earth or other matter was to be cast into the Sea, as to joyn the Island to the main land, which for the depth of the water, & the force of the Current, was a task almost insuperable; but there being great store of stones and rubbish at hand in *Old* * *Tyre*, he caused it to be utterly demolished, and by the hands of many thousands of his own men, and the people of the neighbouring places, set upon the work. The *Tyrians* (whose King *Azelmicus* being absent with *Darius* his Admiral, had left them to the Government of his son) hindred it all wayes possible, and when it was near concluded, a violent wind spoiled a great part of it, but to repair it he caused great Trees to be cut down in the Mountains, which together with the boughs being cast in, and earth being heaped upon them, resisted the violence of the waves, and at length by the great number of hands, and incredible industry, the Island became but a Peninsula. But

Alexander his great attempt for the Conquering of *Tyre*.

* *Palætyrus.*

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But for all this, the *Tyrians* having the command of the Sea, their City seemed yet to be impregnable, whereupon *Alexander* had thoughts of gathering together a Fleet; but in the mean time came in the Kings of *Aradus* and *Byblus*, who had withdrawn themselves with their Fleet from *Autophradates* the *Persian* Admiral, and with them the *Sidonian* Gallies. Besides these Vessels belonging to *Phœnicia* (which were 80 in number) at the same time came ten from *Rhodes*, from *Solos* and *Mallos* three, and from *Lycia* ten, besides one great Gally from *Macedonia*. All these he pardoned, as having been necessitated to joyn with the *Persians*. And *Azelmicus* the King of *Tyre* now left *Autophradates* and came home; *Arrianus* writing that he was taken in the City.

40. From the Mountain *Libanus* was wood brought for the making of Engines, Towers, and Ships, in which work whilst *Alexander* his men were imployed, some of the wild *Arabians* fell upon them, slew thirty, and took scarcely so many. He upon notice hereof left the charge of the Siege to *Perdiccas*, and *Craterus*, and speedily with a ready Band of men went into *Arabia*, where when they came to the mountainous parts of the Hill called *Antilibanus*, they left their Horses and marched on foot. When it grew night, and the Enemy approached, though his men were before, yet would he not leave his School-master *Lysimachus* being weary and spent, but still drawing him on was parted from the Army, and forced with a few about him to passe the night in a dark and cold place. But seeing many fires to be kindled afar off by the Enemy, he being nimble of body ran to one of them, and killing two *Barbarians* that there sate, brought away a fire-stick burning to his Companions, who therewith kindled a great fire, and thereby struck such a terror into the *Arabians*, as all that night they passed in quietnesse. Then partly by force and partly by agreement he reduced the Country into obedience, and in eleven dayes time returned to *Sidon*, where he found arrived out of *Peloponnesus* 4000 *Greekish* Mercenaries, under the conduct of *Alexander* the Son of *Polemocrates*.

41. Having then got together a Navy of 190 or 200 ships, he set sail from *Sidon* and came to *Tyre*, the Inhabitants whereof refused to fight by Sea, but yet let down none of their courage, though 30 Messenges were come from *Carthage* to let them know, that that State being hindred by a domestick War, could not afford them any succour. They sent their wives and children thither to be out of the danger, being thereby the more willing to undergo any themselves, which they little regarded, making stout resistance, but at length the City was taken; one saith by treachery, another by a stratageme, but more by plain force; *Alexander* himself alone first going down from the wooden Tower he had reared, by a bridge laid upon the wall. The Inhabitants, though the Enemy had entred, called one upon another, and fortifying the narrow passages stood out still, till the number of 7000 (the most of those that fought) were slain. The Conquerour condemned the women and children that were found unto bondage, the young men to the number of 2000 he caused to be hanged all along the shore, or crucified, as another telleth us, (which was accounted a servile kind of death) because the *Tyrian* slaves had formerly conspired against their Masters, and slain them all with their whole families, leaving no free people alive, except one *Strato* and his Son, to whom and his posterity they committed the Kingdom. Fifteen thousand the *Sidonians* saved upon the account of kindred (they reckoning both *Tyre* and *Sidon* to have been built by *Agenor*) from whom the City was again re-peopled, and to such as had fled to the Temple of *Hercules*, *Alexander* granted indemnity, amongst which the King and his family were, with some *Carthaginians* which were come for the honour of *Hercules* to the *Metropolis*. This befel *Tyre* in the moneth *Hecatombæon*, when *Annicetus* (otherwise called *Niceratus* and *Nicetas*) was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the first year of the 112th *Olympiad*, the fifth of *Darius*, and the fifth of *Alexander*, A. M. 3673.

Tyre taken.

A. M. 3673. *Ol.* 112. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 422. *Darii* 5. *Alexand.* 5.

42. During this Siege, the Officers of *Darius* which escaped from the battel at *Issus*, with all those that followed them, and the youth of the *Cappadocians*,

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docians, and *Paphlagonians*, attempted to recover *Lydia*; but *Antigonus* who there commanded for *Alexander* overthrew them thrice in ſeveral places. At the ſame time alſo *Ariſtimenes*, who was ſent with ſome ſhips by *Darius* to recover the Coaſt of *Aſia*, lying upon the *Helleſpont*, was wholly defeated by a Fleet of *Macedonians* which *Alexander* had ſent for out of *Greece*.

43. Whilſt *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, another Ambaſſage came to him from *Darius*, who now offered him 10000 talents as a ranſom for his relations, and all *Aſia* betwixt the *Helleſpont* and the River *Halys* in Dower with his Daughter; which conditions that he might incline him to receive, he ſets before him the difficulties of paſſing into the Eaſtern Countries, and laid the loſſe of the laſt battel to the ſtraightneſſe of the place: he ſought to terrifie him by threatning to incompaſſe him in the plain Countries, and bad him conſider how impoſſible it was to paſſe the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with things of the like nature. The propoſals being brought before a ſelect Committee of *Alexander*'s friends, *Parmenio* who was now old, and full of riches and honour, ſaid, that if he were *Alexander*, he would accept of them, to which the King anſwered, that ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*. But he returned anſwer to *Darius*, that he offered him nothing but his own, and what victory and his own valour had poſſeſt him of; that he was to give conditions and not to receive any, and that having paſſed the Sea it ſelf, he diſdained to think of reſiſtance in tranſporting his Army over Rivers. As for his Daughter, he ſaid he would marry her, though without his conſent, and if he would taſte of his humanity, he ſhould come and refer himſelf to him. *Darius* having received this anſwer, prepared himſelf anew for the War.

Darius ſendeth new propoſals to *Alexander*, which he refuſeth.

44. *Tyre* being taken, *Alexander* invaded *Judæa*, reſolving to bring all *Paleſtine* into ſubjection. At this time *Jaddus* was the High-Prieſt there, whoſe Brother *Manaſſes* married *Nicaſo* the Daughter of *Sanballat*, who had been ſent from *Darius* to govern *Samaria*, being both Sons to *John*, called in *Nehemiah*, *Jonathan* and *Johanan*, who was Son to *Jehoiada*. *Manaſſes* thus matching himſelf, the people was diſpleaſed at it, and thereupon *Jaddus* deſired him to put away his wife not only the People but the Law ſo requiring it. Hereupon he repaired to his Father in Law, and told him, that his wife was dear unto him; but he muſt either part with her or his Prieſt-hood, who anſwered, that he would ſo bring it about, that he ſhould not onely be Prieſt, but an High-Prieſt alſo, being minded to build for him upon Mount *Gerizim* near to *Samaria* a Temple like to that of *Jeruſalem*, which thing he would obtain to be confirmed by *Darius*. Many betook themſelves to *Manaſſes*, being aſſured with the newneſſe of the thing, and the liberality of *Sanballat*; but *Alexander* at that time paſſing the *Helleſpont*, the conſultation thereupon was diſturbed. After *Darius* was beaten and rerired back into *Perſia*, *Sanballat* revolted unto *Alexander*, and going over to him with 8000 men, though now very old, deſired of him leave to build his new deſigned Temple, perſwading him it would be for his inrereſt, that thereby the *Jews* being divided amongſt themſelves, might be the leſſe able to reſiſt him. *Alexander* yielding to his requeſt, he returned, and falling with great induſtry upon the work, he died not long after.

Euſeb. in Chronico. *Plin. lib.* 12. *cap.* 25. *Joſephus Antiquit. lib.* 11. *cap.* 8.

A Temple built by *Sanballat* on mount *Gerizim*.

45. This was at ſuch time as *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, during which Siege, he ſent round about to demand an Oath of Allegiance, and aſſiſtance from the ſeveral Cities, and amongſt the reſt the meſſengers came to *Jeruſalem*. *Jaddeus* or *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt anſwered, That he had entred by Oath into ſociety with *Darius*, and whilſt he lived he might not by any means break his Faith; with which anſwer *Alexander* being moved, after the taking of *Tyre* (not of *Gaza* as *Joſephus* thinketh, for then he muſt have returned backwards) hee invaded *Judæa*. The High-Prieſt and People then looked for nothing but ruine, but he imploring the aſſiſtance of God, was warned in a dream to go out and meet him, adorned with his Pontifical Veſtments, with the *Levites* and People, as in a ſolemn Proceſſion. *Alexander*

Jaddus the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* refuſing to break his Faith, *Alexander* invadeth *Judæa*.

But his wrath is appeaſed.

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der meeting this long train, lighted from his Horſe, and adored the Prieſt, at which thing all the reſt being amazed, *Parmenio* asked him the reaſon thereof, to whom he anſwered, that he worſhipped not the Prieſt, but the God whom he ſerved, for that whilſt he was yet in *Greece*, and conſulted about his Expedition into *Aſia*, ſuch an one appeared to him, adviſed him to it, and promiſed him ſucceſſe. Then going up to the City he aſcended to the Temple, and ſacrifized according to the directions of the Prieſt, who ſhewed him the Prophecy of *Daniel*, wherein was foretold, that a *Grecian* ſhould obtain the Empire of the *Perſians*. He accounting himſelf the man rejoyced thereat, and the next day offered to the People whatſoever they would ask of him, who requeſted they might live after their own Laws and Cuſtoms, that on every ſeventh year in which they ſowed not, they might pay no tribute, and that ſuch of their Country-men as inhabited *Babylon* and *Media*, might alſo be left to their own Laws, all which he readily granted them. He offered them alſo, if they would follow him, the freedom of the exerciſe of their Religion, whereupon many gave their names to the Expedition; and then leading his Forces to the neighbouring Cities, he was friendly received by them.

46. The *Samaritans* met him in the way, deſiring him to viſit their City *Sicima*, (ſeated at the foot of the Hill *Gerizim*, and inhabited by the Runagates of the *Jewiſh* Nation) to honour their Temple with his preſence, and to remit to them alſo the tribute of every ſeventh year, they ſowing not therein; for that they were *Hebrews*, though not *Jews*, as deſcended of *Joſeph* and his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, all which he referred to his return. By this time his Officers had recovered ſeveral places that had revolted, as *Callus Paphlagonia*, *Antigonus Lycaonia*, and *Balacrus Miletus*, after he had overthrown *Idarnes* the Captain of *Darius*. *Cilicia* he had committed to the care of *Soſcrates*, the Country about *Tyre* to *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, who had delivered his charge of *Cebeſtia* to *Andromachus*, that he might follow the Expedition. All the Towns of *Paleſtine* he had got now into his hands, except *Gaza*, which *Batis* the Eunuch reſolved to hold out againſt him. This was a City diſtant from the Sea about two miles and an half,

Curtius lib. 4.

He beſiegeth *Gaza*.

of difficult acceſſe by reaſon of the depth of ſand about it, the Sea near unto it being very muddy, being large, ſeated upon an high Rock, and compaſſed with a ſtrong wall. Hither, having commanded *Hephaſtion* to go before with the Fleet, he came, and ſate down before it with all his Forces.

47. Having viewed the ſituation of the City, he reſolved that light kind of earth to be fit for digging of mines, which he commanded preſently to be attempted, and ſeeing that no wooden turrets could be erected by the walls because of the looſeneſſe of the ſand, he made a great heap of earth and ſtones to be laid, which equalled the height of the walls, on which he planted his Engines for batterie. By the advice of *Ariſtander* his Propher, he contained himſelf for a time without the reach of the Arrows, but the *Arabians* whom *Batis* the Governour (called *Baberneſes* by *Joſephus*) had hired, iſſuing forth ſet fire to the Engines, and beat away the *Macedonians* from the Mount, he ran in with the Targeriers to the reſcue, and kept his men from running, but he himſelf received a wound on his ſhoulder. Afterwards thoſe Engines being come by water with which he had taken *Tyre*, he cauſed the whole City to be ſurrounded with mounts two furlongs broad, and 250 foot high, whereby conflicting both with Engines above ground and below, at length after two moneths it was taken, the wall being broken by a Mine, at which breach the *Macedonians* entred. *Alexander* himſelf led in his men, and when his former wound was not yet quite cured, received a bruiſe on his thigh with a ſtone. The defendants ſtirred not from their places, but fighting to the laſt, were all ſlain to the number of 10000. The women and children the Conquerour made Slaves, and furniſhing the City with a new Colony gathered out of the places adjacent, uſed it as a Garriſon in the War.

Diodorus, *Joſephus*, *Curtius*, *Arrianus*, *ut prius.*

Diodorus ad Olymp. 112. *ann.* 2.

48. From *Gaza* he ſent *Amyntas* the Son of *Andremo* with ten Gallies into *Macedonia*, to make a Leavie of the ſtoureſt young men, and bring them over,

Curtius lib. 4.

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He marcheth for *Egypt.*

over, because the War though prosperous, wasted his old stock of Soldiers, and he could not so well trust foreiners as his own subjects. Then marched he strait for *Egypt*, and the seventh day after his removal from *Gaza* arrived at that place, afterwards called *Alexanders-Camp*, and came to *Pelusium*. Here met him great multitudes of *Egyptians*, who being weary of the insolence and avarice of the *Persians*, expected his coming, and gladly received him. Placing a Garrison in *Pelusium*, and commanding that the ships should sayl up the River to *Memphis*, he having the *Nile* on his right hand, came, through the desart to *Heliopolis*, and thence crossing the River, unto *Memphis*, which when he approached, *Mazaces* the *Persian* Governour met him, and delivered into his hands 800 Talents, with all the royal household-stuff. Here he sacrifized to all the *Egyptian* Gods, and celebrated Games, and then sayled down the River to the Sea; and when he came to *Canopus* sayled about the Lake *Mareotis*, betwixt which and the *Egyptian*-Sea, he chose out a place whereon to build a Citie, which he would have called after himself *Alexandria*.

Strabo lib.17.

49. In this place towards the Sea and Haven stood there once a Village named *Rhacotis*. When the figure of the new Citie was to be delineated, for want of Chalk, they marked out the ground with Meal, which presently was seized upon by an innumerable company of Fouls of all sorts, that from the Sea and Lake came flocking thither, and devoured it all. Hereat the King was discouraged, but his Prophets told him, that it signified the Citie should be exceeding populous and wealthy, and nourish all sorts of men. He himself designed in what place the Forum should be, and where the Temples that were to be Consecated to the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Gods, and herein used the skill of that noble Architect *Dinocrates* (called also *Stasicrates*) who was imployed by the *Ephesians*, in restoring of their Temple formerly consumed with fire. This (afterwards Famous) Citie was founded by *Alexander* in the fifth year of his reign, and the first of 112th *Olympiad*, the 417th of *Nabonasar*, from which year the moneth *Thoth*, as also the fifth of *Darius*, the supputation of the years of *Alexander* is begun by *Ptolomy* the Mathematician, and a Native of this Citie, A.M.3673. 329 years before the *Æra* of Christ.

Plutarch. in Alexandro.

Foundeth *Alexandria.*

Iidem.

50. Leaving the care of his new designed Citie to fit Overseers, he took a journey toward the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, situate in the vast sandy desarts of *Libya*, because he had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly gone thither; or to know his fortune, or that he might at least have occasion to boast of his knowledge of it. In the midst of the way he encountred Ambassadours sent to him from the *Cyrenæans*, who brought a Crown with other great gifts, amongst which were 300 excellent horses trained up and taught for the War; which receiving in good part, he entred into confederacy with them. Two great dangers especially to be met with in this journey, viz. want of water in so dry a place, and of being overwhelmed by heaps of sand, which the South-wind threw upon 50000 of *Cambyses* his army, he escaped wonderfully by abundance of rain which is said to have fallen, whereby the way was made more firm and passable; and two Crows are reported to have been his Guides, and in the night-time when they could not be seen, by their croaking to have given notice which way they tended. When he arrived at the Temple, the Priest, either hired to it, or mistaking the *Greek* language as it is thought, saluted him by the name of *Jupiter*'s son. Hereupon he took the name upon him, and to his Mother *Olympias* as well as others wrote with that Title. She facetiously checked him for slandering, and bringing her in danger with *Juno*, by making her an Whore to *Jupiter*. By the terrour hereof he hoped to do wonders with the *Barbarians*, & because *Hammon* was painted with the upper parts like a Ram, and the nether like to a man, he also would appear to be horned, for which reason amongst the *Arabians* he obtained the name of *Dulcarnaijn*. When he received an answer satisfactory, as he pretended, he returned into *Egypt* the same way he came, or, as another wrote, by a more direct one towards *Memphis*.

Arrianus lib.3.

Diodorus ad Olymp.112. ann.2.

Justin. lib.2.

Goeth to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon.*

Gellius lib.13. cap.4.

51. Being

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51. Being come to *Memphis*, he received many Embassies from *Greece*, whence also came a new supply of Forces, viz. 400 *Greekish* Mercenaries from *Antipater*, and 500 horse out of *Thessaly*. The neighbouring Cities he exhausted for the peopling of his new one, which he ordained should be the Metropolis of *Egypt*. Amongst other sorts of people the *Jews* also, whose fidelity he approved, were inrolled inhabitants, having equal privilege with *Grecians*, and obtaining the name not onely of *Alexandrians*, but of *Macedonians* also: and to the Souldiers of *Sanballat* the *Cuthæan*, who followed him into *Egypt*, caused he Lands to be assigned in *Thebais*, which Province he committed to their defence. He greatly desired to see not onely the remoter parts of *Egypt*, but *Æthiopia* also: but the War depending yet with *Darius*, hindred him, and therefore disposing of *Egypt*, he removed in the Spring thence to *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*. Over *Egypt* he left *Æschylus* the *Rhodian*, and *Peucestes* the *Macedonian*, with 4000 Souldiers; and the care of the River *Nile* he committed to *Polemon* with 30 Gallies. As for the Civil Goverment, he left it to *Dolaspes* the *Egyptian*, to rule according to the antient Laws.

Arrianus, Curtius. Justin. Josephus de bello lib.2. Antiquit. lib.11. cap.8.

Curtius.

52. Ere his departure, he understood of the death of *Andromachus* the Governour of *Syria*, whom the *Samaritans* burnt alive. With all expedition then he removed to revenge his death, but being on his way, the murderers were delivered up to him, whom he punished according to their deserts, and placed *Memnon* in his room. Taking the Citie *Samaria*, he gave it to the *Macedonians* to inhabit, but the Countrey about it to the *Jews*, for their fidelity to him, with immunity from Tribute. Coming to *Tyre*, he celebrated Games, as he had done at *Memphis*, and sacrifized again to *Hercules*; and nominating several Governours over the places already Conquered, took his journey towards *Euphrates*.

Eusebius.

Josephus contra Apionem lib.2.

53. *Darius* having understood of his design, to find him out whithersoever he should go, gave out orders for all his Forces to meet at *Babylon*, whereof some consisted of such Nations as rather seemed to fill up the names of men than to make resistance. This Army being almost greater by the half than that which perished at *Issus*, many wanted Arms, which were sought for with all diligence. Some have reckoned 1000000 foot, and 400000 horse, besides 200 Chariots, and 15 *Indian* Elephants; whereas *Alexander* his Forces amounted but to 40000 foot, and 7000 horse. In the moneth *Hecatombæon Alexander* came to *Thapsacus*, where he found two bridges on the River *Euphrates*; but such as reached not quite over to the further side. *Mazæus* was sent thither to hinder his passage, with order also if he could not do this, to spoyl, and destroy all things in his way; but upon his approach he made haste away, and *Alexander* then making up the bridges, transported over all his Forces, and so proceeding through *Mesopotamia*, having *Euphrates* and the *Armenian* Mountains on his left hand, made for *Babylon*, not the neareſt way, but that which was more convenient for provision and moderation of heat. As he went forwards, he was given to understand by some Scouts which he took, that the King had pitch't his Camp on the further side of the River *Tigris*, with intentions to hinder his passage, but coming thither, he neither found him, nor any opposition at all. This River was so swift (being upon that account by the *Persians* called the *Arrow*) that by the violent force of its stream it drave many weighty stones before it, and those that lay in the bottom were made so round, and well polliſhed by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing, so that the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the River, were forced to enterlace their Arms, thereby making one weighty body to resist the fury of the stream; so deep the Chanel was on the further side, that to keep their Bowes from being wet, as also their Arrows and Darts, they were inforced to lift them above their heads, so that *Darius* might here have easily resisted the *Macedonians*, and given a check to the fortune of the Conquerour, had not the fate of the dying *Persian* Empire besotted his mind, and deprived him of all common prudence.

Arrianus, Curtius, &c.

Alexander passeth Euphrates.

And *Tigris.*

54. Ha-

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54. Having (though with great danger) paſſed the River without any loſſe ſave of a little of the Baggage, he led on through *Aſſyria*, having on the right hand the River *Tigris*, and on the left the *Gordian* Mountains. On the fourth day after his paſſage *Mazæus* ſent a party of 1000 horſe upon him, which was eaſily repelled by the *Paonian* Captain *Ariſton*, who ſlew their Captain, and bringing his head to *Alexander*, demanded a Cup of Gold as his fee, according to the cuſtom of their Countrey, to whom he replied, ſmiling, That an empty one was due, but he would give him one full of good liquor. Two dayes he here continued, giving orders for a march the next morning; but it hapned that in the firſt watch the Moon was Eclypſed, and ſeemed of a bloudy colour, whereat (as all other common people long time after) the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cauſe, were marvelouſly affrighted. They apprehended it as a certain token or preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, and began to murmur, that for the ambition of one man that diſdained to own *Philip* as his father, and would be called the ſon of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh, being forced to make War, not onely againſt Worlds of Enemies, but againſt *Rivers*, *Mountains*, and the *Heavens* themſelves. He knowing it to be dangerous to lead his Army to fight whileſt it was poſſeſſed with matter of terrour, called the *Egyptian* Aſtrologers, to aſſure them that this Eclypſe was rather a certain preſage of good ſucceſſe: and he made it out onely by this reaſon, that the *Græcians* were under the Aſpect of the *Sun*, and the *Perſians* of the *Moon*; and therefore the Moon failing and being thus darkned, the *Perſian* glory was to be Eclypſed. *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer affirmed the ſame, promiſed *Alexander* good ſucceſſe, and affirmed a battel was to be fought in that ſame moneth, for the ſacrifices portended victory. Hereby the Souldiers were ſerled, and their courage redoubled, according to the great influence of ſuperſtition upon the common ſort of people.

An Eclypſe of the Moon diſcourageth his men.

55. Thinking it wiſdom to make uſe of the preſent diſpoſition of their minds he marched thence, and proceeded, till he heard that *Darius* was not much above twenty miles diſtant from him, upon notice whereof he reſted there his Army for four dayes. Here were interrupted Letters written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, to perſwade them to kill, or betray him, which by the advice of *Parmenio* he ſuppreſſed, and removing thence it hapned that *Statira*, the Wife and Siſter of *Darius*, through the tediouſneſſe of the journey, and grief, fell into untimely travel, and died, at which diſaſter *Alexander* ſhed tears, and ſpared no coſt in ſolemnizing her Funerals, grieving that he was thus deprived of ſo fair an occaſion of ſhewing mercy. One of her Chamberlanes, by name *Tireos*, an Eunuch, ſlipped away, and carried the news of her death unto *Darius*. He fell of beating his head, and deplored the fortune of the *Perſians*, which not onely ſuffered the Queen to be taken Captive, but dying in that condition to want the Ornament of a Royal Funeral. Being ſatisfied that there was no want of any ſuch Ceremonies, or of tears from his Enemy to bedew her Hearſe, he fell into a jealous conceit that nothing but unchaſte affections had drawn them from *Alexander*, and lamented his Wife's condition, who had been ſubjected to the luſtfull power of the Conquerour. But being with much ado perſwaded of his continency, with hands lifted up to Heaven, he prayed that he might be able to reſtore the fortune of the *Perſians* to his poſterity as he found it, that ſo he might be able to requite *Alexander* for his noble carriage towards his relations: But if the fatal time was come, and it ſo ſeemed good to *Nemeſis*, and the viciſſitude of worldly things, that the *Perſian* Empire ſhould receive its period; that none but *Alexander* alone might ſit in Throne of *Cyrus*.

Statira the wife of *Darius* dieth.

Vide Plut. in vita Alexand.

56. He diſpatched away to him then a new Embaſſy of ten of his principal friends, and offered him for his Mother, and two Daughters Ranſom 30000 Talents, and in portion with his Daughter *Statyra* all *Aſia*, betwixt the *Helleſpont* and the River *Euphrates*. He anſwered, that ſometimes he endeavoured to corrupt his friends, and otherwhiles his Soldiers to deſtroy him, and that therefore he was to be proſecuted not as a juſt and fair enemy, but as a pernicious murderer: that what he had already gotten, though now offered to him, was the reward of War, by which the bounds of both their Kingdoms ſhould be limited, and that they ſhould both abide by what the fortune of the next day ſhould aſſign them. *Darius* had before this time come to *Arbela* a City belonging to *Babylon*, where leaving the greateſt part of his baggage, he went to the River *Lycus*, over which laying a Bridge, he paſſed over his Army in eight dayes, and proceeding ten miles pitcht his Camp upon the River *Bumelus*, near to a Village called *Gaugamela*, which in the *Perſian* Language ſignified the *houſe of a Camel*; for that *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpis* gave this place to the maintenance of a certain Camel which had been tired in carrying his proviſions through the Deſarts of *Scythia*. This was a Champain Country round about, and ſuch grounds as were high he cauſed to be levelled, to be convenient for the fighting of his Horſe, and that he might have a free proſpect round about him.

Juſtin, Curtius, Diodorus ut ſupra.

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57. Underſtanding from his Ambaſſadors returning, that he muſt expect nothing but a battel, he ſent *Mazæus* to defend a paſſage which he never yet dared ſo much as to hazard, the reſt of the Army he cauſed to march above a mile further in battel-aray, and there to expect the Enemy. *Alexander* fortifying his Camp which he left with an ordinary guard, went forwards towards the Enemy, and in his march a pannick fear ſeized on his Army, by reaſon of the Lightning of the Heavens in the Summer ſeaſon, which they took as proceeding from ſome attempt of *Darius*; with ſome pains he undeceived them, and thought good to fortifie himſelf in the ſame place that night. Yet in the night he departed thence about the ſecond watch, as thinking to fall on the Enemy by break of the day. Upon his approach *Mazæus* with his Horſe forſook an Hill which he had ſeized on, and returned to *Darius*, which place *Alexander* by the advice of *Parmenio* choſe himſelf, as ſafer than the Plain, and from which one might take a full view of the *Perſian* Army. Before the Fight his friends came to him and complained of the Soldiers, becauſe in their conferences they had agreed to take all the profit of the plunder to themſelves, without bringing any thing to his treaſurie; whereat he ſmiled, and ſaid, they told him good news concerning the diſcourſes of ſuch as were reſolved to overcome, and not to flie. Many then of the Soldiers reſorted to him, and bad him be of good cheer, and not be afraid of the multitude of the Enemies, which would not endure their very ſhouting for the battel.

Strabo lib. 16.

A Pannick fear ſeizeth on the *Macedonians.*

Plutarch in Apophthegm.

58. The two Armies lying in the view of each other, in the eleventh night after the Eclyps of the Moon, *Darius* kept all his men in arms, muſtring his Forces by torch-light, which made all the Plain betwixt *Niphates* and the *Gordyæan* mountains to be of a flame. *Alexander* in the mean time whilſt his *Macedonians* took their reſt, was buſie in his Sacrifice with *Ariſtander*. *Parmenio* and others would have had him fallen upon the *Perſians* in the dead of the night, thereby to ſtrike more terror into them; but he anſwered them, that he *would not ſteal Victory*; which *Darius* was afraid of, and therefore contained his men in Arms all the night, which not a little inſured his affairs the day following. All the night *Alexander* paſſed without ſleep, being careful for the main chance; but about the morning watch fell ſo faſt aſleep, that it being full day he could hardly be awaked, and to his friends demanding the cauſe thereof he replyed, that now he was eaſed by *Darius* of all his care, ſeeing he had gathered all his Forces into one place, and therefore in one day he hoped to put an end to his daily labours and danger. His whole force conſiſted of about 7000 Horſe, and 40000 Foot, over which his chiefeſt Captains were *Parmenio*, with *Philotas* and *Nicanor* his Sons, whereof this commanded the Foot Regiment of the *Argyraſpides*, or Silver-Shields; *Cœnus*, who commanded the *Elimiots*; *Perdiccas* Captain of the *Oreſtæ* and *Lynceſtæ*; *Meleager*; *Polyſperchon*; *Hephæſtion* Captain of his Life-guard; *Menidas*; *Philip* the Son of *Balacrus*; *Craterus*; *Erigyus* the *Mitylenæan*; *Philippus* that had the *Theſſalian* Troups, and *Clytus* the black who led the Kings Regiment. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and in both cauſed the battel to bee made ſomething bending-

Idem in Alexand. Curtius. Arrianus. Diodorus.

SECT. 4. wise, lest they should bee incompassed with the multitudes of the *Persians*.

59. *Darius* having marshalled his men according to their several Nations, took the command of the wing opposit to *Alexander*, and lead on against him. After a sound to the charge on both sides, and a great shout, the Armies met, and in the first place the scythed Chariots being driven with great fury upon the *Macedonians*, struck them with great consternation, for that *Mazæus* the General of the Horse following the Chariots close, made the charge the more terrible. But the *Macedonian* phalange, according to the King's order, bearing their Targets with their Spears, made such a noise, that the Horses skared therewith bore backwards, and retreated for the most part; and though some went still forwards, yet the *Macedonians* parting asunder, made a lane and let them passe through, yet with the losse of many whom the Scythes had caught. After the Arrows and Darts were spent, the Armies came to hand-strokes, wherein the Horse was first ingaged. *Darius* in the left wing was stoutly defended by his followers, who fighting under his eye, laboured all they could with their multitudes to oppresse the *Macedonians*. And *Mazæus* in the left wing charging with great valour, at the first onset did great execution. Then sent he a Party of 2000 *Cadusians*, and 1000 of the choicest *Scythian* Horse, to fall upon the Enemies Camp, where a great tumult following, some of the captive women took their opportunity, and betook themselves to their friends, but *Sisygambis* Mother to *Darius* refused to stir, and kept her self quiet in the same place, not thinking it fit to trust her self to the doubtful fortune of an escape, or shew any ingrateful disrespect to *Alexander*: the *Scythians* plundred most of the baggage and departed.

The battel of *Gaugamela*.

60. In the mean while, part of the Horse that fought about *Darius*, with their multitudes pressed sore upon the *Macedonians*, and forced them back, whereby the second time the Victory seemed to incline towards the *Persians*. *Alexander* seeing how he was concernd to relieve his men, broke out with his own Regiment upon *Darius* himself, and with a Dart slew his Chariot-driver. The Courtiers hereupon crying out, those that were further off supposed the King himself to have been slain, and therewithall betook themselves to their heels, which the next seeing fled also for company. The ranks also about *Darius* began to be broken, till at length all one side was bared, and then he accounted it also time to fly, and therewithall such a dust was raised, *Alexander* with his Troops giving the chase, that it could not be discovered which way he fled, using great celerity therein, and for that purpose mounted a Mare that had lately foaled, as he had done before at the battel at *Issus*. Whilst these things were thus carried in the left wing, *Mazæus* in the right sore pressed upon his adversaries, which *Parmenio* with the *Thessalian* Horse and other for a time sustained; but being put sore to it, he sent to *Alexander* for speedy relief. But he could not be found; so that he was forced to use his utmost skil in making the *Thessalians* endure the brunt; and at length put the *Barbarians* to flight, after they were disheartned with the report of their Princes fortune.

Darius flieth.

61. *Darius* with a few in his company came to the River *Lycus*, which having passed, when some advised him to break down the Bridge, lest the Enemy should make use thereof in the pursute, knowing that if he should do so, he must leave many thousands of his men as a prey to him, he answered, that he had rather afford way to the pursuers, than take it from those that fled. Here *Alexander* immediately pursued him, but not being able to reach him, he returned, and fought a more sharp encounter than ever with some *Parthians*, *Indians*, and many of the valiantest of the *Persians*, wherein though he had the better, yet he lost Sixty of his followers, and *Hephæstion* with *Cœnus* and *Mendas* were wounded. Of the *Barbarians* (*a*) one maketh above 90000 to have been slain, of the *Macedonians* 500, and many wounded. Another (*b*) counteth of the former 300000 to have been slain, and a greater number taken, with all the Elephants, and such Chariots as were not

(*a*) *Diodorus.*

The number slain.

(*b*) *Arrianus.*

not broken; Yet of *Alexander's* men but 100 at most, with 1000 horses, partly killed outright, and partly broken in the chase. A (*c*) third reckoneth 40000 *Persians*, and lesse than 300 *Macedonians* to have been lost. This battel was fought at *Gaugamela* a Village situate upon the River *Bumelus*, which being but an obscure place, the *Macedonians* to innoble their Victory, gave out that it was at *Arbela*, a Town of good note, some fifteen miles distant, beyond the River *Lycus*. *Alexander* obtained the Victory on the fifth day of the moneth *Boëdromion*, in the sixth year of his reign, as also the sixth of *Darius*; *Aristophanes* (not *Aristophontes* his Successor, as some mistook) bein Archon at *Athens*, in the second year of the 112th *Olympiad*. A. M. 3674.

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(*c*) *Curtius.*

A. M. 3674. *Olymp.* 112. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 423. *Darii* 6. *Alexand.* 6.

62. *Darius* fled from the River *Lycus* to *Arbela*, where he arrived about midnight, and then concluding that *Alexander* would march to *Babylon* and *Susa*, resolved to flie into the utmost borders of his Kingdom, there to renew the War; and accordingly withdrew himself into *Media*, beyond the Mountaines of *Armenia*. About midnight *Alexander* set forwards for *Arbela*, hoping to take him there with all his treasure; but arriving there the next day, he found not him, but met with much treasure, with his Bow and Targer. Now seemed the Empire of the *Persians* to all men to be dissolved, and thereupon *Alexander* was declared King of *Asia*, and for joy thereof sacrificed with great magnificence to his Gods, and bestowed riches, houses, and Countries upon his friends. Foreseeing that the air thereabouts, by reason of the corruption of the dead bodies might be infectious, he removed with all speed from *Arbela* towards *Babylon*, being in his way met with *Mazæus* the Governour, who gave it up into his hands, and *Bagophanes* the Keeper of the Castle and the King's treasures, lest he should be exceeded by *Mazæus*, caused the way to be strowed with flowers and garlands; silver Altars heaped with Frankincense and other odours being placed on both sides. The Townsmen came also to meet him; whom he commanded to follow his rear, and so entred the City and Palace in a Chariot, with his armed men about him. Thirty dayes he spent in * looking over *Darius* his houshold-stuff, all which time his Army glutted themselves with the contentments of the Town. Here the *Chaldæans* shewed him the motions of the Stars, and the appointed vicissitudes of times: and *Callisthenes* the Philosopher sent into *Greece* unto *Aristotle* (whose cousin german his Mother was) the Cœlestial observations of (*a*) 1903 years. He consulted these men about his affairs, and at their desire caused such Temples to be rebuilt, as *Xerxes* had out of anger destroyed, after his overthrow in *Greece*. And especial care was taken for that of *Belus* in the midst of the City, the ruines of which were so great, that the labour of (*b*) 10000 men for two moneths was required for the clearing of the ground. He commanded all his Soldiers to lay their hands to the work, amongst which the *Jews* onely refused to do it, who thereupon received great incommodity, till such time as they were discharged of this task by the King, as (*c*) *Hecatæus* the *Abderite* wrote in his Book concerning the *Jews*, who also at that time lived with *Alexander*.

Alexander declared King of *Asia*.

Entereth *Babylon*.

* *Justin lib.* 11. *Curtius. Diodorus.*

(*a*) *Porphyrius apud Simplicium de Cœlo, l.* 2.

(*b*) *Strabo lib.* 16. *pag.* 738.

(*c*) *Apud Josephum contr. Apionem lib.* 1.

63. He committed the charge of the Castle of *Babylon* to *Agathon* of *Pydna*, with a Garrison of 700 *Macedonians*, and 300 Mercenaries, appointing *Mazæus* the *Satrapa* of the Country. To *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis*, and *Menetes* of *Pella*, he assigned the Government of the *Militia* of the *Satrapies* of *Babylon*, and the other Countries as far as *Cilicia*, leaving them 2000 Foot, and 1000 talents of silver, to hire as many Solders as they could; and to *Mithrinas* who betrayed the Castle of *Sardis* unto him, he granted *Armenia*. Of the money which he found at *Babylon*, to every *Macedonian* Horse-man he gave seven Minæ (each *Attick Mina* containing an 100 Drachmes, and about 3 l. 2 s. 6 d. Sterling) and to every stranger five; to every *Macedonian* Foot-man two, and to every stranger two moneths pay, for a reward. Then set he forwards from *Babylon*, and in his way met with a supply of 500 Horse, and 6000 Foot, sent out of *Macedonia*, with 600 Horse out of *Thrace*, and 3500 Foot; and out of *Peloponnesus* 4000 Foot,

Sect. 4. and 380. (or according to *Diodorus* little lesse than 1000) horse. These were also accompanied with 50 of the Noblemen's sons of *Macedonia*, for the Guard to the Kings person.

64. Drawing near to *Susa*, he met with the son of the *Satrapa* thereof, sent unto him with a Messenger that brought Letters from *Philoxenus*, whom presently after the battel at *Gaugamela* he had sent thither. The Letters imported that the *Susians* had yielded their Citie to him, and that all the King's Treasure was safe for him, which *Abulites* the *Satrapa* sent his son also to signifie, either for that he sought to obtain favour, or as some thought, being underhand ordered by *Darius* to do so; that *Alexander* being busied with such booty, he might have time to consult the better for his own affairs. On the twentieth day after his departure from *Babylon* he arrived at *Susa*, where he took possession of betwixt fourty and fifty thousand (as is to be gathered from all Authors) Talents of Silver, besides Gold and Rich Furniture. Many things he there found, which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, and amongst the rest the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent back unto *Athens*. He left the Mother and Children of *Darius* at *Susa*, with Masters to teach them the *Greek* tongue, and then committing the Citie to the care of *Archelaus*, the Castle to *Xenophilus*, the Treasury to *Callicrates*, and the *Satrapy* of the Countrey of *Susa* to *Abulites*, in four encampings he came to the River *Pasitigris*, being resolved to invade *Persia*.

Cometh to *Susa*.

65. Near to the Countrey of *Susa* lieth that of the *Uxians*, running out into the Borders of *Persia*, and leaving a straight passage betwixt it self and the *Susian* Dominions. The inhabitants of the low-land Countrey became without much ado subject to *Alexander*; but the other with some slaughter of them he forced to submit; and whereas they demanded money of him which they used to receive from the Kings of *Persia* for their passage, he imposed a Tribute of 100 Horses, 500 Cattel, and 30000 Sheep yearly to be paid, they living like Shepheards, and using no money. After this he committed the baggage, with the *Thessalian* Horse, the Mercenaries and Associates, with the rest of the Army that used heavy Armour, to *Parmenio*, to lead that way into *Persia*, that was passable with Carriages, and he himself taking the *Macedonian* foot with the horse of the associates, and others, with all speed marched a nearer one through the hilly Countrey. Being arrived at the *Pylæ*, or Straights of *Persia*, he found *Ariobarzanes*, a *Persian Satrapa*, seized thereof, by whom he was repelled also with some disgrace and losse, being forced to retreat four miles from the Straights; but at length being led by a Shepheard, another difficult way, he came upon his Enemies on a sudden, and put them to flight. But *Ariobarzanes* in the midst of near fourty horse, and 5000 foot, with great slaughters on both sides broke through the Army of the *Macedonians*, which on both sides had beset him, and made for *Persepolis* the chief Citie of that Countrey, but being shut out by those that kept it for the Conquerour, he turned again upon his Enemies, and with great valour renewing the battel, perished with all his followers.

Diodorus. Curtius. Plutarch.

Arrianus. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 4.

He is opposed at the Straights of *Persia* by *Ariobarzanes.*

66. Having private notice from *Tiridates* the Eunuch, Keeper of the Treasure at *Persepolis*, that they there had an intention to rifle it upon hearing of his coming, he took the horse, and all the night marched thitherwards. Being a quarter of a mile from the Town, about 800 *Grecians* met him in manner of suppliants, whom the former *Persian* Kings had reduced into bondage, and as a token of slavery cut off their Feet, Hands, Ears, or Noses, and having marked them with some *Barbarian* Letters, kept them as laughing stocks for derision. They besought *Alexander*, that as he had done by *Greece*, so he would also deliver them from the cruelty of their Enemies. He offered them to send them back, but they rather chose to receive some grounds to live on, than returning home to carry greater disgrace than comfort to their relations. To each of them then he gave 2000 Drachms, and 10 Garments, with Cattel, Sheep, and Corn, for the stocking of their grounds. The next day he called a meeting of his Officers, whom he

He cometh to *Persepolis*,

Sect. 4. he told how there was no Citie more inveterate against the *Grecians* than that, which had been the Seat of the *Persian* Kings, and that therefore by the destruction of it they were to make a Parentation to their Ancestors. The Town, all besides the Palace, he allowed the Souldiers to plunder, who made a great slaughter of Captives, and got unestimable riches in that place, which heretofore of all they had been most secure. Entring the Castle, he received the Treasure which there had been heaped up from the time of *Cyrus* the Great, containing a great quantity of Gold and Silver. *Diodorus* saith, he took thence 120 Talents, Gold being reckoned at the reckoning of silver, part of which he employed in the present service of the War, and the rest sent to *Susa* to be kept.

Which he causeth to be plundered.

67. Leaving a Garrison in *Persepolis*, and a great part of the Army with the baggage there, with 1000 horse, and a party of foot, he made an invasion into *Persia*. Much rain fell, and grievous Tempests ensued, but he persevered in his purpose, and also when they came to such places as were full of Snow and Ice, and though the inhabitants fled from their Cottages to the Mountains, and killed his straggglers, yet he brought them to submit, and laying waste the Territories of *Persia*, subdued also the *Mardi*, a warlike Nation, differing much from the customs of the other *Persians*; and on the 30th day returned to *Persepolis*. Then did he distribute gifts to his friends, making no spare of Treasure, and there he wintred four moneths, rather enervating than refreshing his Army with the delicacies of the place. For the celebration of his victories he offered magnificent sacrifices, and feasted his friends Princely; and to the feast admitted Courtisans. Amongst the rest was *Thais* the *Athenian*, the Mistresse of *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus*. She gave out that the King would atchieve a most gallant Enterprize, if in a frollick he would with them set on fire the Palace, and thereby in one moment overthrow the glory of the *Persians* by the hands of women. This finding acceptance amongst the younger sort, now in the midst of their Cups, one amongst them desired that they might now revenge the injuries offered to the Temples of the *Greeks* with burning fire-brands, which was seconded by others; but yet they said, that so great an affair did onely belong to *Alexander*. He being moved hereat, was led out by *Thais* in a dance with the Minstrels, and she receiving a fire-brand from him, first set it to the Palace, after which all the rest followed, and so that structure was reduced into ashes. Thus was the fury of *Xerxes* against *Athens* revenged by a Woman, and Native of that Citie, in the same way, though accompanied with derision. But *Alexander* afterward repented too late, alleging that he should more grievously have punished the *Persians*, by forcing them to behold him seated in the Palace, and Throne of *Xerxes*.

He harrazeth the Countrey of *Persia*.

Burneth in a frolick the Palace of *Persepolis*.

68. From *Persepolis* he removed to *Pasargadæ*, a Citie founded by *Cyrus* the Great, and the antient Seat of the *Persian* Kings, which being delivered up to him by *Gobases* the Governour, he therein found 6000 Talents. Here he saw the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in a Garden, into which he commanded *Aristobulus* (who wrote the story) to enter, who there found a golden Bed, a Table, and Cups, with a golden Basker, and great store of Apparel, and Robes adorned with Pearl. On this place *Cyrus* overthrew *Astyages* the *Mede* in his last battel, and thereby obtaining the Soverainty of *Asia*, in memorial of it built this Citie, and a Palace, which being by *Curtius* named *Persagadæ*, or *Pasagada*, signifieth the Army of the *Persians*. Then *Alexander* either by force, or fair means, became Master of all the other Cities of *Persia*, about the time of the rising of the seven Stars, from which the antients used to begin their Summer. He placed over this Countrey *Phrasaortes* a *Satrapa*, and then, being minded to pursue *Darius*, set forwards for *Media*, where he heard he was; but being within three dayes journey of *Echatane*, there met him *Bisthanes* the son of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*. He assured him that the King was gone thence five dayes before, having taken with him 7000, or 8000 Talents, and being accompanied with an Army of 6000 foot, and 3000 horse.

Cometh to *Pasargadæ*.

Strabo lib. 15. pag. 730.

Curtius. Stephanus.

Arrianus.

He cometh to *Echatane*.

69. *Darius*

Sect. 4.

What *Darius* did after the battel of *Gaugamela.*

69. *Darius* ſtaid at *Ecbatane* ſome time to receive ſuch of his Soldiers as had eſcaped the battel; and for the furniſhing of them with Arms. He raiſed forces in the Neighbouring Nations, and ſent to the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and the higher Countreys, to retain them in obedience. And he determined, that if *Alexander* ſhould ſtay about *Babylon*, or *Suſa*, to continue in *Media* in expectation of ſome better change of fortune; but if he ſhould purſue him, then to betake himſelf into *Parthia*, or as far as *Bactria*, and lay all the Countrey waſte as far as he paſſed, to cut off the proviſions of the purſuer. He ſent therefore the women with all his Furniture and Carriages to the *Caſpian* Straights, and ſtaid himſelf, with ſuch forces as he had raiſed, at *Ecbatane*, till ſuch time as *Alexander* was within leſſe then two hundred miles of him. Then thought he of *Bactria*; but fearing to be overtaken by *Alexander* (againſt whoſe celerity no diſtance ſeemed to be ſufficient) he changed his purpoſe, and though he fled, yet prepared he himſelf rather for a fight than flight. His Army conſiſted now (according to *Curtius*) of 30000 foot (whereof 4000 were *Grecians*, Commanded by *Patron*, (a man for his conſtant fidelity to *Darius*, never enough to be commended) and 3300 *Bactrian* horſe, under the Command of *Beſſus* the *Satrapa* of the Countrey. *Curtius lib. 5.*

70. *Alexander* being come to *Ecbatane*, ſent back towards the Sea the *Theſſalian* horſe, and other aſſociates, beſtowing on them, beſides their full pay, 2000 Talents. To *Parmenio* he gave in charge to bring all the Treaſure out of *Perſia* into *Ecbatane* to be committed to the truſt of *Harpalus*, whom he left with a Garriſon of 6000 *Macedonians*, beſides ſome horſe, and of the aſſociates; and then afterwards he ordered him to march through the Countrey of the *Caduſians* into *Hyrcania*. *Clitus* he commanded to go with his own Regiment into *Parthia* whither he himſelf intended to come, but now with a ſelect party with incredible ſpeed purſued *Darius*, and in eleven Encampings came to *Rhaga*. Here ſeeing no hope ever to reach him, who before this had paſſed the *Caſpian* Straights) he ſtaid five dayes, and then marched for *Parthia*, and on the firſt day pitch't his Camp by the Straights, and on the next having entred them, news was brought to him concerning the Captivity of *Darius*.

Alexander purſueth him.

71. For *Beſſus* the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* a Colonel of horſe, though his own ſervants, rebelled againſt him, and drawing their men to their party, cauſed him to be bound, with an intention if *Alexander* ſhould overtake them, to curry favour with him by the delivery of ſuch a priſoner into his hands; but if they ſhould eſcape, then to kill him, ſeize upon his Kingdom, and renew the War. They ſeized on his money and ſtuff, and taking into their ſociety *Brazus*, or *Barzaentes*, the *Satrapa* of the *Arachoti* and *Drangi*, lead him away Captive in a Chariot, bound in Golden Fetters, as beſeemed ſo great a King, but yet, leſt he ſhould be known, they covered over the Chariot with baſe skins, and unknown men drove it, his keepers following aloof off, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered to any that asked of him. The *Perſians* having none now to follow, joyned themſelves to the *Bactrians*, and with the reſt owned *Beſſus* for their General. But *Artabazus* with his Sons and Soldiers, as alſo the *Greeks* (whoſe Captain was *Patron*) ſeparated themſelves from them, and taking another way towards the Mountains out of the high road, departed, and went into *Parthiene*.

Beſſus and others bind *Darius.*

72. Upon notice of this conſpiracy *Alexander* concluded that more haſte was to be uſed, and therefore taking along with him a party fit for ſuch expedition, he left the reſt of the Army to *Craterus* to come after with more leiſure, and travelling all that night, and the next day till noon, gave his men a little time to reſt, and then again ſetting forward, came the next morning to that place where *Bagiſtanes* the *Babylonian* (who brought him notice of the condition of *Darius*) had departed. Then again marching faſt that night, and the day following, untill noon, he came unto the place where *Beſſus* laid hands on *Darius*, as *one telleth us; but, as *another, where they that conducted him had reſted the day before. Here he met with *Melon*, *Darius* his interpreter, who being ſick, and not able to follow, now counterfeited himſelf

** Curtius.*
** Arrianus.*

Sect. 4.

himſelf a fugitive, and fully acquainted *Alexander* with the King's condition. He hereby was further quickened up to uſe all expedition, but his men ſpent with continual travel muſt needs have reſt, and therefore he made 500 Horſe-men to diſmount, and the Officers of Foot, and others moſt valiant amongſt them to take their Horſes, being arrived as before, that ſo they might be both Horſe and Foot-men as need ſhould require.

73. Whilſt he was thus buſied, *Orſillos* and *Mithracenes*, two *Perſians* who deteſted the Paricide of *Beſſus*, came back from him, and acquainted *Alexander* that he was 500 furlongs off, but that they could lead him a nearer way, whereby he might ſoon overtake him. With this conduct he begun his journy that night, and being come 300 furlongs encountred *Brochubelus* (or *Antibelus*) the Governour once of *Syria* under *Darius*, who told him that *Beſſus* was but 200 furlongs off, that as he thought he made for *Hyrcania*, and marched out of order as fearing no danger, and therefore might eaſily be ſurpriſed. He then continued his induſtry to overtake him, but he and his complices had notice of his approaching, and coming to *Darius*, bid him mount on Horſe-back, and withdraw himſelf by flight from the Enemy. He refuſing to do this, *Saltbarzanes* and *Barzaentes* threw darts upon him, and leaving him mortally wounded, wounded alſo the Horſes that drew him, leſt they ſhould follow far, and killed two Slaves which accompanied him, having none now to follow him but a Dog which he had brought up. Having done this, the murderers with 600 fled with full ſpeed, and that they might not venture altogether, *Narbarzanes* went towards *Hyrcania*, and *Beſſus* with a few Horſe-men in his company kept on the way for *Bactria*. The reſt of their men ſtragled, as they were led, either by hope or fear: 500 Horſe-men imbodied themſelves, not knowing, whether to flie, or to receive and fight the purſuing Enemies.

And upon *Alexander's* approaching mortally wounded him.

Ælian. lib. 6. Arrian. l. 6. c. 25.

But *Alexander* having notice of the fear and anxiery of the Enemy, ſent *Nicanor* with part of the Horſe on before, to reſtrain their flight, he with the reſt following after, and when they were come up, ſo little courage appeared in the *Perſians*, that though they reſiſted, yet 3000 were preſently ſlain, and the reſt ſtragled about like ſheep, *Alexander* giving command then to his Soldiers to abſtain from ſlaughters. Now appeared an incredible thing, more priſoners than they that took them, whilſt the conquered were ſo ſtupified that they neither conſidered their own multitude, nor the ſmall number of their Enemies. In the mean while the beaſts that drew *Darius* having none to drive them, wandred out of the way for half a mile, and being wearied both by their wounds and heat, ſtood ſtill in a certain Valley. Not far off was a certain Spring, to which *Polyſtratus* a *Macedonian* being directed, came almoſt ſpent with thirſt, and whilſt he was drinking water in his helmet, he eſpied the Horſes fainting away, by reaſon of the darts ſticking in their ſides, and drawing near to conſider of the matter, found *Darius* in the Chariot ſorely wounded, but yet breathing. He deſired ſome water of him to drink, which though none of the beſt, yet he ſaid was the beſt that ever he drunk. He deſired him to carry his thanks to *Alexander* for his great humanity and courteſie towards his relations. As for himſelf, he deſired rather a ſeemly than noble burial, but bad him put *Alexander* in mind how dangerous it would be to all Princes to ſuffer his death to go unpuniſhed. He wiſhed him the Empire of the whole World, and gave his hand to *Polyſtratus* as though to be preſented to *Alexander*; after which wiſhing him a reward, for his kindneſſe, from the gods, he expired.

Darius diſcovered by *Polyſtratus.*

Dieth.

This was the end of the Life, Reign, and Empire of *Darius*, a man who, if we look at warlike matters, was fit for nothing leſſe, but in other things did nothing unbeſeeming Royal Majeſty. And neither could he; for as ſoon as he begun to reign, was he vexed by the *Macedonians*. Whilſt he lived, one croſſe preſently ſucceeded after another: neither could he enjoy any reſt from the beginning of his reign. For within a while after, he received that overthrow at the River *Granicus*; then loſt he *Æolia*, *Ionia*, and both the *Phrygiaes*: the *Lydians* alſo and *Carians* (all but the *Halicarnaſſians*) and not long

A view of his reign.

Sect. 4. long after *Halicarnassus* it self, and then all the Maritime Coast as far as *Cilicia*. After this he received a great overthrow at *Issus*, in which his Mother, Wife, and Children were taken: *Phœnicia* and *Ægypt* fell off from him. At *Arbela* (or *Gaugamela*) losing a mighty Army consisting of all sorts of people, he disgracefully was forced to flie, then driven from his Kingdom, wandring up and down, and wanting due accommodations, at last he was betrayed by his own servants, and at the same time both a King and Captive, was ignominiously bound in fetters, and perished by the treachery of those, from whom he should have expected safety, as *Arrianus* writeth. This hapned in the year that *Aristophontes* was Archon at *Athens*, in the month *Hecatombæon*, when he had lived about fifty years, in the seventh year of his reign, and the 203d of this Empire, in the third year of the 112th *Olympiad*, A. M. 3675, 328 years before the ordinary *Æra* of Christ.

Contemporaries with the Persian *Empire.*

CHAP. II.

The affairs of the *Græcians* amongst themselves during this Empire.

SECT. I.

Of such things as hapned from the beginning thereof until the Expedition of Xerxes.

Polycrates. 1. IN the time of *Cyrus* the Great, and afterwards, lived *Polycrates* the famous *Tyrant* of *Samus*, who from a small beginning arrived at such extraordinary power, as no petty Prince of the *Greekish* Nation was ever accounted equal to him for worldly felicity.

The word *Tyrannus* or *Tyrant* whence derived, and who it signifieth. 2. The word *Tyrannus* (which we English *Tyrant*) *Suidas* thinketh to have Τύραννος. been derived from the *Tyrrheni*, a people of *Italy*, because they were cruel and given to robbery. Others thought it was derived of the City *Tyre*, by means of it's riches and glory. Most anciently the word was of no ill signification, but was used in a good sense, there being no discrimination betwixt King and it, as * *Servius* observeth. For, though *Homer* (who never mentioneth *Tyre*) either knew it not, or would not use it, yet the Poets who follow him, call those Kings that lived before the *Trojan* times by the appellation of *Tyranni*. Afterwards through the dissolute and cruel demeanour of some Princes, and the antipathie of the *Greeks* towards Monarchy (after they had generally erected Oligarchical or Democratical Governments) it came to be taken in a bad sense. Herein it is especially given to those, who, being once private persons, enslaved their Citizens by invading, without any just title, the supreme power; as to *Polycrates*, *Pisistratus*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*. It's also applied to the Children who succeeded their Fathers in the usurpation. And it is also given sometimes to those who governed by the desire and consent of the People, as *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, betokening, as to this particular, a petty Prince or *Regulus*. For it is seldom or never in antient Authors, when it is taken in an ill sense, found applied to any but the usurping Lords of Cities (not any notable Kingdom) and such Cities as had before been governed in the way of a Commonwealth. And what is said of those Governours called *Tyranni*, must be extended to their Government, in the *Greek*

* *Æneid. l. 7.*

Greek language called *Tyrannis*, which we english *Tyranny*, though not in any ill sense, wherein the *Athenians* used it not when they would have *Solon* to take the *Tyrannis* or Government upon him, though the word was hirsh. This is hinted to take off any thoughts of the ignorant, as if the word reflected upon Monarchy, the best of Governments when all shall bee considered. Sect. 1.

3. *Samus* is an Island in the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying over against *Ionia*, not far severed from it, containing in circuite scarce 100 miles, so called from the heighth of it by the Antients in their Language. On the West it looks towars the Island *Icaria*, but on the East the continent of *Asia*, being near to *Ephesus*, and the promontory of *Mycale*, from which it is distant but five miles. The most antient Inhabitants were *Carians* differing much from the *Greeks* both in language and manners. But when the sons of *Codrus* led out Colonies from *Attica*, *Androclus* one of them here setled one, by which the City of the same name with the Island was built; having a very large and commodious Haven. It was presently much beautified with frequency of Inhabitants, riches, and multitudes of buildings, and being very famous for the Temple of *Juno*, which was especially worshipped in this place, it was reckoned amongst the twelve *Ionian* Cities, being partaker of the great Council of *Panionium*, and counted not inferiour to *Miletus*, *Ephesus*, or *Chius*, the most eminent amongst them. From *Herodotus* it should appear to have at first been governed by Kings, the Inhabitants as he saith, in the reign of *Amphicrates*, making War upon *Ægina* which was hurtful to both sides: and this was the cause that in the Age following the *Æginetans* did as much by the *Samian* exiles which had retired into *Crete*. But in what Age *Amphicrates* lived he doth not mention; yet this is apparent from his words, that the *Samians* because Islanders remained untouched by the King of *Lydia* and *Persia*, when the other *Ionian* Cities in the continent were forced by them into subjection.

Vid. Strabonem l. 14.

Samus called first *Parthenia*, and afterward *Dryusa*.

Vid. Herodot.

Lib. 3.

4. But when *Cyrus* flourished in *Asia*, and *Pisistrates* at *Athens*, *Polycrates* the Son of *Æaces* one of their own Citizens offered violence to their liberty. When first he seized on the Soveraignty, he made his two Brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Syloson* partners with him, but afterwards he slew the one, and ejected the yonger, and so having all the power in his own hands, he contracted amity with *Amasis*, who at that time reigned in *Ægypt*. In a short time his affairs so prospered, that he became famous through *Ionia* and all *Greece*, for whersoever he made War he prosp red, with his 100 Biremes or Gallies with two ranks of Oars on a side, and 1000 Archers, invading all his neighbours without any difference, for that he held it for a rule; that he *gratified his friend more by restoring what he had taken from him, than if he had taken nothing away.* He subdued many Islands and many Towns in the continent. The *Lesbians* coming to help their friends of *Miletus* with all their force, he overthrew, and took so many, as served him to draw a ditch round about the walls of *Samus*. His affairs being thus prosperous, were not unknown to *Amasis*, but being every day more prosperous than other, at length *Amasis* suspected that his friend and allie for this prosperous Fortune would have some disastrous end, and therefore he wrote to him, and desired him that to make some certain change therein, he would pick out that which was most dear to him, and in the losse whereof he would be most troubled, and make that away, so that he should never more enjoy it. He accordingly took ship and cast into the Sea his signet, which was an *Emrald* set in a gold ring; but it so hapned, that a Fisher taking a very large fish, presented it to him as onely worthy of it, and in the belly of it his servants, when they cut it up, found the signet. *Amasis* hearing this, took such assurance that an unfortunate end must follow such prodigious successe, that lest hee should bee troubled with the miscariage of a friend and allie, hee renounced his friendship.

Herodotus lib. 3. cap. 39.

Polycrates his exploits.

His felicity.

5. When *Cambyses* was raising his forces for his Expedition into *Ægypt*, *Polycrates* sent to him underhand, to desire him to send for some supplies.

SECT. I. who doing ſo, he picked out ſuch as he thought were moſt prone to rebellion, and with them manned out two Triremes, deſiring of him that he would not ſend them back. Yet they after the War withdrew themſelves from *Cambyſes*, and went to *Lacedæmon* to deſire aid of that State againſt the Tyrant, which was granted them, either for that the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged to the *Samians* (as theſe pretended) becauſe they had received ſupplies from them in the *Meſſenian* War, or as the *Spartans* alleged, not out of any kindneſſe, but malice to the *Samians*, becauſe they had in the Age foregoing intercepted certain preſents ſent by them to *Cræſus*, and to them from *Amaſis*. The *Corinthians* were alſo drawn in, having a particular quarrel of their own; the occaſion was alſo given at the ſame time, the *Samians* having taken from the *Corinthians* certain Boyes which they were carrying from *Periander* their Tyrant to *Alyattes* King of *Sardis* to be made Eunuchs.

6. The *Lacedæmonians* coming with a great Fleet to *Samus*, beſieged the City, but endeavouring the ſtorming of it were repulſed with ſome loſſe, and having in vain ſpent forty dayes in the Siege (ſo valiantly was it defended by *Polycrates*) they then returned home into *Peloponneſus*. A ſtory went, that *Polycrates* ſtamped ſome Lead, and covering it over with Gold, with it purchaſed the departure of the *Lacedæmonians*; but this was the firſt Expedition which the *Dores* made againſt *Aſia*. Afterwards at ſuch time as *Cambyſes* fell ſick, that fell upon *Polycrates* which *Amaſis* had forewarned him of. At this time one *Orates* a *Perſian* was Governour of *Sardis*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, and the Sea-coaſts, in the place of *Hapagus*, who either for that he was upbraided that he got not *Samus*, ſo near to his Province, into the King's hand, or for that *Polycrates* ſlighted and gave no anſwer to a meſſenger which he ſent to him (both which are reported) ſought earneſtly to work his deſtruction. Knowing he had an ambition to become Maſter of *Ionia* and the Iſlands, he ſent to him to tell him that he heard how excellent things he caſt in his head, but that he wanted money to accompliſh them, wherefore he having now heard for certain that *Cambyſes* determined to kill him, offered to him, that if he would receive him he ſhould have half of the King's money which he had in his poſſeſſion, whereby he might get the Soveraignty of all *Greece*. And if he doubted of his faithfulneſſe, he deſired him to ſend one of his moſt truſty ſervants to whom he would give ſatisfaction.

7. *Polycrates* with great joy received the meſſage, being greedy after money, and to make the thing ſure, ſent *Mæandrius* his Secretary over to *Orates*, who knowing him a cunning and circumſpect man, filled ſeveral cheſts with ſtones, and covering them at the top with gold, thereby deceived him. *Polycrates* was yet diſſwaded by all his friends from going over himſelf, for that the Oracles were againſt it, and his Daughter dreamed that ſhe ſaw him up aloft in the air, where he was waſhed by *Jupiter*, and annointed by the Sun; but he was angry with her for her importunity, and notwithſtanding all diſſwaſions went over to *Orates*, taking with him amongſt others, *Democedes* the Son of *Calliphon* of *Crotone* in *Italy*, the moſt famous Phyſician then in his Country. He went over into *Magneſia* as far as the River *Mæander*, and then *Orates* laying hold of him, nailed him to a croſſe. Of thoſe that accompanied him, the *Samians* he diſmiſſed, telling them that they muſt account it for a great favour ſo to be uſed by him, but all the Strangers and Slaves he took to himſelf, and reduced them into the State of ſervitude. This end had *Polycrates*, with whom none of the *Syracuſian* Tyrants, or any other of *Greece* for magnificence were to be compared. Him ſucceeded one *Mæandrius* his Vicegerent or Procurator, of whom *Herodotus* telleth many ſtories, and who by the help of *Otanes* the *Perſian Satrapa*, being removed, by the approbation of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtapes*, *Syloſon* the Brother of *Polycrates* ſucceeded, *Samus* paying very dearly for it, what by the War and the enſuing ſeverity of *Syloſon*. When *Syloſon* died, *Æaces* his Son ſucceeded him, by the favour of the *Perſians*; but was not long after thruſt from his Tyranny, when *Ariſtagoras* the *Mileſian* drew all *Ionia* into rebellion againſt the *Perſians*; which happened about the eighteenth year of *Darius*.

Endeth miſerably.

Mæandrius.

Syloſon.

Æaces.

8. In

SECT. I. *Eminius de rebus florentis Græciæ.*

8. In the ſecond year of *Darius*, and the firſt of the 65th *Olympiad*, the inhabitants of *Platea* in *Bœotia*, who never well accorded with their Neighbours the *Thebans*, being now irritated with their continual injuries, that for the future they might free themſelves from ſuch grievances, ſent, and offered themſelves to the *Lacedæmonians* (who then were of greateſt Authority in *Greece*) as Allies and Dependents. But they perceiving themſelves to be at too great a diſtance from them to give any ſuccours when need required, adviſed them to have recourſe to the *Athenians* as nearer to them, and of ſufficient ability to relieve them. They accordingly did ſo, and contracted a ſtraight league of Alliance with *Athens*, which became a great eye-ſore to the *Thebans*, and all their party a long time after.

A League betwixt the Plateans and Athenians.

9. In the third year of the 65 *Olympiad*, and the 8th of the reign of *Darius*, fell out great ſtirs at *Athens*, which never ceaſed till they produced a change in the Government. *Piſiſtratus* the famous Tyrant at his death left three ſons, *Hippias*, *Hipparchus*, & *Theſſalus*, and the principality (as it ſhould ſeem from * *Heraclides*) to them all; though *Hippias*, as the eldeſt, had Supream Juriſdiction. He had hitherto for the ſpace of thirty years enjoyed his fathers Kingdom, being loving and affectionate towards his brethren, and moderate towards his ſubjects: *Hipparchus* was accounted a wiſe man, and lover of learning, being ſomething given to be amorous, and *Theſſalus* bold, and head-ſtrong. It hapned that *Hipparchus* fell in love with one *Harmodius*, a young man of the Citie, and ſorely ſolicited him to unlawfull dalliance, who therewith acquainted one *Ariſtogiton*, a man of a middle rank amongſt the Citizens, and who moſt paſſionately loved him. He fearing he ſhould be deprived of this his dear one, conſulted with himſelf how he might deſtroy, both *Hipparchus* and the Tyranny. *Hipparchus* ſtill going on to ſollicite *Harmodius*, but in vain, at length reſolved to be revenged on him, and executed it on his ſiſter, which being on a certain ſolemnity to carry up the basket that was to be dedicated to *Minerva*, he put her by as unworthy of the office; though ſome of late have thought that he raviſhed her.

** De Politia Athen. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 2.*

Thucydides lib. 6.

Stirs at Athens.

10. *Harmodius* taking this in very evil part, and *Ariſtogiton* much worſe, prepared all things neceſſary for their conſpiracy; but expected the great feaſt called *Panathenæa*, on which day onely the Citizens might be in Armour without ſuſpition, for diſcharging the ſolemnity. They provided not many men before hand, for the more cloſe carrying of the buſineſſe, and becauſe they hoped all the reſt would without any heſitation be ready to come in to them. When the day came, they and their party being ready with their Poniards, eſpied a man talking with *Hippias*; Whereupon they thought they were diſcovered, and therefore reſolved to do that, wherein eſpecially they were concerned, if they could, and ſo ruſhing in violently upon *Hipparchus*, they ſlew him in the place. *Ariſtogiton* defended himſelf for ſome time from the Guard; but the multitude flocking in, he was taken, after he had received many wounds, and his friend *Harmodius* ſlain outright. *Hippias* having notice of what had paſſed, came cunningly upon the Citizens that were Armed for the ſolemnity, and by his Guard picking out ſuch as had Daggers about them, or whom he ſuſpected, thereby prevented at this time all further trouble.

Hipparchus ſlain by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton.

11. Hitherto he and his brethren had not been diſtruſtfull of their own ſafety, and therefore had uſed no great Guards about them; not rendring their power very burthenſom to the people, but acting according to the rules of vertue and prudence. They exacted onely the 20th part of the publick revenue, exceedingly beautified the Citie, waged War, and left the Citizens to their former Laws; onely ſome one of them was alwayes Magiſtrate, and other men held of them yearly Offices, *Piſiſtratus* the ſon of *Hippias*, and Nephew to the founder of this Kingdom, as it appeareth from *Thucydides*, having ſometimes had the power in his hands. But *Hippias* after this, fearing himſelf, exerciſed his power very ſeverely againſt the *Athenians*, putting many of them to death, and to eſtabliſh himſelf by forein alliance he gave

The behaviour of the Piſiſtratidæ, in the Government of Athens.

Sect. I. his daughter in marriage to *Hippocus*, the son of *Æantides* the Tyrant of *Lampsacus*, knowing them to be in great grace with *Darius* King of *Persia*. To find out the complices of these two young men, he tortured, amongst others, a woman named *Leæna* the Paramour of *Aristogiton*, but she was so constant as to endure all, and biting off her tongue, spit it in the face of the Tormentors, lest therewith she should discover any one; in memory of which the *Athenians* afterwards Consecrated in the Castle a Lioness without a tongue, as also Erected Statues to the memory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, as the liberators of their Countrey. These Statues were taken away by *Xerxes* into *Asia*, and long after sent back by *Alexander*, or *Antiochus*, or *Seleucus*, as is severally delivered by Historians. They also Decreed that their names should never be given to any slaves.

12. Though these two did not actually procure the freedom of *Athens*, but perished in the attempt, yet it was attributed to them, because that in the 4th year after, some imitating their example expelled *Hippias*, & effectually procured it. At this time the *Alcmæonidæ* (or those of the family of *Alcmæon*, who was great Grand-son to *Nestor*, and being cast out of *Messenia* by the *Heraclidæ*, came and lived at *Athens*) being driven into exile by the *Pisistratidæ* (or *Pisistratus* his sons) having sometimes endeavoured in vain the recovery of their Countreys liberty, still lay in wait for a more convenient opportunity to accomplish it. Being full of money, they hired the *Amphictiones* to let them build a new Temple at *Delphos*, which was very magnificent, and corrupted the *Pythia* (or the woman that received and delivered the Oracles, standing in a Tripos, or three footed stool) as often as any of *Sparta* came thither, still to propose to them to set *Athens* at liberty. This being constantly done, the *Lacedæmonians* accounted it a piece of their religion to do it, and sent *Anchimolius*, a man of prime Rank amongst them, with an Army to expell the *Pisistratidæ*, though their friends, and such as had deserved no otherwise than well of them. They being aware of this, had contracted friendship and alliance with the *Thessalians*, and now procured from them a supply of 1000 horse, which by a common decree they sent under the Command of *Cineas* their King; which falling in upon the Camp of the *Spartans*, slew amongst many others *Anchimolius* the General, and beat the other to their ships, in which they returned home. *Herodotus lib.5. capp.62.&c.*

13. Afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* sent another Army by Land, under the Conduct of *Cleomenes* the son of *Anaxandridas*, who invading the *Athenian* Territories was encountred by the *Thessalian* horse, which he put to flight, and having killed above fourty of them, the rest shifted away, and betook themselves as they could into *Thessaly*. *Cleomenes* then coming up to the Citie besieged the Tyrants, being shut up within the *Pelasgick*-wall, but being unprovided for a siege, and they furnished sufficiently with provisions, after a few dayes he was about to depart homeward, had not one thing fallen out. As the Children of the *Pisistratidæ* were privatly to be conveyed out of the Countrey, they were intercepted, which overturned the affairs of their Parents, and forced them to Covenant with the *Athenians*, for their Ransom, within five dayes to depart out of *Attica*, which accordingly was done, *Hippias* going straight to *Sigæum*, & thence to *Lampsacus*, from which place he went to *Darius*, and in the 20th year after returned with his Army, and died (as some say) in the battel at *Marathon*. *Sigeum* was a Town situate upon the *Hellespont*, which *Pisistratus* took by force out of the hands of the *Mitylenæans*, and made *Hegesistratus* his base son, by a woman of *Argos*, Tyrant there. *Hippias* was offered from *Amyntas* the King of *Macedonia*, either *Anthemus*, or *Iolcos*, a Citie in *Macedonia*; but he refused both, and betook himself to *Darius*, whose Army he afterwards conducted into *Attica*. *Herodotus ut prius cap.64. &c.* *Thucydides ut supra.*

The *Pisistratidæ* banished.

14. The state of *Athens* great before, grew greater after this grand mutation, in which two men contended for the chief Authority: *Clisthenes* one of the *Alcmæonidæ* (the Nephew by his Mother of *Clysthenes*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*) and *Isagoras* the son of *Tisander*. *Clysthenes* being too weak for the other's *Herodotus cap.66.*

Clysthenes changeth the names of the Tribes. other's faction, that he might engratiate himself with the people, whereas they were before divided but into four Tribes, encreased them unto ten, and whereas formerly they were named from the four sons of *Ion*, viz. *Teleon*, *Ægicor*, *Argadeus*, and *Hopletes*, now he changed these for other *Heroes*, which were, 1. *Hippothoon* the son of *Neptune*, 2. *Antiochus* of *Hercules*, 3. *Ajax* of *Telamon*, 4. *Leon* the *Athenian*, who according to the Oracle devoted his Daughters for the publick safety, 5. *Erechtheus*, who slew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus*, 6. *Ægæus*, 7. *Oeneus* the base Son of *Pandion*, 8. *Acamas* the Son of *Theseus*, 9. *Cecrops*, and 10 *Pandion*. *Pausan. in Atticis.*

Sect. I.

15. *Isagoras* envying *Clysthenes* that respect, which hereby he obtained, procured *Cleomenes* the King of *Sparta* (with whom he had contracted friendship during the War with *Hippias*) to come once more against *Athens*. He sent a Messenger first, and presently procured him to be banished, and yet came thither with an Army, and besides many of the family of *Alcmæon* formerly cast out with *Clysthenes*, now also expelled 700 families proper for War, under pretence of their being contaminated with them in the businesse of the death of *Cylon*. Then endeavoured he to dissolve the *Senate*, and commit their power to those of *Isagoras* his faction; but both *Senate* and people resisting, *Isagoras* and he with their men seized on the Castle wherein they were besieged two dayes: On the third the *Lacedæmonians* with *Isagoras* had leave to depart, but the rest were cast into prison, and put to death. Then was *Clysthenes* with the 700 families recalled, who restored the Democratical Government to the Citie, as it was founded by the Laws of *Solon*.

Civil Wars betwixt *Isagoras* and *Clysthenes*.

Clysthenes restoreth *Solon's* Laws.

16. To *Clysthenes* is also ascribed the introducing of the *Ostracism* into the *Athenian* State, being generally granted to have been brought in a little after the banishment of the *Pisistratidæ*. For, considering the calamities which had hapned in their time, the *Athenians* for the time to come would have all of equal power and authority. By the *Ostracism* therefore they forced absence from the Citie for ten years upon the most powerfull amongst them for Glory, Nobility, or Eloquence, lest they should grow too great; without any ignominy, or disgrace; they being neither deprived of Goods, Lands, or any thing, save their presence at home for that time. The form of it was this. Each of the Citizens wrote the name of that man in an Oyster shell (whence it had the name of *Ostracism*) who seemed to him to be the most powerfull for the overturning of the Democracy, and then brought the shell in as a suffrage into the place designed, and so he that was found to have most written with his name, was for ten years ordered to leave the Citie. But two conditions were required that this judgement should stand in force: That no fewer then 6000 should be at the meeting, and the giving of suffrages; and that those that gave them should be no younger than sixty years old. The first that was banished by this Law, was (as *Ælian* tells us) *Clysthenes* the Author of it, though (according to another) *Hipparchus*, and *Charmus* Kinsman to *Pisistratus*: In after times *Aristides*, because of that great Title *Just* given to him, and *Themistocles* for his Military glory. *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib.13. cap.24.* *Diodorus lib.11.* *Plutarch in vita Aristid. & Periclis.*

The *Ostracism*.

17. But *Cleomenes* the *Lacedæmonian* King perceiving himself damnified both by word and deed from the *Athenians*, raised forces throughout *Peloponnesus*, intending (though dissembling the matter) to be revenged upon them, and set up *Isagoras* as Tyrant over them. He invaded one part, and procured the *Bœotians* on one side, and the inhabitants of *Chalcis* on the other, to fall in upon other places. The *Athenians* thus distressed on all sides, yet first went against the *Peloponnesians* lying in *Eleusine*, and when the Armies were about to joyn, the *Corinthians*, first bethinking themselves of the injustice of their cause, withdrew themselves; and so did *Demaratus* the son of *Ariston* King of *Sparta*, and the Collegue of *Cleomenes*, having never dissented from him formerly. Then the rest of the associates seeing that the Kings agreed not betwixt themselves, and the *Corinthians* were gone, drew *Herodotus lib 5. cap.4. &c.*

Cleomenes to no purpose invadeth the *Athenians*.

off

SECT. I.

off also in like manner: The *Athenians* then to be revenged, fell upon the *Bœotians*, of whom killing many, they took prisoners 700, and then passing over into *Eubœa* the same day, chastized the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in like manner. Thus, four times the *Dores* out of *Peloponnesus* came into *Attica*; twice in a hostile manner, and twice to the help of the *Athenians*. First when they brought a Colony into *Megare*, which was in the time of *Codrus*, the second and third times to expel the *Pisistratida*, and now the fourth, when *Cleomenes* with the *Peloponnesians* invaded *Eleusine*.

The Island *Ægina*.

18. The *Thebans* and the rest of the *Bœotians*, seeing themselves too weak for the *Athenians*, desired help of the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, an Island situated in that part of the Sea, which severed *Attica* from *Argolis*, being five miles distant from the former, some eight in circuit, and the Country of *Æacus*, (whence the *Æacidæ*) having a City of it's own name. The *Æginetans* bearing an old grudge to those of *Athens*, and puffed up with a conceit of their wealth, easily imbraced their society, and when the *Athenians* were busie with the other, passed over in their long ships into *Attica*, and wasted the Coasts thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* at this time understanding how they had been deluded by the *Alcmeonidæ* their corrupting the women that gave out the Oracles, and thereby their losse both of their old friends, and all thanks also as to the *Athenians*; hearing further by the Oracles which *Cleomenes* had brought out of the Citadel of *Athens*, that that State should much distresse them, and especially seeing how weak it was under Tyrants, but now how it increased in strength after the recovery of it's liberty, called back *Hippias*, resolving to restore him. He was ready at their call, but then it hapned that *Sosicles* the *Corinthian* Ambassador and others of their confederates utterly disallowed of this practice, and therefore seeing there was no hope of recovering his former condition, he returned into *Asia*, and there laboured with all his might to possesse *Artaphernes* the *Satrapa* of *Lydia* against the *Athenians*, that they might be conquered by *Darius* his Brother. They sent to *Artaphernes*, to desire him not to give credence to their exiles; but, as when two or three years before, when they sent to enter into society with the *Persians*, he told them they must give Earth and Water, as symbols of subjection (which the Ambassadors doing, were much blamed at their return) so now he told them, if they would be safe, they must receive *Hippias*. They refused the *Condition*, and chose rather to be professed Enemies to the *Persian*; and thence presently after joyned with *Aristagoras*, who withdrew the *Ionians* from their obedience, which provoked *Darius* afterwards to invade them, procured the Expedition of *Xerxes*, and the quarrel of that Empire with *Greece*. But these things concerning *Athens* and *Hippias*, hapned in the first year of the 69th *Olympiad*, the 18th of the reign of *Darius*, A. M. 3501.

A. M. 3501. *V. C.* 250. *Olymp.* 69. an. 1. *Darii* 18.

19. After the *Ionian* War was over, and the *Græcians* in *Asia* were forced once more to undergo the yoke, *Darius* in the 27th year of his reign, and the third after his victory, sent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water as tokens of subjection. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* threw the Messengers into a well, and bad them thence fetch Earth and Water to carry to their Master, but the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Islanders, for fear of the *Persians*, promised obedience. The *Athenians* presently took offence thereat, as judging that the *Æginetans* did it out of a grudge to them, that they might fight under the conduct of the *Persians* against *Athens*, and therefore they sent to *Sparta* to complain of them as Traitors to *Greece*. *Cleomenes* was sent from that State, and came to *Ægina*, with an intention to apprehend the principal authors of the revolt; but one *Crius* there openly opposed him, threatning him, in case he laid violent hands on any, for that he knew he did it without any publick decree of the *Lacedæmonians*, who else would have sent the other King with him. This he said at the instance of *Demaratus* the other King of *Sparta*, who disagreeing with *Cleomenes* ever since the invasion of *Attica*, now also grievously accused him in his absence. Hereupon *Cleomenes* returned home, cast out *Demaratus*, upon pretence of his illegitimation,

Herodotus Lib. 6. c. 48, &c.

The *Æginetans* by giving Earth and Water to *Darius*, incense the *Græcians* against them.

Stirs at *Sparta* betwixt *Cleomenes* and *Demaratus* the Kings.

SECT. I.

mation from his Office, and put *Leutychides* his kinsman in his place.

20. The Father of *Demaratus* was *Ariston*, of the posterity of *Procles*, a man as worthy as any of his Ancestors; who having no children by two wives (for which cause he divorced them) to satisfie the desires of the people (which greatly desired some issue male from him) married a third, which already was the wife of his friend *Ageetus*, covenanting with him for her, (she being the most beautiful woman next after *Helena*) which by the Laws of *Lycurgus* he might do. Being married, it hapned just after seven moneths, when he was according to the custome sitting amongst the *Ephori*, his household servant came and signified to him that he had a Son born, with the suddainesse of which thing being disturbed, he rashly swore that it was not his, coming so much within the Time. The *Ephori* then neglected it, and he afterwards repenting of his rashnesse, brought up the Child as his own, and because he was so desired by the publick wishes of the People, gave him the name of *Demaratus*. After his death *Demaratus* succeeded, a man of great worth, and who obtained a crown in the *Olympick* Games, which never hapned before to the Kings of *Sparta*. But that speech of his Father was now objected against him, by his Colleague and Emulator *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandridas*, who accused now also for their retreating formerly out of *Attica*, which occasioned all the difference betwixt them; and all this was aggravated by *Leutychides*, who sought for his place, and had a private quarrel with him about a wife, of which he had hindred him by taking her to himself.

Cap. 61, &c.

The birth of *Demaratus*.

21. Great contention hence arising, the *Spartans* resolved to send to *Delphos*, and enquire of the Oracle whether *Demaratus* was the Son of *Ariston*, which being done, *Cleomenes* procured a friend he had at *Delphos* to corrupt *Pythia*, so that being drawn by bribery she give the answer against *Demaratus*. Hereby *Cleomenes* procured him to be removed from the Kingdom, and *Leutychides* his kinsman to succeed him; yet though thus handled, he ceased not to love his Country, and continuing at home, disdained not to bear inferior Offices, till further affronted by *Leutychides*, who to insult over and deride him, at such a time as overseeing the exercises of the Boyes, he sent and demanded of him how he liked of that Office after the Kingdom. He answered, that he had tried both, but the other not, and that that question should be the original either of great mischief or happinesse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and then getting him home with his head covered he sacrifized to *Jupiter*, and sending for his Mother conjured her to tell him the truth concerning his Father. Being assured from her of his Legitimation, he went out of the City, under pretence of going to *Delphos*; but took the way to *Elis*, and thence to the Island *Zacynthus*, and so to *Darius* King of *Persia*, the *Zacynthians* having refused to give him up to his Country-men who pursued him. He was received with great honour by the *Persians*, who bestowed Lands upon him, to maintain him in a Princely equipage; and there his posterity is reported to have endured a long season.

Demaratus deposed, and *Leutychides* put in his place.

Pausan. in. Laconicis.

22. Not long after *Cleomenes* received his just reward, his own hands being his executioners; for his treachery against *Demaratus* being come to light, and fearing to be called to an account for it, he first fled into *Thessalie*, and thence returning into *Arcadia* stirred up the Inhabitants against the *Spartans*, and attempted to swear them to be true to him whithersoever he should lead them. The *Lacedæmonians* hearing of this, and fearing what he might do to them, recalled and restored him to his former dignity; but when he was come home, having not had before this time a very setled head, he now fell into a Phrensie, as he met any one in the City, pushing their faces with his Scepter. His friends then bound him with wooden fetters, in which condition, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats, he got a Sword of his Keeper, wherewith beginning at the calf of his leg, he cut up his flesh upwards to the thighs, and, when he ripped up his belly, died, leaving no issue behind him, but a pattern of Justice to all *Greece*, which being amused at his end, most attributed it to the corruption of *Pythia*, and that injustice done to *Demaratus*,

Cleomenes his ill end.

SECT. 1.

ing; the *Athenians* to his invasion of *Eleusine*, and his destroying the Temple of their gods; but the *Argives* concluded this judgement to have fallen upon him, because he had basely killed such of their Country-men as escaped from a battel fought with him, after he had got them out of the Temple of *Argus*, and had burnt the grove which he had taken. This passage betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, is to be described though in the same order *Herodotus* hath done it, it having hapned long before the death of *Cleomenes*, and as *Pausanias* saith, in the beginning of his reign. *In Laconicis.*

23. Consulting the Oracle at *Delphos*, it was answered, that he should take *Argos*, and hereupon he raised at Army and invaded the Territories of that State. The *Argives* in their own defence made haste to meet him, but he setting upon them as they were at dinner, put many of them to the Sword, and besieged the rest in the grove at *Argus*, whither they fled. Then learning their names from such fugitives as were with him, he called them man by man out of the Wood to redeem themselves (which at the *Lacedæmonian* rate was for two minæ a man) and so 50 of them coming out of the grove (in which place they could no see beforehand what was done to their Companions) he put to the Sword. At length one of them climbing up on a tree discovered the matter, after which no man would come out; but then he set fire to the grove and burnt it and them together. After this, asking to whom of their gods the grove belonged to, it was answered to *Argus*, and so he found and acknowledged himself deceived by the Oracle. Returning to *Sparta*, he was accused as having been corrupted, for that he might have taken *Argos* if he would; but the major part were satisfied with his excuse and acquitted him. As for *Argos* it was rendred by this overthrow so desolate of men, that the Slaves governed all things, till such time as the sons of the slain grew up and recovered their Patrimony; after which the Slaves conquered *Tyrinthes*, and held it, till perswaded by *Cleander* a certain Wizard, they returned, and made War upon their Masters, which continued long, till such time as the *Argives* with difficulty remained Conquerours.

24. *Cleomenes* being dead, the *Æginetans* sent and complained of *Leutychides* for the injury he had done to them, in causing together with *Cleomenes* ten of their principal men to be kept as Hostages at *Athens*. He was given up to them, but fearing to carry a King of *Sparta* away prisoner, though for the present the State had given him up, they took him onely to *Athens* to procure them the liberty of their Hostages. But the *Athenians* put them off, as refusing to deliver them without the authority of two Kings, seeing both of them committed them to their custody, and the journy being to no purpose *Leutychides* was dismissed and so returned; but yet he also paid for the injury offered to *Demaratus*. * For, *Menander* leading an Army into *Thessalie*, of which as of the War he had full and ample power, he was corrupted with money, and betrayed the interest of his Country, after which being discovered, as he held the money in both his hands sitting in his tent, he was apprehended and carried to *Sparta*, where being called to account, he fled to *Tegea*, and there died in exile, his house being razed as a traytor to his Country.

Leutychides punished for the injury offered to Demaratus.

* *Herodotus Lib. 6. cap. 72.*

25. But the *Æginetans*, of old, Enemies to those of *Athens*, were now much more incensed against them for detaining their Hostages, and set themselves to studie a revenge. At that time there was at *Sunium* (the utmost promontory of *Attica*) a Gallie which (according to the custome observed every year since the time of *Theseus*) was then going to *Delphos*, aboard of which were the principal men of *Athens*: on this they seized, and taking the men prisoners, bound them all. The *Athenians* hereat inraged, laboured with all might on the other hand to revenge this, and agreed with one *Nicomachus* to have the City betraied to them; yet for that they could not get their Fleet together soon enough, they came a day too late, and missed of that enterprise. But through the counsel of *Themistocles*, having rigged a Fleet of 70 Gallies (20 of which the *Corinthians* sold them at an inconsiderable rate, because by the Law they could not give them) they set upon the *Idem cap. 87.*

War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Æginetans.*

SECT. 1.

the *Æginetans*, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight. They betook themselves for aid to the *Argives* their old friends, but having offended them not long before, they received a publick denial, yet underhand a supply of 1000 Volunteers, most of whom fell in *Ægina* by the hands of the *Athenians*, against whom yet the *Æginetans* afterwards, reinforcing their power at Sea, in another battel became Victors. But what the issue of this War farther was, is not declared by *Herodotus*, who yet elsewhere affirmeth, that it give occasion to the safety of all *Greece*, by putting the *Athenians* upon the care of Sea matters, whereby when *Xerxes* came, they became the bulwark thereof. Probable it is, that this War which was begun before the battel of *Marathon*, was not composed till the time that *Xerxes* was about to invade *Greece*, when we read that all the *Græcians* (and these two States amongst the rest) resolved to lay aside all private quarrels amongst themselves, the *Æginetans* being observed by * another to have had the Dominion of the Sea 20 years, untill the passage of *Xerxes*, which thenceforth they were forced to yield to the *Athenians*.

* *Euseb. in Chronico.*

26. Whilest the *Athenians* were busie in the War against *Ægina*, *Darius* sent his Forces into *Greece* against them, and the *Eretrians* (inhabitants of the Island *Euboea*) which though they took the Citie of the later, and made them Captives, yet were they overthrown by the former in the battel at *Marathon*. After the fight 2000 *Spartans* came to *Athens* (being hindred hitherto by their superstition, which forbad them from a Law of *Lycurgus* not to stir out till the full Moon) whence they proceeded to *Marathon* to see the number of the slain, and then commending the vilour of the *Athenians* returned home. Of these were slain in this fight *Callimachus* one of the *Polemarchs*, *Cynægirus* commended by many Writers, who when the *Persians* fled, and betook themselves to their ships, held one of them with with his hands till they were cut off, and then with his teeth, till at length he was slain; and *Hippias* the late Tyrant (who now hoping to recover, after twenty years banishment, his old power, became the conducter of the *Persian* Forces) though neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make mention of his death, yet is reported by later Authors here to have been slain. *Themistocles* now a young man behaved himself gallantly in the battel; but the successe is ascribed to the valour, and conduct of *Miltiades*, to whom, when *Aristides* one of the Captains had assigned his day's Goverment, the rest when it came on their turns did the same, after that by the same help he had carried it in the Councel for a battel. Yet did he not fight till his own day came, and then ingaging, overthrew the Enemy in that memorable battel.

The battel of *Marathon.*

Miltiades

Justin. lib. 2.

Plutarch. in Aristide.

27. His father was *Cimon*, who in the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* departed from *Athens*, and thrice obtained the Garland in the *Olympick* Games; yet being reconciled to *Pisistratus* afterwards returned, but after his death was slain by his faction. His eldest son, who was called after his Grand-father *Stesagoras*, was brought up with their half Uncle *Miltiades* in the *Chersonesus*, over which he was Prince. His other son was this *Miltiades*, so called after this his Uncle, which dying without Children, *Stesagoras* succeeded him, but not long after was killed by one that counterfeited himself a fugitive, and died also without issue. Then did the *Pisistratide* send *Miltiades* to succeed his brother in the Principality of the *Chersonesus*, and there he ruled when *Darius* undertook the expedition into *Scythia*, and he it was that gave the *Ionians* counsel to break the bridge, and leave him there wandring with his Army. Being setled, he married *Hegesipyla* the daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*; but the *Scythians* provoked by *Darius*, and making an excursion as far as the *Chersonesus*, he daring not to withstand them fled, and after their retreat was restored by the *Thracians*. After some years *Darius* being angry with him, sent a Fleet of *Phœnicians* to subdue the *Chersoneus*; whereupon he fled with five Gallies from *Cardia*, and came to *Athens*; but as he fled the *Phœnicians* intercepted one of them, and therein his son *Metiochus*, who being presented to *Darius*, received from him house, lands, and

Herod. lib. 6.

His Pedigree and Actions.

SECT. I.

a *Persian* wife. Being returned home, he was accused for possessing the Tyranny of the *Chersonesus*, but was acquitted, and * having perswaded the *Athenians* to throw *Darius* his Messengers into the pit, was afterwards declared by the people one of their Captains, and thence had occasion to obtain this famous victory at *Marathon*. * *Pausan. lib. 8.*

28. *Miltiades* flourishing in great glory, and grace with the people, obtained of them 70 Gallies well manned, not making known his intention, but professing that he would much thereby benefit the State. He sayled to the Island *Paros* (one of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean*-Sea, and famous for the best Marble) the inhabitants of which having assisted the *Persians* at *Marathon*, he besieged, demanding 100 Talents of them. They would not hear of parting with money, but made provision for resistance, whereupon he harrazed their Territories, and more closely besieged them, and attempted the Citie for twenty dayes, but leaping off from a Wall, he hurt his Thigh, and was forced to return home. There, when he was arrived, he was accused by *Xanthippus* (the son of *Ariphron*, and father to *Pericles*, his Emulator) of Treason, as having voluntarily miscarried in the Enterprise about *Parus*. He could not be present himself to answer, his Thigh now corrupting, which held him in his bed, but *Stesagoras*, or *Tisagoras*, his brother (according to *Cor. Nepos*) or rather, other of his friends did it for him, bidding the people remember the battel at *Marathon*, and the taking of *Lemnus*, which he, having expelled the *Pelasgians*, had subdued under the *Athenian* power. The people spared his life, but fined him fifty Talents, which sum this expedition had cost them. One tells us it was not out of any regard to his Crime so much, as having lately been under the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*, they feared now the power of their own Citizens, and him especially, who having been much practised in Magistracy and power, and enclined naturally to a love of it, could scarce as they thought bear the condition of a private life; so that though being called a Tyrant, he obtained that power not by his own seeking, but was ever found to be just, moderate, and humble; yet having a great name for Military matters, and thereby great interest, they chose rather to condemn him though innocent, than continually be in fear, though they might have thought on the *Ostracism*.

Herod. lib. 6. cap. 132, &c.

His fruitlesse expedition to *Paros*.

Corn. Nepos in vita Miltiadis.

29. After this, *Miltiades* died in prison of the corruption of his Thigh, as most have delivered, his fine being yet upon the score; upon which account the *Athenians* would not suffer his body to be buried, till such time as his son *Cimon* offered himself to bonds in the room thereof. As his father before him, so he was unable to pay the fine, and by the Laws of *Athens* could not be released untill he had done it. He had then to wife his sister by the father's side (as we are to take it) named *Elpinice*, * it being lawfull for the *Athenians* to marry such. One *Callias* there was in the Citie, a rich man, though of a vulgar cast, who had gained much by the Mines; he being in love with her, offered *Cimon*, if he would part with her to him, to discharge the fine. *Cimon* sleighted the offer, but she avowed that she would not suffer any of *Miltiades* his Children to die in prison, and that to prevent such a thing, she would marry *Callias*, if he would perform his offer. Hereby *Cimon* was perswaded, married her to him, and the fine being discharged, was set at liberty, which he presently improved for his own advancement. These things fell out not long after the battel at *Marathon*.

He dieth in prison.

Valer. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. ext. exempl. ult. Corn. Nepos in vita Cimonis. Plutarch. in Cimone.

* *Vide Janum Rutgersium Var. Lect. lib. 1. cap. 9. & Boeclerí notas ad Corn. Nepotem.*

His son *Cimon*.

30. Three years the *Græcians* had rest, as from without, so within themselves, till the coming of *Xerxes*; onely the War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Æginetans* still depended, untill common danger drew them to a composure. As the *Athenians* had given most occasion to the invasion of *Greece*, so they bore the greatest burthen thereof, and by the means of *Themistocles*, one of their Citizens, procured the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, in that by his Stratagems the *Peloponnesians* were brought to fight, and not suffered to depart to their several homes, which would have brought certain destruction to them all. Assistant to *Themistocles* was another of his Countrey-men, named *Aristides*, who though banished by the *Ostracism* through his procurement, for

Vide Plutarchum in vita Aristidis.

Xerxes invadeth *Greece*.

SECT. I.

Themistocles and *Aristides*.

for that as they disagreed in temper, so in their way of policy, and Government (*Themistocles* being quick, bold, crafty, and easily changeable, according to the juncture of affairs; but *Aristides* constant and grave, onely intent upon Justice, and who neither in jest nor earnest would give way to lying, scurrility, or deceit) yet now with others was recalled by his means for the safety of the Countrey, and voluntarily laid aside all private quarrels which came into competition with the publick safety. The firname of *Just* which first got this man love, afterward procured him envy, *Themistocles* whispering this into the ears of the multitude, that whilest he took upon him to censure all things, he had prepared for himself a Throne, in the ruine of the Courts of Judicature, and defended with a sufficient Guard. The multitude puffed up with their successe at *Marathon*, and designing great things in their heads, could ill bear any that excelled them in fame and glory, and therefore flocking into the Citie they banished him by the *Ostracism*, cloaking their envy at his glorie with a specious pretence of fear of Tyranny.

Idem ibid.

31. When they were come together to give their suffrages, a Countrey-man ignorant of Letters, is reported to have given a shell to *Aristides* (not knowing him, but to be of the common sort) and desired him to write therein for him the name of *Aristides*, at which he wondring, and asking him if ever he had received any injury at his hands, he said no, but that he was troubled to hear him all over go by the name of *Just*. *Aristides* hearing this, answered nothing, but wrote his own name, and gave it to the man, and when he departed out of the Citie, with hands lifted up to heaven prayed (contrary to what *Achilles* did when he found himself ill used by *Agamemnon*) that the estate of *Athens* might never happen to be such as to give them occasion to think of *Aristides*. But in the third year after, when *Xerxes* now marched through *Thessaly* and *Bœotia* towards *Attica*, the *Athenians* repealing their Decrees, recalled all that were banished, especially for fear of *Aristides*, lest joyning with the Enemy, he might by his Authority draw many of their Citizens to revolt. They were mistaken concerning the mans disposition, for before the Decree for his return was made, he had not been wanting to provoke the *Græcians* as much as he could to defend their liberty; then joyned with *Themistocles*, though one most averse to him, and for the publick good advanced him to the highest degree of Dignity. He joyned in endeavours with him for procuring the *Græcians* to fight, and understanding that *Psyttalia* a little Island before *Salamina* was possessed of the Enemy, he passed over thither with a party of such as voluntarily followed him, and put all of them to the sword, except some of the chiefest, to whom he gave quarter. He disposed Soldiers so throughout the Island, that on which quarter soever any of either party should light, he might seize upon them, and so preserve his friends, and provide that none of the Enemy should escape: upon which account a Trophy was erected in *Psyttalia*. And when *Themistocles* to try him after the victory, said, that one brave act was done, viz. the overthrow of *Xerxes*, but that another remained, which was, by breaking the bridge to take *Asia* in *Europe*, he earnestly desired him to reject all such advice, and rather to consider how soon they might expell the *Mede* out of *Greece*, lest being shut in with such great Forces, and all opportunity of flight being taken away, he might by necessity be egged on to revenge.

Herodotus lib. 8. cap. 111.

The acts of *Themistocles* immediatly after the flight of *Xerxes*.

32. After the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, *Themistocles* having the greatest authority in the fleet, went therewith against such Islanders as had taken part with the *Persians*, demanding money of them. He urged them with two powerfull divinities *Perswasion* and *Necessity*, to which the Inhabitants of *Andros* (one of the *Cyclades*) trusting in the strength of their Fortifications, opposed two others as strong as the former, viz. *Poverty* and *Impossibility*, whereupon they were close besieged, but it being to no purpose, the Fleet returned to *Salamine*, *Themistocles* without the privity of the rest, going to other Islands, from whom by his threats he exacted much money. After they had at *Salamine* divided the spoil, and consecrated part thereof to

SECT. I. their gods, they went to the *Isthmus*, there to reward him who should be thought to have best in the War deserved of *Greece*. When the Captains severally came to deliver their minds in writing at the Altar of *Neptune*, each one ascribed to himself the first place in merit, but to *Themistocles* assigned the second, which amounted to as much, as if by a silent confession they had acknowledged his merit to be principal. And though by the envy of the Captains his glory was depressed, yet was he accounted the most prudent man of all *Greece*, and being invited down to *Lacedæmon*, by the judgement of that severe State, as the praise of valour was given to their own *Eurybiades*, so that of prudence and dexterity unto him. They gave him a crown of Olives, and the best Chariot they had, as a reward, and what before was not done to any mortal man by them, at his departure to do him honour, they sent 300 Horse to conduct him to the borders of their Dominions. After this, the *Grecians* overthrew *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left behind him, at the battel of *Platæa*, and the same day the *Persian* Fleet at *Mycale* a Promontory of *Ionia*, which they hereby restored to liberty, *Xanthippus* being Archon at *Athens*; in the second year of the 75th *Olympiad*, and the seventh of the Reign of *Xerxes*. During which passages abroad, little hapned at home but in relation to them; the summe of which elsewhere hath been related.

Idem cap. 122. &c. & Plutarch. in Themistocle.

His glorie.

33. As for learned men which flourished during this period; some of the seven Wise Men of *Greece* lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and about the beginning of the *Persian* Empire. These seven were, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*, who was born about the 22th *Olympiad*; *Bias* of *Priene*, *Chilon* of *Lacedæmon*, and *Cleobulus* of *Lindus*, all who flourished about the 47th *Olympiad*, with *Thales* of *Miletus*, who being born about the first year of the 35th *Olympiad*, foretold an Eclypse of the Sun, which hapned about the third year of the 48th, in the reign of *Alyattes*, and *Astyages*, and about the beginning of the 58th having helped *Crœsus* over the River *Halys*, by drayning it with a ditch, then died. The sixth was *Solon* of *Athens*, who died the same year with *Thales*, and the seventh *Periander* of *Corinth*.

Learned Men.

Consule Diogenem Laertium.

34. Besides these there was *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, who being born in the 40th *Olympiad*, came into *Sicilie* when *Hieron* and *Epicharmus* flourished, about the 70th *Olympiad*. *Epicharmus* lived 97 years as *Lucian* writeth, and invented the Comedy eight years before the beginning of the *Persian* Empire. *Phocylides* flourished at the same time, to whom a Poem yet extant concerning Laws is ascribed, though *Scaliger* thinks it made by some *Hellenistick Jew*. Besides these, *Anacreon* the *Teian* Poet, who as* *Pliny* writeth, was choaked with the stone of a raisin. *Simonides* a Poet of the Island *Ceos*, where he was born in the City *Iulis*. Having lived some time at *Athens* with *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, he went into *Sicilie* unto *Hiero*, by whom being asked what God was, he demanded a daies time to consider of it, and after that another; still professing that the more he studied the point, the more he was to seek in it. Some say he found out the Art of Memory, and that being very covetous, he first exposed the Muses to sale. In the second year of the 58th *Olympiad*, and eight before the *Persian* Empire, died *Anaximander* the natural Philosopher of *Miletus*. *Anaximenes* his Scholar flourished about that time. *Theagenes* of *Rhegium* the most antient Chronographer. *Democedes* of *Crotone* a Physician, being taken Captive with *Polycrates* by *Oetes* the *Persian*, was carried as a slave to *Darius*, with whom he lived in great esteem, after he had cured his foot and the breast of his wife *Atossa*.

* *Lib. 7. cap. 7.*

35. There flourished also in *Darius* his time, *Cadmus* of *Miletus* an Historiographer, there having been another of this name and place, according to *Suidas*, who in four Books wrote the History of *Miletus* and all *Ionia*: and *Strabo* nameth *Cadmus*, *Phercydes* and *Hecataus* as those who first of all *Greeks* wrote Prose. *Hecataus* flourished at this time, and gave light to *Herodotus*. *Pherecydes* the *Athenian*, a tragical Poet, who first caused a woman to be personated, and invented the verse with four feet. *Heraclitus* the

the *Ephesian*, a contemner of Heathenish Idols, who out of fear wrote his Book of Nature in such an obscure manner, that thence he got the name of *Scotinus* or *Dark*. *Zeno* of *Elea*, or *Velia*, in *Italy*, Scholar to *Parmenides*, who conspiring against *Nearchus* the Tyrant, endured torments to death, rather than he would discover his complices. *Pythagoras* the son of *Mnesarchus* the *Samian*, but born at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, about the 53 *Olympiad*. Being twelve years old he learnt of *Thales* and *Phocylides*, from the later taking the transmigration of Souls. Travelling into *Ægypt* and to *Babylon*, he drunk in the learning of both places. About the 68th *Olympiad* he went into *Italy*, where he lived first at *Crotone*, and then at *Metapontus*. Here he taught and constituted the *Italian* School or Sect, as *Thales* had done the *Ionick*. Whereas others suffered themselves to be called *Sophoi*, he would be called out of modesty *Philosophus*. In the 67th *Olympiad* he found out the nature and course of the Planet *Venus*. In the fourth year of the 70th he died at *Metapontus*, where he was so admired, that his house was made a Temple, and that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*. Amongst his Scholars was *Milo* the famous Wrestler; and women through him became famous for learning, their Epistles being yet extant.

Diogenes. Jamblicus. Justin lib. 20. Plin. l. 2. c. 8.

SECT. 2.

SECT. II.

Of such things as fell out amongst the Græcians, *from their Victories at* Platæa *and* Mycale, *until the beginning of the* Peloponnesian *War, containing the space of* 48 *years.*

1. THe *Persians* being overthrown in *Greece* both at Sea and Land, and so driven utterly out of *Europe*; and those that fled into *Asia* in ships being also defeated at *Mycale*, *Leutychides* the *Spartan* who there commanded in chief, returned home with his associates of *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* with the *Ionians*, and those that inhabited upon the *Hellespont*, besieged *Sestus*, which the *Persians* had seized on, all Winter, and reduced it; after which they also all departed home.

Thucyd. l. 1.

2. The *Athenians* having brought home their wives and children, after the overthrow of *Mardonius*, had the popular Government restored by *Aristides*, and set themselves to rebuild the walls of their City in a greater compasse, and stronger than had been formerly, being thereto especially induced through the perswasion of *Themistocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* above all others were hereat exceedingly troubled, as considering that having obtained so great glory by the two Victories at *Marathon* and *Salamina*, the *Athenians* would contend with them for the Principality, and upon that account they wished them as weak as might be. They dissuaded them therefore from going on with their work, alleging that it was dangerous for *Greece* to have any fortified place without the *Peloponnesus*, which the *Barbarians* might seize on, and possesse. They said they would send answer by Ambassadors of their own, and *Themistocles* took the businesse upon him. He first went alone, and ordered that the rest should follow, but not till the wall was brought to a reasonable height; that in the mean time both bond and free should ply the work; and sparing no place, whether holy or prophane, private or publick, take all such stuff for building as they might sooneſt light on. When he came at *Sparta*, he demanded no audience, but sought to protract the time, pretending he expected his Collegues. The *Lacedæmonians* complaining that nevertheless the work went on, and that he went about to deceive them, the other Ambassadors arrived, of whom after he knew that the fortifications were almost finished, he laboured to perswade the *Ephori* (who now had the chief power in that State) that the things were false, which they were made to believe, desired them to send persons considerable whom they might trust to make inspection, and keep him as an Hostage till their return.

Idem ibid. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Themistocle.

The *Athenians* rebuild their walls, which the *Lacedæmonians* grudge.

3. They

SECT. 2.

3. They sent accordingly three of their principal men to *Athens*, and with them *Themistocles* his Collegues, to whom he gave in charge that the *Lacedæmonians* should not be dismissed till his return. After their departure, he demanded audience of the Magistrates and Senate, and then freely and openly professed, that the *Athenians* by his advice, & agreeable to the common-Law of Nations, had fenced their publick and private gods with a wall, that they might more easily defend them; and neither could that be to the dammage of *Greece*, of which *Athens* was the bulwark against the Barbarians, for here the King's Navy had twice suffered Shipwrack. He told them, they did ill to regard more their private ambition, than what was profitable for all *Greece*; and, to conclude, if they expected the return of their Ambassadors, they must dismisse him, or else never expect to see them return; which accordingly they were forced to do with much private regret, though ashamed to own the cause. He advised his Country-men further to finish the work of the *Piræus* or *Port* of *Athens*, which they had begun a long time before, whilst he was *Archon*; for he perswaded them first to apply themselves to Sea-matters, as the way to obtain Dominion, and commended to them that place as most convenient for their design, having three natural Havens. The wall he caused to be made so thick as two Carriages loaded with stones might passe by each other; but brought the height of it but to half of that which he had designed. And with so great a desire was he caried out for the inlargement of the Dominion of that State, that observing the *Lacedæmonian* Navy to be drawn up at *Gytheum*, and so, easie to be set on fire, he much desired to have it done, and told the people he had a thing of great moment in his head, but such as was not to be divulged. The People appointed *Aristides* to confer with him, and if he approved it, resolved he might prosecute it; but he making a report that *Themistocles* advised a thing, than which nothing was more profitable, and more unjust, he was commanded to desist.

But are eluded by *Themistocle.*

Plutarch in Themistocle. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5. ext. exem. 2. Cic. Offic. l. 3.

4. A little after these things, *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, famous for the Victory at *Platæa*, was sent with a Fleet of twenty *Peloponnesian* Gallies, and thirty of *Attica*, against *Cyprus*, where he took many Towns, and *Byzantium* afterwards, held by the *Persians*. He was very imperious towards the associates, insomuch as he carried himself more like a Tyrant than a General, and being sorely complained of to his Superiours, he was by them recalled to give an account of it. He gaped after the Kingdom of *Greece*, and to that end entred into conspiracy with *Xerxes*, whose Daughter he asked to wife, and being accused of much favour shewed towards the *Persians*, yet for that nothing could be proved, he was dismissed, having the government of the Fleet onely taken from him. Yet returned he to the *Hellespont*, under pretence of the War to continue his intelligence with *Xerxes*; but being expelled from *Byzantium* by the *Athenian* Soldiers, he returned not to *Sparta*, but staied at *Troas*, and for that was again complained of, as holding clandestine consultations with the *Persians*, and not having any just and warrantable cause there to remain. Hereupon he was called home by the *Ephori* the second time, and cast into prison, but appearing again to his tryal, he was the second time dismissed.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

Diodorus l. 11. ad Olymp. 75. ann. 4.

Pausanias holdeth intelligence with *Xerxes.*

5. The *Lacedæmonians* sent *Dorcis* with others to succeed *Pausanias* in the Fleet; but the associates would take no notice of him; for *Aristides* the *Just*, Captain of the *Athenians*, so moderately behaved himself, and wrought crosse to the actions of *Pausanias*, that all the Cities of *Asia* hating the others pride, joyned themselves to him, so that he became the means of transferring the chief Command at Sea, which (together with that at Land also) had hitherto been enjoyed by the *Lacedæmonians*, unto his own Country-men, the *Spartans*, at this time not being unwilling, or opposing it in the least, so ashamed were they of the carriage of their own Citizens. The *Athenians* being thus advanced by the associates for their moderation, under pretence of revenging the States upon *Xerxes*, obtained also liberty to lay a Taxe upon them all, how much money one, and how many ships another should find. Officers they appointed to receive the Tributes, the sum of all which amounted to 460 Talents: *Delos* was appointed for the Treasury, and the place to meet in, to deliberate of the Affairs of all the free States. This assesse (as *Plutarch* writeth) was made by *Aristides* at the desire of the *Græcians*, who relied upon his integrity; and his moderation so much appeared herein, that afterwards the *Athenians* inslaved the States, and drawing the Tributes to their private use, first doubled, and then tribled the sum. For now, whereas the whole Tax impos'd by him amounted but to 460 Talents, *Pericles* added almost a third part (as *Plutarch* reckoneth) and increased it to 600. and after his death it was brought to 1300 Talents.

Thucydid. & Diodorus in prim. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Aristide.

The *Athenians* by the means of *Aristid s* draw the chief power to themselves.

SECT. 2.

6. The *Athenians* having setled the Tribute, under the conduct of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, took from the *Persians* *Eione*, a Town of *Thrace*, situate upon the River *Strymon*, which they deprived of its liberty. Then expelled they the *Dolopians* out of *Scyrus* (an Island in the *Ægean* Sea) and therein planted a Colony of their own; then waged they War with the *Carystians* in *Eubœa*, for denying them obedience (which was composed) and besieged the *Naxians* that had revolted from them, whom they forced to submit. This being the first of all *Greek* Cities, which, contrary to the League, was subjected to bondage, after it others were as occasion served, which was taken by the *Athenians*, either for that they sent not the full Tribute, or ships, or would not serve in the War when affairs required it. The *Athenians* also severely exacted what had been appointed, and compelled such as refused, having forgotten their former mildnesse, now in power, and carrying it very imperiously towards their associates whom they could order as they pleased. And this was also effected by the *Greeks* themselves: for, to shun the labour of it, most of them chose rather to send money than ships; whereby the *Athenians*, who had Vessels enough, and always in readinesse, increased their strength, and upon occasion found them unfit for resistance.

Thucyd.

The *Naxians* inslaved.

7. In the mean time *Pausanias*, who had been called home to *Sparta*, gave not over his conspiracy against his Country, though he changed his associates. For he now sought to draw the *Helotes*, or publick slaves, into rebellion with the allurement of liberty, and hereof being detected by one *Argilius* (whom he had unchastly loved, and now being sent with Letters to *Artabanus*, suspected he carried a Warrant for his own death, and so opening them, discovered both his plot against himself and the State) he took sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva*, and there the door being made up (to which end his own Mother is said to have brought the first stone) was starved to death. After his death the *Spartans* sent to *Athens* to accuse *Themistocles* of the same Crime, who being before this banished by the *Ostracism*, lived at *Argos* in great esteem, and was much envied by the *Lacedæmonians* for having done many things in his Countreys behalf, which they looked upon as tending to their prejudice. 'Tis said that certain Letters were found in *Pausanias* his Coffers, intimating a correspondence betwixt them for promoting the affairs of the *Persian* King, which though he assented not unto, yet discovered not the thing, hoping *Pausanias* would either be deterred from his design, or the thing would come out some other way. But the *Spartans* laying it heavily to his charge, and his own Citizens envying his glory, though he sought to purge himself by Letters, yet was he condemned, and the people perswaded to send some to lay hold of him, and bring him up. He perceiving this, fled to *Corcyra*, and thence to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, with whom, not being able to continue in safety, he went to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, by whom he was honourably received, and bountifully entertained (having three Cities given him, one for bread, another for wine, and a third for victuals, to which others add two more for Clothes and Linnen) and died at length at *Magnesia* a natural death, though some wrote, that seeing he was not able to perform his promise to the King of Conquering *Greece*, which by this time had many expert Captains (amongst whom of most especial note was *Cimon*) he poysoned himself.

Idem. Plutarch. in Themistocl. & Aristide. Corn. Nepos in Pausania. Diodorus ut supra. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos. Thucyd. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. extern. exempl. 3.

The ends of *Pausanias* and *Themistocles*,

And of *Aristides.*

8. (*a*) Four years after the banishment of *Themistocles* died *Aristides*, whose moderation and abstinency herein appeared, that having born such Offi-

(*a*) *Corn. Nepos & Plutarch. in Aristide.*

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Offices, yet he died so poor, that he scarcely left wherewith to be buried; yet so gratefull was the State towards his memory, that his Children were provided for at the publick charge. Eight years after the battel of *Platæa*, *Cimon* being sent out by the *Athenians*, obtained in one day two notable victories at Sea and Land, over the *Persians* at *Eurymedon*, a River in *Pamphylia*, which brought him and the State no little credit. After this they fell out with the *Thasians*, who by their Colonies had taken possession of the rich Mines of Silver and Gold, which were in that part of *Thrace*, lying upon *Macedonia*, betwixt the two Rivers *Strymon* and *Nyssus*. For these Mines the *Athenians* envied them, and raised such a contention, that they withdrew themselves from the association; whereupon they presently commenced War against them, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight, and afterwards besieged them by Land. The *Thasians* besieged, sent to the *Spartans*, desiring them to invade *Attica*, thereby to divert the *Athenians* from them: and, having promised, they were ready to perform it; but that they were hindred by an Earth-quake, which sorely afflicted them, and whereupon the publick slaves (called *Helotes*) of the posterity of the *Messenians*, took their opportunity, and rebelling, seized upon *Ithome* in the Territories of *Messenia*, being acted by that impression, which *Pausanias* not long before had made upon them.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

The *Thasians* envied by the *Athenians* for the Mines.

The *Lacedæmonians* distressed.

Diodorus ad Olymp 77. ann. 4. Thucyd.

9. The *Spartans* much distressed by this rebellion, having lost 2000 men by the Earth-quake, besides a great losse in their buildings, after three years the *Thasians* were no longer able to hold out, and yielded to such hard conditions as the *Athenians* laid upon them. The *Lacedæmonians* proceeding but slowly in their War, sent to the *Athenians* for aid, which was sent them, but through sinister suspicions they sent it back again, and this was taken as an affront by the *Athenians*, who were very much moved at it. This was the beginning of that mutual malice and enmity which thenceforth passed betwixt these two States, and proved the rise of abundance of mischief. For, the *Athenians*, presently after the return of their men, forsook the League, which they had entred into with the *Spartans* against the common Enemy, and made an Alliance with the *Argives* their Adversaries, in which they also comprehended the *Thessalians*. And they that were besieged in *Ithame*, at length in the tenth year, being forced to yield, and banished *Peloponnesus* by the *Spartans*, the *Athenians* kindly received them with their Wives and Children, and gave them *Naupactus* to inhabit, which they had lately taken from the *Locrians*, called * *Ozolæ*. A little after this, another great accession was made to the strength of the *Athenians*, and that with the detriment of the *Spartans*; for the inhabitants of *Megara*, Neighbours to the former, being fallen upon with War by the *Corinthians*, betook themselves to them for aid, though heretofore they had been the Allies of *Sparta*. This opportunity the *Athenians* imbraced, and thereby got *Megara* into their hands, with *Paga*, a Mart-Town adjoyning to it; and fortifying *Megara* as far as *Nisæa* upon the Sea, therein placed a Garrison of their own. And this was also the beginning of that inveterate hatred betwixt *Corinth* and *Athens*.

The beginning of malice betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

The beginning of the hatred betwixt *Corinth* and *Athens*.

* *Vide Strab. lib. 9. pag. 427.*

10. During the War betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and their slaves, happened another in *Peloponnesus*, betwixt the *Argives* and the inhabitants of *Mycenæ*, upon this occasion. The *Mycenæans* standing high upon the antient Eminency of their Citie, would not be subject to the *Argives*, as the other Cities of *Argolis* were, but would live according to their own Laws and Customs, having nothing to do with the Commonwealth of *Argos*. Moreover, they contended with them about the Temple and Rites of *Juno*, challenged to themselves the Right of Administring the *Nemæan* Games, and whereas during the War with *Xerxes*, the *Argives* had made an order not to help the *Lacedæmonians* at *Thermopylæ*, except they would yield them part of the Command, the *Mycenæans* alone joyned themselves to them. These things made the *Argives* jealous that their power increasing with the return of their antient spirit, they would contend with them for Empire it self, and

Diodorus ad Olymp. 78. ann. 1.

The *Mycenæans* and *Argives* fall out.

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and therefore of a long time they desired to destroy their Citie. Now seeing they had a good opportunity, whilest the *Spartans* being busied at home could afford them no relief, they raised a great Army out of their own, and the Neighbouring Cities, and therewith setting upon them, overthrew them, and laid close siege to *Mycenæ*. They stoutly resisted for some time, but being exhausted by the War, and the *Lacedæmonians* (being busied with the *Helotes*, and lately distressed by the Earth-quake) not being able to relieve them, the Defendants being most spent, the Citie was taken and levelled with the ground, the inhabitants being made slaves, and the tenth part of them consecrated to the god of *Argos*. So, this Citie happy in more antient times, a Nurse of famous men, and renowned for worthy exploits, was brought to destruction, and continued desolate to the time wherein our Author lived.

Mycenæ destroyed.

11. The difference raised betwixt the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, about *Megara*, proceeded so far, as the former invaded *Peloponnesus*, and joyning battel with the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, were worsted; but engaging the second time at the Island *Cecryphalea*, obtained a victory. Not long after, the War betwixt the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina* was again renewed, wherein the former obtained a great victory at Sea, and took seventy Vessels from the Islanders, and then besieged the Citie, to the relief of which 300 men were sent out of *Peloponnesus*. Now the *Corinthians* judging it a fit season to be doing something, for that they were both occupied in the War of *Ægina* and *Egypt* also, (where their Forces were assisting *Inarus* the son of *Psammitichus* against *Artaxerxes*) invaded the Territories of *Megara*. But things hapned otherwise than they expected, for the *Athenians* left not the siege at *Ægina*, but sent out of the Citie of *Athens* such as were both above and under age for the War, to the aid of *Megara*, which at length carried away the victory, and forced the *Corinthians* to return home with great losse. At this time the *Athenians* began to build their long Walls from the Citie to the port.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 80. ann. 2. & 3.

The difference betwixt the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, about *Megara* renewed.

12. After this arose a War betwixt the *Phocians* and the *Dores*. The *Lacedæmonians* being Patrons to the later, sent to their aid 11500 men, which Army forced the *Phocians* and brought them to terms, but being about to return home, it dared neither do it by the *Crissæan* Sea (or Gulf of *Phocis*) nor through the *Isthmus*, for fear of the *Athenians*, and so staid in *Bœotia* for an opportunity: especially being desired by some principal men of *Athens*, who hating the popular Government, hoped by the help of this Army to dissolve it, and hinder the building of the long Walls, which made much for the interest of the people. But the *Athenians* hearing of this stop came out of the Citie to a man against them, having with them 1000 *Argives*, and a great number of other Allies, so that the whole amounted to 14000. who when the *Thessalian* horse joyned with them gave battel to the *Lacedæmonians* near *Tanagra*, a great and famous Citie of *Bœotia*, not far from *Thebes*. The *Thessalian* horse revolting to the *Lacedæmonians*, they obtained the victory, and then presently marching into *Megaris*, wasted it, and so returned home through the *Isthmus*. Yet the *Athenians* resolving not to give way to Fortune, 72 dayes after this defeat marched again into *Bœotia* to revenge themselves, which by the overthrow of the inhabitants they reduced together with *Phocis*; raised the Walls about *Tanagra*, and compelled the *Opuntians* of *Locris* to give them 100 Hostages of their richest men. At this time they perfected their long Walls; *Ægina* was yielded to them, the Walls of which they pulled down, took away their shipping, and imposed Tribute upon them for the future. And *Tolmides* their Captain coasting *Peloponnesus* with a Fleet, burnt the *Lacedæmonian* Arcenal at *Gythium*, took *Chalcis*, a Town of the *Corinthians*, and landing his men, overthrew the *Sicyonians* in fight.

A War betwixt the *Phocians* & *Dores*.

Idem ad ann. 4. & ad Olymp. 81. ann. 1.

13. But in *Egypt* the *Athenians* had bad successe, *Inarus* being taken and Crucified, and few of their men after six years returning home: fifty Gallies also being sent to their relief were most of them taken and sunk by the *Phœnicians*.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

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The *Athenians* forced by bad succeſſe to make a Truce with the *Peloponneſians.*

Phœnicians, Other Expeditions they made alſo with like ſucceſſe, ſave that they overthrew the *Sicyonians* again in battel; which made them after three years willing to make truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, by the advice of *Cimon*, whom being baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm* they had recalled, during which time they warred in (*b*) *Cyprus* under conduct of *Cimon*, and in *Ægypt* in the ſervice of *Amyrteus* the King, with good ſucceſſe. (*c*) After this followed the *Holy War*, as they called it, the *Spartans* taking the Temple at *Delphos* from the *Phocians*, and giving it up to the *Delphians*, from whom the *Athenians* again took it and reſtored it to the *Phocians*. Afterwards the (*d*) *Bœotians* revolte from the *Athenians*, who thereupon in great indignation under conduct of *Tolmides* invaded them, took *Chæronea* and other Towns, in which putting a Garriſon, and returning homewards light upon the Enemy, who killed and took them all, and amongſt others *Tolmides* was ſlain, who had made this bold attempt, contrary to the advice of *Pericles* the Son of *Xanthippus*, who now had begun to grow eminent. Hereat the *Athenians* exceedingly diſhed, to redeem their priſoners parted with all *Bœotia*, and not long after all *Eubœa* revolted from them, their credit being now on the decaying hand. To the recovery of this Iſland *Pericles* was ſent, who ſcarce being landed, news came that *Megara* had alſo revolted, and that the *Peloponneſians* were about to invade *Attica*.

(*b*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 82. *ann.* 3.
(*c*) *Thucyd. ut ſupra.*
(*d*) *Idem. Diodorus ad Olymp.* 83. *ann.* 2.

They part with *Bœotia*, & *Eubœa* revolts.

14. This conſtrained him to return, and the *Peloponneſians* accordingly invaded *Attica* under the command of *Pliſtonax* the ſon of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* King. They waſted all as far as *Eleuſine*; but *Pericles* there oppoſing them, corrupted *Cleandridas* Counſellour to *Pliſtonax* with gold, whereby they were deterred, and returned home, where *Cleandridas* was rewarded with death, and *Pliſtonax* with baniſhment. *Pericles* having ſo eaſily diſpatched his affairs here, returned into *Eubœa*, which he wholly reduced, pulled down the walls of *Chalcis*, and baniſhed onely the Inhabitants of *Heſtiæa*, which he peopled with a Colony of his own Citizens. This various fortune inclined both ſides to an accommodation, and procured a League to be made for thirty years betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, with their allies on both ſides, whereby *Niſæa*, *Achaia*, *Pagæ*, and *Trœzene*, were ſet free by the *Athenians*, and it was made lawful for any City that had not been aſſociate with either part, to joyn it ſelf to which it beſt liked; which Article afterwards was urged by them of *Corcyra* to *Athens*, whereby they demonſtrated that they ought not to deny them the liberty of aſſociation.

Thucyd. lib. 1. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 83. *ann.* 3, *&* *ann.* 4.

Pericles reduceth *Eubœa*, and various fortune inclineth both ſides to an accommodation.

15. Six years after, a War aroſe betwixt the Inhabitants of *Miletus* and thoſe of *Samus*, about *Priene* a Town in *Ionia*, under the Mountain *Mycale*. The *Mileſian* affairs going down the wind they ſent to *Athens*, where they grievouſly accuſed the other, with whom joyned alſo many of the *Samians* themſelves, who not being imployed in the Government, deſired to have it changed. The *Athenians* being perſwaded by them, manned out forty ſhips againſt *Samus*, by which power *Pericles* reſtored the Popular Government, exacted 80 Talents, and taking for Hoſtages 50 Boys, and as many Men, which they kept in cuſtody at *Lemnus*, put a Garriſon of their own into *Samus* it ſelf. But ſome of the Citizens who had withdrawn themſelves into the continent, entered into a conſpiracy with the greateſt in the Town, and aſſociating to them *Piſſuthnes* the Governour of *Sardis* for the *Perſians*, with 700 Auxiliaries paſſed over by night into the Iſland, and ſetting upon the People on a ſodain (of which they overthrew the major part, and having their Hoſtages delivered to them by ſtealth out of *Lemnus*, delivered up the *Athenian* Garriſon with the Officers into the hands of *Piſſuthnes*) and brake out into open rebellion, and drawing in the *Byzantians* to their party, made War upon *Miletus*.

Thucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp. 84. *an.* 4.

Stirs in *Samus*. *Pericles* victorious there.

16. The *Athenians*, having notice of this, preſently diſpatched away 60 Callies againſt *Samus*, with 44 of which *Pericles* and his nine Colleagues ſailing for *Miletus*, ingiged with the *Samian* Fleet conſiſting of 70 Veſſels (whereof twenty were laden with Soldiers) at the Iſland *Tragia*, and obtained

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obtained the victory, and afterwards with the other part of the Fleet, and a new ſupply of 40 ſhips, ſailing to *Samus*, overthrew the Inhabitants, and cloſely beſieged them both by Sea and Land. *Pericles*, whilſt things were thus ordering, heard that the *Phœnicians* were coming to the relief of the beſieged, to meet whom he took away with him 60 Gallies, and bent his courſe towards *Caria*, after whoſe departure the *Samians* perceiving the Guards thinner than uſual, broke out of the Haven, put to flight the ſhips that lay neareſt, overthrew the next, and ſo recovering the maſtery of the adjoyning Sea, for 14 dayes exported and imported what they pleaſed. But *Pericles* being returned with 60 other ſhips from *Attica* (commanded by excellent Captains) beſides 30 others from *Chius* and *Leſbus*, they were beſieged cloſer than ever, and being ſpent with the War, in the ninth moneth of the ſiege yielded up the City. The conditions were hard enough, *viz. To demoliſh their Walls, give Hoſtages, deliver up their ſhips, and pay the charge of the War. Byzantium* affrighted at this ſucceſſe, returned alſo to it's former obedience.

The City yielded to him.

17. Shortly after this, fell out thoſe motions which occaſioned the *Corinthian*, and ſo by conſequence laid the foundation of the *Peloponneſian* War, about the ſecond year of the 85th *Olympiad*, and the 25th of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.

A. M. 3566. *Olymp.* 85. *an.* 2. *A. C.* 314. *Artax. Longim.* 25.

The Inhabitants of the Iſland *Corcyra*, who were a Colony of the *Corinthians*, ſome 85 years after their plantation in that Iſland (formerly called *Phæacus*, ſituate on the *Illyrian* ſhore, and being very populous) ſent out a Colony which built a City called *Epidamnus*, and afterwards *Dyrrachium*, but not without the leave of *Corinth* the Metropolis, which at their requeſt had aſſigned a Citizen of their own (*Phalius* of the poſterity of *Hercules*) according to the Law and cuſtome, to be Prince of the Colony; and out of the number of their own Citizens and other *Dores* made up the number. This new Colony ſeated in a very convenient place, in a ſhort time flouriſhed exceedingly, and abounding with plenty of all things, as uſually it hapneth, fell out of luxurie unto civil diſſentions about the Government, and hereat occaſion being taken by their next neighbours the *Taulantians* (who made War upon them) ſuffered no little dammage. At length the People incenſed againſt the great ones expelled them the City, who thereupon beraking themſelves to the *Taulantians*, procured them to diſtreſſe *Epidamnus* both by land and ſea, by which the people being ſtraightned ſent to the *Corcyræans* their Founders, and Patrons, humbly to beſeech them that by their authority they would make an accommodation betwixt them and their exiles, and bring the *Taulantians* to ceaſe their Hoſtility. The *Corcyræans*, whether diſapproving the cauſe, or minding ſomething elſe, rejected their petition, who then by direction from the Oracle at *Delphos*, betook themſelves to the *Corinthians*, Founders of them both, and gave up their Colony into their hands. They were glad of this occaſion, and preſently promiſed them all aſſiſtance, being angry with the *Corcyræans*, who upon their good fortune were grown inſolent, and paid not the reſpect to them which was due from a Colonie to the Metropolis; for they were ſo rich and ſtrong, that giving way to no City of *Greece* in the former reſpect, they had alſo 120 Gallies readily furniſhed, which drew envy upon them from the *Corinthians*, inſomuch that now by the help of their Friends they reſolved to chaſtiſe them, and ſent a Party of Soldiers to defend *Epidamnus*, together with new planters to be imbodied into the Colony.

Thucyd. ut ſupra Diodorus ad Olymp. 85. *an.* 2.

Stirs at *Epidamnus*, a Colony of the *Corcyræans.*

18. The *Corcyræans* took this heavily that they ſhould intermedle with the affairs of their Colony, and being ſollicited by ſuch exiles as had fled to them, ſent a Fleet to *Epidamnus*, commanding it to receive the exiles without delay, and caſt out the new Planters with the *Corinthian* Garriſon. But the *Epidamnians* refuſing to do it, and the *Corinthians* making great proviſions for the War, they ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Corinth* with ſome *Spartans* and *Sicyonians* to bear witneſſe of the matter, and offered to put it to a *reference* before equal Judges: But the *Corinthians* neglecting their meſſage, as reſolved for War, they alſo made preparation for it. They ſtill continuing the ſiege

Procure a falling out betwixt the *Corcyræans* and the *Corinthians* their founders.

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before *Epidamnus*, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet of 75 Gallies, armed with 2000 fighting men thither, but leaving 40 for the carrying on of the siege, with 80 more they ingaged with them in a Sea-fight near the Promontory of *Actium*, and got the Victory. The same day *Epidamnus* was yielded to that party they had left at the siege, and so hereby getting the dominion of the Sea far and wide, and growing proud upon their good fortune, they invaded the Territories of the allies of their Enemies, to succour whom the *Corinthians* manned out another Fleet, and landed an Army at *Actium*. They pitched also there their Tents against them, but Winter drawing on, they both departed without any act of Hostility; the *Corinthians* all that year and the year following, out of hatred to the other, using all their endeavours for rigging a new Fleet, and procuring plenty of rowers out of *Peloponnesus* and other parts of *Greece*.

Thucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp. 85. ann. 3. & 4.

The *Corcyræans* victorious.

19. The *Corcyræans* before this time not joyned in alliance with any other State, now began to look about them how they might strengthen themselves. They sent to *Athens*, desiring to enter into society with that State, and to have assistance from it; and the *Corinthians* having notice hereof, sent their Ambassadors to oppose them. The *Corcyræans* were first heard, making a large discourse, and then the *Corinthians* larger than they. The matter was brought twice before the People, which at length resolved that a defensive League should be made with them of *Corcyra*, that the one should assist the other in case they were assaulted by an Enemy: but to make any invasion assistance was denied, lest they should break the Leagues formerly made with other States. The *Athenians* resolved on this course, for that they saw plainly they must have War with the *Peloponnesians*, and therefore desired to have the *Corcyræans* who were very powerful at Sea, on their side; and they thought it would be for their interest to have the *Corinthians* and their associates spend their stock upon those of *Corcyra*, which Island they also looked upon as very commodious for passage either into *Sicilie* or *Italy*. Ten Triremes therefore were decreed to assist the *Corcyræans*, in case they were in any danger, and three Captains sent, one of which was *Lacedæmonius* the son of *Cimon*, whom *Pericles* envying for his fathers sake, procured that no more assistance should be sent, that so the business might miscarry under him; but afterwards out of plain shame he sent another Squadron of ships with came too late. These Generals had in charge by all means to decline the fight with the *Corinthians*, except they set upon the *Corcyræans*, whom then they were to protect to the utmost.

Thucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp. 86. an. 1.

They enter into society with *Athens*.

The design of the *Athenians* herein.

Plutarch in Pericle.

20. This Squadron of ten ships joyning with the *Corcyræans* made up their Fleet 120 sail, with which they gave battel to the *Corinthians* (who had 90 of their own, and 60 from their allies) betwixt the Island *Corcyra* and the continent of *Epirus*. This fight (described most accurately by *Thucydides*) was the most valiantly fought, and with the greatest number of ships, of any that to those times had happened betwixt the *Græcians* themselves. The *Athenians* mindful of the charge received from their Superiours, at the first rather sought to derer, than to fight with the Enemy, succouring the *Corcyræans* in some places; but they being fully worsted and put to flight in that wing wherein they stood, they then with all their might fell upon the *Corinthians*, and spoiled their Victory in that part, and rendred it ambiguous as to both sides. On the same day both parties rallied for a fresh ingagement, and they were sounding to the charge, when unexpectedly the *Corinthians* espied twenty *Athenian* ships which *Pericles* had now sent to assist with the other ten, at which sight being utterly discouraged (as fearing more might follow them) they fell off again, to the admiration of the *Corcyræans*, who knew nothing of the coming of these ships. Great slaughter was made on both sides; the *Corinthians* lost thirty ships, and *Corcyræans* seventy, besides 1000 of their men taken prisoners, whom as the *Corcyræans* carried homewards, they took *Anactorium* (a Town situate upon the Bay of *Ambracia*) in their way, and therein left some Planters of their own. This battel was fought in the 2d year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the tenth of the 86th *Olympiad*, and

The *Corinthians* overthrown in a Sea-fight.

and five years almost before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, *Lysimachus* being *Archon* at *Athens*.

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21. Eight hundred of the Prisoners which had been formerly slaves they sold, and the rest (many of them being of the chiefest Rank of the *Corcyræans*) they kindly entertained. Thus was *Corcyra* as it were made victorious, and the *Athenian* ships dismissed, which proved the first cause of the *Corinthians* making War upon the *Athenians*. Others followed, which not onely inraged them, but the other *Peloponnesians* against the *Athenians*. *Potidæa*, a Town situate in the *Isthmus* of *Pallene* (formerly called *Phlegra*, and afterwards *Cassandrea* from *Cassander* King of *Macedonia*) was a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but associated with the *Athenians*. The Inhabitants thereof were now commanded by the later to demolish that part of their Wall, which was next *Pallene*, to give hostages, and to cast out the Magistrate which every year the *Corinthians* used to send them, and receive no more from them afterwards. This the *Athenians* did, for that they perceived the *Corinthians* to be much exasperated against them, and feared that joyning with *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, with whom they were at odds, and upon whose Kingdom *Potidæa* bordered, they would sollicite the place to revolt, and by its example would entice the rest of the Towns thereabout from their alliance. But *Perdiccas* being first aware hereof (against whom the *Athenians* had Armed his brother *Philip* and *Derdas*) in great wrath sent to *Lacedæmon* to stir them up with the other *Peloponnesian* States to make War upon them, and invited the *Potidæans* to revolt, with other Towns in *Thrace*.

Strabo lib. 7. pag. 330. B. Thucyd. Pausan. in Arcad. Olymp. 85. ann. 2.

This with other things exasperate them and the *Peloponnesians* against the *Athenians*.

22. The *Athenians* being not ignorant of all this, to prevent the revolt of the Towns, sent order to the Captains of the thirty Gallies lately sent into those parts, first to see the execution of their Commands laid upon *Potidæa*, and take all possible care that the other places should not give ear to any sinister advice. They of *Potidæa* sent to *Athens*, desiring earnestly that nothing of extremity might be put upon them; but yet they dispatched also Ambassadors (together with some from the *Corinthians* their founders) to *Sparta*, to desire aid thence, that they might provide for the worst. Having no good answer from *Athens*, but affrighted with the coming of the Fleet; and on the other hand being promised by the *Lacedæmonians*, that in case the *Athenians* fell upon them, they would straight invade *Attica*, they took the advice of *Perdiccas*, and revolted with the *Chalcidenses* and *Bottiæans*. The *Athenian* Fleet having notice hereof departed from *Thrace*, where they had arrived, and sayling to *Macedonia*, joyn their power with *Philip* and *Derdas* against *Perdiccas*. The *Corinthians* to help their friends at *Potidæa*, sent 2600 men, partly of their own, and partly hired out of *Peloponnesus*, of heavy Armour; and 400 besides light Armed, who fourty dayes after the revolt of the Town came into *Thrace*, under conduct of *Aristæus*, the son of *Adimantus*.

23. The *Athenians* hearing of this aid, to give greater strength to their affairs in *Thrace*, sent to their former Forces 2000 Armed men, with a Fleet of fourty Gallies, under the Command of *Callias*, the son of *Calliades*, with whom were joyned in Commission four others. Being arrived in *Macedonia*, they found their friends who had joyned with *Philip* to have taken *Therma*, and now intent upon the siege of *Pydna*, and joyned themselves to them; but seeing how their affairs would be endangered by the Conjunction of *Perdiccas* with the *Corinthian* Forces and *Potidæa*, they made up a peace with the King, and attempting *Berrhæa* in their way, made haste towards *Potidæa*, and pitched their Tents at *Gigonum*, whither another *Athenian* Fleet of seventy Gallies also came. *Perdiccas* the *Macedonian* King again revolted to the *Potidæans*, and joyned himself with the *Corinthian* Army, betwixt which, and that of the *Athenians* ensued a fight, wherein the *Athenians* were worsted in that Wing wherewith they fought with the *Corinthians*; but got the better against *Perdiccas*, which *Aristeus* the *Corinthian* General seeing, after he returned from the pursuit, broke through, and fled into *Potidæa*. Of the *Athe-*

Thucyd. lib. 1. Diodorus ad Olymp. 87. ann. 1.

The *Athenians* getting the better;

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nians were slain 150. amongst whom *Callias* the General, but of the contrary part few lesse than 300. The *Athenians* after this victory drew a line against the Town, and a supply of 1600 fresh men being sent from *Athens* under the Command of *Phormio*, closely besieged it both by Sea and Land. These were the mutual causes of the heart-burnings of the *Corinthians* and *Peloponnesians* against the *Athenians*, & of the *Athenians* against them, about *Corcyra*, and *Potidæa*, both of them Colonies of the *Corinthian*, of which the *Athenians* defended the former against its founders, whilest they endeavoured to chastise it, and they again inticed the later, with other Towns which were Tributaries to *Athens*, to renounce their allegiance to that State.

Closely besiege *Potidæa.*

24. *Potidæa* being thus blocked up, the *Corinthians* were highly concerned, both for the Town it self, and such of their own Citizens as were therein; and resolving that it was no time now to be idle, sent to their associates of *Peloponnesus* to meet them at *Lacedæmon*, where they grievously inveighed against the *Athenians*. Liberty being given to every man to speak, several others also sharply accused them, but especially the Deputies of *Megara*, for many injuries, and chiefly for that, contrary to the agreement made with them, they had interdicted them the Ports and Market of *Athens*. The *Corinthians* cunningly suffered the rest to speak first, that by them the *Lacedæmonians* might be incensed against the *Athenians*, but then, after all, more fully and earnestly laid open their faults, aggravated the injuries received from them, pressed the great danger which threatned *Peloponnesus* from their power, checked the *Lacedæmonians* for their too much remissnesse in vindicating the cause of their distressed friends and allies, and plainly declared, that if now they would not do it, they must strengthen themselves with other confederates. *Thucyd.*

The States of *Peloponnesus* accuse the *Athenians* at *Lacedæmon.*

25. It hapned at this time that there were at *Lacedæmon* some Ambassadors sent from *Athens* upon other businesse, who understanding how things went, desired also to be heard, and this being obtained, fought to allay the stomach of the *Peloponnesians* by calm and prudent reasons. They desired not to be understood, as though they came to plead the cause of their State which they neither could acknowledge as guilty, nor own them as their Judges: but desired, and advised them not rashly to resolve upon any violent course, nor give credit to all that was objected, untill such time as they could throughly understand the case; for that things being once confounded could not easily again be composed. They mentioned the commodities of peace, and the evils that come by War; charged these calumnies upon the envy of their accusers, who could not behold the power of *Athens* without prejudice, though it was obtained no otherwise than as the reward of vertue, as the associates themselves could not but witnesse, who knew well enough how the *Athenians* merited at *Marathon* of all *Greece*, as afterwards at *Salamine*; and they averred, that they had used their power so moderatly, as none had any reason to complain. That they had increased their strength they denied not, which to endeavour was agreeable to the Law of nature, as also that the weaker should obey the more potent; so that it was without injury, though not without force, which was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of any command, and was practised not onely by themselves, but the *Lacedæmonians* also, and would ever so be in the like cases. Again, they laid before them the uncertainty of the event of War, and concluded with a religious protestation, concerning their innocency, and desire of peace.

Their Ambassadors answer in their behalf.

Archidamus King of *Lacedæmon* his prudent discourse.

25. The *Lacedæmonians* having heard both parties, debated the businesse amongst themselves. They were generally inclined to make War presently upon the *Athenians* as the Authors of many injuries, which *Archidamus*, one of their Kings, and a very prudent, and moderate man observing, by a grave speech dehorted them, not from undertaking a War for the safety of their Allies, but rushing into it; for that the strength of *Athens*, and of their own State (as he said) being compared, there was need of a sufficient time to make provision for it, in which not onely the assistance of the *Græcians*, but of the *Barbarians* also was requisite. He shewed that the *Athenians* could not be subdued

subdued by the wasting of *Attica*, having all provisions in a readinesse, and that it was no policy for them being unprovided to deal with such an Enemy: but that rather the thing was to be deferred till things could be in a readinesse, in which time the *Athenians* might perhaps be in a better mind, and give satisfaction without constraint; and this could not turn to the disgrace of the *Lacedæmonians*, in that they followed the example of their Ancestors: Lastly, that by how much they took Arms with more advice, they should by so much conclude with more happinesse and celerity. But *Sthenelaides* one of the *Ephori*, and who spake last, dissenting from the judgement of *Archidamus* very sharply perswaded the people to take up Arms against the *Athenians*, as violators of the former Leagues, and War was decreed accordingly, not so much at the instance of their confederates, as out of fear of the growing power of *Athens*. This was done in the 14th year after the ending of the *Eubœan* War, and the Truce made for 30 years. Sect. 2.

Which is seeded by *Sthenelaides*, and War is decreed.

27. The *Lacedæmonians* acquainted the Deputies with what was resolved; but withall told them they would signifie it to all their associates, that if so be the War should be decreed by the common consent, it might be carried on with their joynt force: then departed they to their several homes to know the minds of their Superiours, and the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned. After their departure, the *Lacedæmonians*, before the matter should any further proceed, sent to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle concerning the event of the War, whence receiving such answer as they wished, they again sent for their Allies, and propounded the businesse to them, who unanimously decreed the War, which was exceedingly pressed by the *Corinthians*, who, before this meeting, for fear of the losse of *Potidæa* had sent about it. It being not expedient to begin the War unprovided, all were desired to repair home, and make all provisions possible (in which was almost spent a year) and in the mean time Ambassadors were sent to *Athens* to make demands, of which, if any were denied, a more specious pretence might be obtained for the War.

The *Lacedæmonians* enquire at *Delphos* about it.

28. In the first Embassie they demanded the expiation of a piacular offence, in which *Pericles* was involved by his Mothers kindred. For, knowing him to be a man of great Counsel and courage, by all means they endeavoured upon this account to have him banished; but the other objected to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they had drawn out of the Temple of *Neptune* some of their *Helots*, and slain them, and starved *Pausanias* to death in that of *Pallas Chalciœca*, where he took sanctuary. After this the *Spartans* sent to require them to abstain from *Potidæa*, to set at liberty *Ægina*, and especially they pressed them to let the Inhabitants of *Megara* have the liberty of their Port and Market, without which they must expect nothing but War: but to none of these demands was there given any satisfying answer, the *Megarians* being accused for appropriating to their own use the ground which belonged to the goddesse of *Eleusine*, and receiving such fugitive slaves as fled from *Athens*. In the third message *Ramphias* and his Collegues added but this to the other demands, that the *Lacedæmonians* were desirous of peace, and would grant it, in case the *Athenians* would suffer all the *Græcians* to be free, and live according to their own Laws. These things thus often the *Spartans* demanded, to amuse the other party till they themselves could be provided, and to catch at a specious pretence for a quarrell.

They send frivolous messages to *Athens.*

29. The *Athenians* upon the last message called the Assembly of the people to deliberate about the matter, that they might send a clear and positive answer once for all. Many speaking *pro* and *con*, at length *Pericles* the most excellent of all the *Athenians* of that age, both for doing and speaking, with his eloquence (wherewith he was said by the Poets to Thunder and Lighten) easily drew the multitude to his mind. After he had inveighed against the *Lacedæmonians* as swollen with envy, he excused themselves, and incouraged the people from their ability to undertake the War. He advised that this answer should be returned: That the decree *Thucyd. lib. 1. Diodorus ex Ephoro ad Olymp. 87. ann. 2.*

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decree against them of *Megara* should be rescinded, in case the *Lacedæmonians* would give such freedom of their City to the *Athenians* and other of the associates: that they would set all Cities under their jurisdiction at liberty, which were free before, when the League should be entred into; provided the *Spartans* would do the same, and suffer such as were under them to live according to their own customs, and not to be tyed to those of *Laconia*: and lastly, that they were content to be judged concerning the things in controversie, according to the leagues; neither would they first make War, but effectually defend themselves. He added, that this was both just and honourable, and if they undertook the War chearfully, they should find their Enemies lesse considerable: that out of the greatest extremities the greatest honour was wont to accrue both to their State in general, and to each Citizen in particular, which he made good by instancing in the *Median* War, at which time the City was far lesse considerable than at the present, and whence it arrived to that pitch of greatnesse: he told them it was fit they should imitate their Ancestors, and leave not the Empire received from them diminished unto posterity.

The Athenians by the advice of Pericles, gave a positive answer once for all by way of denial.

30. Why *Pericles* should be so earnest for the War (*a*) several reasons have been alleged, and this (*b*) amongst the rest, that he was not able to make account for the publick money he had received to build a Portal in the Castle to the honour of *Minerva*. He consumed abundance of treasure in this work, and none looking after him, diverted the publick money taken up under that pretence to other uses. Whilst he considered hereof, and sat sorrowful at home, *Alcibiades* a Boy and his Sisters Son (whom after his Brother in Laws death he brought up in his own house, and who afterwards became very eminent) came and asked him why he was so sad, to whom he answered, because he *knew not how to give an account of his Office*, at which the Boy replied, *Study therefore rather how thou mayst not need to give an account of it.* This most prudent man destitute of advice from himself, used this of a child, and for this reason perswaded the people to the War, that being intangled therein they might have no leisure to call him to account for the disbursment of the money. What ever his motives were, the People (*c*) decreed what he proposed, and answered the *Lacedæmonians* particularly according to what he said, and in general, that they would do nothing they had enjoyned them, but were ready to acquit themselves of those matters laid against them, before equal and indifferent Judges; and with this answer the Ambassadors returned to *Lacedæmon*, whence no more came. These were the quarrels which foreran the War, being begun about the affairs of *Epidamnus* and *Corcyra*. Notwithstanding this disagreement, yet they continued commerce with each other, went to and fro without any publick Officer, or Herauld; but yet not without jealousy of one another. For these things that hapned made confusion in the Leagues, and ministred matter for War.

Alcibiades when a child, his advice to his Uncle Pericles.

(*a*) *Vide Plutarch in Pericle.*
(*b*) *Idem ibid. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1. ext. exempl. Diodorus ut supra.*
(*c*) *Thucyd. in fine. lib. 1.*

31. Several Learned Men flourished in this space, as (*a*) *Æschylus* the Tragœdian, (*b*) *Iccus* a famous Physician of *Tarentum* in *Italy*, (*c*) *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian* Philosopher, who was defended by his Scholar *Pericles*, when accused of Atheism; (*d*) *Panyiasis* a famous Poet; *Pericles* himself, the Son of *Xanthippus*, accounted by (*e*) *Cicero* the first *Athenian* Orator. Besides these, (*f*) *Charondas* and *Zaleucus* both Scholars of *Pythagoras*, whereof the former gave Laws to the *Thurians*, and the other to the *Locrians*; *Melissus*, *Protagoras* the Atheist, and *Empedocles*, (*g*) all who flourished about the 84th *Olympiad*. *Herodotus* of *Halicarnassus*, who being sent to *Thurium* in *Italy* with some new Planters to restore the Colony there, lived to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War which he mentioneth, and in the 42d year of his age, about the third of the 84th *Olympiad*, recited his Book at (*h*) *Athens* in the Assembly of the *Panathænæa*, by the emulation of which *Thucydides* then young was much moved; so that afterwards this stirred him up to write. (*i*) *Euripides* the Tragœdian, the Scholar of *Anaxagoras*, (*k*) *Sophocles*, who was chosen General of the *Athenian* Forces, and (*l*) *Phrynicus* the Comœdian, and (*m*) *Pindar* a *Theban* the Prince of *Lyrick* Poets, who died aged 85 years, in the second of the 86th *Olympiad*.

(*a*) *Anonymus ad Ol. 76. an. 4.*
(*b*) *Steph. in Thaso.*
(*c*) *Plutarch in Pericle.*
(*d*) *Anonym ad Olymp. 78. an. 1.*
(*e*) *In Bruto.*
(*f*) *Diodorus.*
(*g*) *Diog. Laert. Anonymus.*
(*h*) *Vossius de script. Græcis.*
(*i*) *Euseb.*
(*k*) *Schol. in vitam Anonym. Suidas.*
(*m*) *Idem.*

Olympiad. (*n*) *Menion* an *Athenian* in the year before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War (according to the account of *Thucydides*) *Apseudes* entring into his Office of *Archon*, began his *Cycle* of the *Moon*, containing nineteen years. In this space, though not precisely, the *Lunations* do recur; so that if the *Quadrature* of the Moon fall out as at this day this year; the same shall return the same day of the nineteenth year succeeding. Either because it was written in letters of Gold, or for the precious use of it, it obtained to be called, as still it is, the *Golden Number*. It is found by adding an unit to the year of our Lord, and dividing the whole by 19. The remainder shall be the *Cycle* of the *Moon*; or if nothing remain, the *Cycle* is out; that is *Nineteen*.

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(*a*) *Cappellus Chronicis c. 18. Ælian. var. Hist. lib. 10. c. 7. & lib. 13. c. 12.*

SECT. III.

From the beginning of the Peloponnesian *War to the ending thereof, containing the space of* 27 *years.*

1. IN the fifteenth year after the recovery of *Eubœa* by the *Athenians*, and the truce concluded for thirty years; the sixth moneth after the battel fought at *Potidæa*; in the 48th year of the Priesthood of *Chrysis* the Priest of *Argos*; *Æsetias* being the principal *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, *Pythodorus Archon* at *Athens*; in the first year of the 87th *Olympiad*, the 33th of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, of the World the 3574, began the *Peloponnesian* War, henceforth there being no commerce with one another without an Officer at Arms, and Hostility exercised without intermission.

Thucyd. Lib. 2. ad ann. 1. Diodorus ad Olymp 87. an. 1. Et Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 2.

The Peloponnesian War beginneth with the surprising of Platæa by the Thebans. Which the Towns-men presently recover.

2. In the second moneth of *Pythodorus* his Government, and the beginning of the Spring, 300 *Thebans* seized upon *Platæa*, by the treachery of some in the Town, being associate to the *Athenians*; for they perceiving a War to be drawing on, and knowing that Town to be alwaies in peace adverse to them, thought good to make sure of it betimes. The Inhabitants thinking more to have got in, than indeed did, at the first yielded it, but then again apprehending the truth, resolved to rescue their liberty, and set by night upon the *Thebans*, whom they knew to be weary, ignorant of the Town, and would be much troubled with the dirt, by reason of abundance of rain which fell that night. The device prospered, and they slew almost half the number, taking the rest prisoners, which were 180, and amongst them *Eurymachus* the Author of this Expedition. It hapned that from *Thebes* another Party came too late to the help of their fellows if need should be, who seeing what was done, considered whether they should not set upon such *Platæans* as were abroad in the Country, and waste it round about, thereby to redeem their friends. The *Platæans* (as the *Thebans* said) sent to them, being afraid of this, and offered them to release the prisoners if they would forbear to spoil their grounds; but in case they did, threatned to put them to death; whereupon the *Thebans* withdrew; and yet for all this the *Platæans* put their friends to death. The *Platæans* on the other hand alleged, that they never made any promise to dismisse them; but in case they should agree in treaty. But they sent to *Athens* to give them notice there of this attempt made upon their Town.

3. The message being carried before the *Thebans* were put to death, the *Athenians* sent word to *Platæa*, that they would do nothing against them till they heard further from them; after they had first seized upon such *Bœotians* as were in their Dominions. Then after the truth was known, they sent an Army which victualled the place, and taking out the useless multitude of both Sexes, put a Garrison therein. Thus the League being plainly broken on both sides, both parties prepared themselves for the War, both sent away Ambassadors to the *Persian*, and other *Barbarians*, and set themselves to obtain new alliances. Now were old Prophecies and Sayings in all mens mouths,

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which they interpreted according to their affection. Moſt were enclined towards the *Lacedæmonians*, who profeſſed themſelves the vindicators of the liberty of *Greece*, and hating the *Athenians*, either for that they deſired to ſhake off their yoak, or feared to undergo it. On the *Lacedæmonian* ſide were all the *Peloponneſians* except the *Argives* and *Achæans*, who were friends to both, all but the Inhabitants of *Pellene* amongſt the latter, who at the beginning ſided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterwards the reſt alſo joyned themſelves to them. Without *Peloponneſus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*. The *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*, furniſhed them with ſhips; the *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians*, ſent out Horſe-men, and the reſt of the States ſupplied them with Foot.

The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* heads of the two Parties.

What *Greeks* ſtood with the *Lacedæmonians*,

4. With the *Athenians* ſtood the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plataans*, *Meſſenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, moſt of the *Acarnanians*, the *Corcyraans*, *Zacynthians*, and the reſt of the tributary Cities all over, the *Carians* inhabiting the Sea-coaſts, the *Dorians* their neighbours, *Ionia* upon the, *Helleſpont*, ſeveral Towns of *Thrace*, and other places not few, the *Iſlands* lying betwixt *Peloponneſus* and *Crete* towards the Sun-riſing, and all the *Cyclades* except *Melus* and *Thera*. The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corcyraans*, afforded ſhipping, the reſt, men and money, as *Thucydides* writeth, who in this Catalogue paſſeth by *Eubœa* and *Samus*, though they abounded with ſhipping, and ſided with the *Athenians*. Preſently after the action about *Platæa*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent abroad to their aſſociates to meet at the *Iſthmus*, which they did accordingly, two third parts out of each of the Cities. Here *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King and Captain General, having firſt gravely adviſed them not to truſt too much to their own ſtrength, though they made up ſuch an Army as the eldeſt of them had never ſeen, ſent to *Athens* to ſee if that City would now remit any of it's former rigor; but the meſſenger being ſent back without hearing, he marched for *Attica*, the *Bœotians* at the ſame time having invaded the Territories of the *Plataans*.

And who with the *Athenians*.

Archidamus invadeth *Attica*.

5. Ere *Archidamus* invaded *Attica*, *Pericles* his friend, who by the *Athenians* with nine others was appointed General, foreſeeing that if he ſhould ſpare his Villages, either upon the account of their particular friendſhip, or by order from the *Spartan* State, to render him ſuſpected, it would create him abundance of envy and ill will, to avoid all ſuſpition, called the People together, and gave the ſaid Villages to the Commonwealth, and adviſed them to gather all their things out of the Villages, and contain themſelves within the City, to take care of their ſhipping, and not to neglect their confederates, from whom they might be ſupplied with money, which together with good counſel and advice is the ſinnews of War. He told them that they had 600 Talents of Tribute yearly coming in, beſides other revenues; that they had in the Caſtle left 6000 Talents of Silver ready coyned, beſides in bullion and plate 500 Talents more, and money in the Temples, beſides forty pound of pure Gold about the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which it was lawful to uſe in extremity, making it up again afterwards. They had ready 19000 Foot-men, and 1200 Horſe, beſides others that uſed bows on Horſe-back, and 6000 Archers on foot: of Gallies fit for ſail 200, and he added other things to make them couragiouſly begin the War. They obeyed him in ſerching their goods into the City, and ſhutting up themſelves there, though much to their prejudice and trouble; but ſuch authority had he with the people, having firſt, to ingratiate himſelf, inlarged the authority and liberty of the multitude, whereby afterwards in effect he ruled alone. They fet themſelves alſo with all their might to the rigging of their Fleet, and gathering together the forces of their Confederates.

The Proviſion of the *Athenians* for War.

6. The *Peloponneſian* Army entred *Attica* by *Oenoe* a Caſtle of the *Athenians*, upon the frontiers of *Bœotia*, and there *Archidamus* ſtaid, providing all things for the ſtorm. Being ſomewhat long in his preparations, his adverſaries thence found matter wherewith to accuſe him, as one who affected the

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Athenians, and on purpoſe before at the *Iſthmus*, and now alſo protracted the time till they ſhould have removed all their goods out of *Attica*. He indeed thought they might be inclined to a compoſure for the ſaving of their goods, and therefore did delay his march, but finding no meſſage ſent, and not being able to take the Caſtle, he removed about 80 dayes after the *Thebans* entred *Platæa*, in the height of Summer, Corn being now ripe, and invaded *Attica*, which he waſted as far as *Acharnæ*, the ſtrongeſt Garriſon of all the Countrey, and but ſeven or eight miles diſtant from *Athens*. When they in the Citie underſtood this, having not ſuſpected he would have peirced ſo far, and afflicted for the loſſe they ſuſtained, they began to be much moved, (eſpecially they of *Acharnæ*, who ſeemed to themſelves a conſiderable part in the State) and tumultuouſly gathering together, now began to rail at *Pericles*, for that he being General did not lead them out againſt the Enemy. He would not call the aſſembly nor any Company together, for fear they ſhould reſolve raſhly upon any thing; but was very carefull of the defence of the Citie, and ſent out a party of horſe, of which ſome were *Theſſalian* Auxiliaries, to reſtrain the excurſions of the Enemy into the parts adjacent, which was beaten back with ſome loſſe. At length the *Peloponneſians* ſeeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, removed from *Acharnæ*, and waſting other places, departed through *Bœotia* into *Peloponneſus*, and went ſeverally to their own homes.

7. Whileſt they were yet in *Attica*, the *Athenians*, to divert them, ſent out a Fleet of 100 Gallies, on which were aboard 1000 Soldiers of heavy Armour, and 400 Archers, with which the *Corcyraans* joyned 50 Veſſels more, and other aſſociates contributed their numbers. Coaſting the *Peloponneſian* ſhoar, beſides other harm done, they landed in *Laconia*, and had taken *Methone*, then unwalled, and meanly manned, but that *Braſidas* the *Spartan* with 100 men brake through, and getting into the Town, defended it ſo, as they were glad to retreat to their ſhips. Then went they to *Elis*, where they ſeized on *Phia*, and ſtaying there two dayes, harraſed the Countrey, and overthrew ſuch as were ſent to reſtrain them: but their ſhips being ſorely toſſed with a Tempeſt, and hardly recovering the Haven of *Phia*, and underſtanding alſo that greater forces were coming againſt them, they departed thence, and grievouſly diſtreſſed ſuch places as they came to. At the ſame time alſo another Fleet was ſent from *Athens* to infeſt the *Locrians*, and defend *Eubœa*, which did much harm upon the Coaſts of *Locris*, took *Thronium*, took Hoſtages with them, and overthrew the *Locrians* that came out to reſiſt them. In the ſame Summer the *Athenians* caſt out the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, for that they imputed to them the eſpecial cauſe of the War, and judged that Iſland convenient for them to place a Colony therein of their own. The *Lacedæmonians* out of requital for the kindneſſe received from them during the Earth-quake, and War with their ſlaves, and out of hatred to the *Athenians*, gave them *Thyrea* and its Territories to inhibit (which ſeparate *Laconia* from the Countrey of *Argos*, reaching as far as the Sea;) but ſuch of them as this place for its ſtraightneſſe could not receive, were diſperſed up and down *Greece* it ſelf.

The *Athenians* ſend a Fleet into *Peloponneſus* to divert their enemies.

They eject the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, and plant a Colony of their own in the Iſland.

8. This ſame Summer, at the change of the Moon, hapned ſuch an Eclypſe of the Sun (at which time ſaith *Thucydides*, it is judged that it can onely happen) that at Mid-day the Stars were ſeen, which according to the *Julian* account hapned on the third day of *Auguſt*, as the Aſtronomical Tables demonſtrate. About the ſame time the *Athenian* Fleet of 100 Gallies having in *Acarnania* taken ſeveral Towns, came to *Cephallenia*, an Iſland lying over againſt *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, which being inhabited in four Towns, they reduced without one ſtroak, and ſo returned home. In the beginning of Autumn, the *Athenians* with a vaſt Army invaded *Megaris*, which waſting in an Hoſtile manner they returned, and ſo they did once a year, till they got *Niſæa* into their hands. At this time alſo they placed a Garriſon in *Atalante*, an Iſland belonging to the *Locrians* of *Opus*, which hitherto no body had peopled, leſt it ſhould prove an Harbour for Robbers that from *Locris* might

An Eclypſe of the Sun on the third of *Auguſt*.

SECT. 2.

The manner of burying those who died in the Wars.

prey upon *Eubœa*. In Winter, according to their custom, they solemnised the Funeral for those that first died in the War on this manner. First, their bones for three dayes were laid out to be seen in a Tent, where it was lawfull for their friends to come, and do such duties as was usual to the dead. Then when they were carried out, each Tribe came, and putting the bones of their fellows into *Cypresse* Coffins, carried them away on Chariots, and one Chest was carried empty for such as had not been found; the women of their kindred making lamentation as for them. Then were they buried in a publick Sepulchre, in the most famous Suburb of the Citie, called *Ceramicus*, where all slain in War were constantly buried, except they that fell at *Marathon*, who for their greater honour were buried in the place of the fight. After they were buried, some one Eminent for prudence and eloquence made a Funeral Oration in commendations of them, which at this time was most excellently performed by *Pericles*. The scope of his speech was to shew they deserved immortal glory for shedding their bloud in their Countreys behalf, and to excite the living to seek after such renown. With this Winter ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* War, whose History for its influence into the whole is the more considerable.

9. In the Spring the *Peloponnesians* again under conduct of *Archidamus* their former General invaded *Attica*, at which time fell also upon it, a most fearfull plague, as it is described by *Thucydides*, who was sick of it, as seldom hapned; during the rage of which they plundred and wasted the Countrey all over. *Pericles* returning to his former Counsel, hindred the Citizens who were very desirous to issue out and fight, and provided an hundred ships, with which and fifty of the associates of *Chius* and *Lesbus*, armed with 4000 foot and 300 horse, he departed to *Peloponnesus*, the Coasts of which he sore wasted, and forced the Army to return home to defend it, which they were willing to do also becaufe of the plague, after they had been in *Attica* fourty dayes. After the return of *Pericles*, his Army was sent under the Command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus*, against *Chalcis* and *Potidæa*, at the later of which it was seized by the pestilence, and greatly dimished, and *Agnon* with 1500. which remained of 4000, returned home. But the people being sore afflicted by the plague and War together, were angry now against *Pericles*, as him that moved them to take up Arms, who calling them together sharply reproved them; and they confessed what he said to be true, and that he had advised them upon good grounds, but being inraged at their private discommodities, they fined him 80 Talents, and banished him the Citie, and yet presently after, according to the inconstant nature of the multitude, recalled, and created him General with full power.

Thucyd. lib. 2. ad ann. 2.

Attica the second time invaded, when it was seized with a fearfull plague.

Diodorus.

10. In the same Summer a Navy from *Peloponnesus* of an hundred Gallies fell upon *Zazynthus*, an Island addicted to the *Athenians*, which wasting, and being not able to do any more, they returned home. The *Peloponnesians* also in the end of Summer sent Ambassadors to the *Persian* King to desire aid, who were also commanded to go to *Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, to desire a League of confederacy with him; but they were taken near the *Hellespont* by some *Athenians*, through the assistance of *Sadocus* the Kings son, and free of *Athens*, and being brought thither, in revenge for some *Athenians*, Merchants, and others, slain in *Peloponnesus*, they were put to death. In Winter twenty Gallies were sent from *Athens* to *Naupactus* to secure the Straights lying betwixt *Peloponnesus* and *Ætolia*, and other six to *Caria* and *Lycia*, to gather money, under Command of *Melesander*, who in a fight was there slain with part of his forces. *Potidæa* now also being in despair of any supply from *Peloponnesus*, and sore afflicted with famine (which raged so far as they ate man's flesh) yielded to the *Athenians*. Of the besieged such as were Males had liberty to depart with one Garment apiece, Females with two, and a little provision. The Citie being thus emptied was replenished with a Colony from *Athens*, to which state this siege stood in 2000 Talents. And so the second year of the War ended with this Winter.

Potidæa delivered up to the *Athenians*.

11. In

SECT. 2.

11. In the next Spring *Archidamus* the *Lacedæmonian* King marched against *Platæa*, and besieged it. The *Platæans* sent to him to desire he would forbear to use any extremity against them; but he returned them very harsh conditions, requiring them to forsake the *Athenians*, to give up their Citie, and all they had, for the time of War, and in the mean time to go and dwell somewhere else, promising that as soon as the War should be over, they should have all entirely restored to them. They desired a Truce, till such time as they could send to the *Athenians*, their associates, and know their mind, who being utterly against it, they then sent *Archidamus* word, that they were resolved to undergo whatsoever the chance of War should lay upon them, for that they neither could, nor would revolt from the *Athenians*. He then fell of wasting their grounds, and with all his might attempted the Citie, which was as valiantly and powerfully defended by the Inhabitants. No way taking, at length the *Spartans* attempted it by fire, which consumed most part of the Town, leaving but a few houses for the *Platæans* to live in. Yet still the matter succeeded not, and at length despairing to take the place by force, they raised a Wall round about it, which they fenced with a double Ditch to shut them in, and leaving sufficient Guards, departed home. Before this the Towns-men had sent out to *Athens* all their useless Company. This same year the *Athenians* fought with various successe in *Thrace* and *Acarnania*.

Idem lib. 2. ad ann. 3.

Archidamus besiegeth *Platæa*, which holdeth out.

12. In the later end of this Summer, and the 6th Moneth of the year died *Pericles*, of the Epidemical disease, or the Plague, as *Plutarch* reporteth, though not by its sudden force as others, but in a way of Consumption, which, if so, was extraordinary. As he drew on towards his end, some of the principal men of *Athens* that were left alive of his antient friends, as they sate by him, not thinking that he understood any thing, discoursed much of his great and many victories and Trophies which he had erected, placing therein the main of his commendation. He understanding the discourse, interrupted them, saying, that he wondred they should especially take notice of those things, which fortune made common to him with others, and make no mention of that which was most worthy and remarkable, for *No man, saith he, upon mine account hath put on a black Garment.* A man he was to be had in constant admiration, not onely for his equity and mildnesse, which he shewed in so many businesses of concernment, and such enmities as were exercised against him; but also for his greatnesse of spirit, that this he especially charged upon himself, not to indulge his anger in so great power, or his malice; neither to be implacable towards his greatest adversary: and this seemeth to be the reason that he enjoyed the firname of *Olympius* without envy, because he was of so sweet a disposition, & in the greatest power preserved his life unblemished. The great misse the *Athenians* had of him made them soon perceive what man he was, whose power whilest alive they ill bore, as dasling their eyes; when dead, and they had experience of others, they confessed that no man could in that height of place have carried himself more moderatly, or in that modesty more gravely, and that height of power which used to be branded with the name of Tyranny, appeared in him to have been the wholsom preservative of the Commonwealth; such depravednesse of manners, and exceffe of wickednesse falling upon all things after his death, which he weakning and keeping under as long as he lived, procured that it exceeded not the strength of the remedy.

Idem in Pericle.

Pericles dieth.

His commendation.

13. The Summer following being the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian* War-rising, the *Peloponnesians* and their confederates made the third invasion of *Attica*, when Corn was now ripe, under the Conduct of the same *Archidamus*, which they wasted up and down as long as their provisions lasted. In the mean time all the Island *Lesbus* (except *Methymna*) revolted from the *Athenians*, having had a great desire to do it before the War, but that the *Lacedæmonians* would not receive them. A Fleet of fourty ships were then presently dispatched from *Athens*, and War was denounced to the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, except they delivered up their ships, and

Thucyd. lib. 3. initio.

Archidamus the third time invadeth *Attica*.

SECT. 2.

and pulled down the walls; which being denied, War was made upon them, their Gallies put to flight, and the Haven blocked up. Hereupon they desired a Treaty, and obtained truce to send an Ambassage to *Athens* about a Peace; but in the mean while they sent underhand Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, to desire a straight League and alliance, with present aid. The Ambassadors being ordered by the *Spartans* to stay at *Olympia* at the time of the solemnity of the 88th *Olympiad* pleaded there their cause, and in the name of their City were received into the League, and assistance out of hand was promised to them. Another Expedition was then resolved on into *Attica*, but the *Spartans* being ready, at the *Isthmus*, whereas their associates loitered, and the *Athenians* then with a Fleet of 30 ships preid upon *Peloponnesus*, they being advertized of the losse they sustained in *Laconia*, returned home.

The *Athenians* besiege *Mitylene*.

14. Yet the *Peloponnesians* in performance of their promise made to the *Mitylenæans*, dispatched away a Fleet of 40 Gallies, which found another from *Athens* to oppose it, consisting of 100; for the *Athenians* now abounded in shipping, having ready furnished 250 Gallies, on which they expended much, so as to defray their expences, they now first of all were assessed, exacting yet from their confederates the usual Tributes, which they paid with much repining. At the same time the *Mitylenæans* and the rest of the *Lesbians* made War upon the *Methymnæans*, who persisted in their obedience to the *Athenians*. These understanding of it, sent at the latter end of Summer a band of men into the Island, which drew a line round about *Mitylene*, upon which Guards being set, the Inhabitants were straightly besieged. In Winter the Inhabitants of *Platæa* being greatly distressed for want of victuals, and despairing of any aid from *Athens*, resolved to break through the Enemies Fortifications, though exceeding difficult to be passed, and save themselves by flight. Many for the difficulty of the thing changed their minds, but 300 stood firm in their resolution, and taking advantage of an exceeding dark and tempestuous night, 212 with remarkable courage and constancy brake through, and (the rest being repulsed into the City) came safe unto *Athens*. Towards the end of Winter *Salæthus* was sent from *Lacedæmon* to *Mitylene*, to encourage the besieged to hold out, by promise of help; and another Expedition to be made by the confederates into *Attica*. And so the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian* War ended.

Attica invaded the fifth time, and the *Mitylenæans* yield.

15. In the beginning of the fifth year, the *Peloponnesians* sent 40 ships to *Lesbus* to the relief of the *Mitylenæans*, under the conduct of *Alcidas*, and they themselves with an Army, over which *Cleomenes* (Uncle and Guardian to *Pausanias* their young King yet under age) was Captain, invaded *Attica* the fifth time, which they most grievously distressed; but hearing nothing from *Lesbus* that they liked, and being in scarcity of victuals, they returned the sooner into *Peloponnesus*. The *Mitylenæans* being sorely distressed in the same nature, whether the Magistrate would or not, yielded themselves to the mercy of the *Athenians*, which the *Peloponnesian* Fleet understanding before they arrived at *Lesbus*, went over to the Coast of *Asia*, and there having cast many things in their heads, without any thing of note performed, returned, through the perswasion of their General, into *Peloponnesus*, being from *Lesbus* in vain pursued by *Paches* the *Athenian* Captain. He returning from the pursuit, setled things in *Lesbus* according to his own mind, sent *Salæthus* the *Lacedæmonian* messenger (whom he took in the Town) with the authors of the revolt, and some whom the Towns-men sent to intercede for them, unto *Athens*, staying there himself for further orders. *Salæthus* was presently put to death, and the people being called together to consult about the *Mitylenæans*, resolved, at the instigation of *Cleon*, a man of bitter severity, that all those of ripe age should be put to death, as well as they that were sent to *Athens*, and all the women and children should be made bondslaves; and this decree was without delay sent to *Paches* to be put into execution. But considering of this rash and cruel sentence, they repented of what they had done, and the next day met to advise further of it, when again *Cleon* a man in great grace with them, pressed vehemently the former decree. But

A severe sentence against them.

SECT. 3.

But *Diodotus* one of a milder spirit opposed him, and having endeavoured the day before to no purpose to do it, now by very few voices carried it from him.

Reversed.

16. Then was there dispatched a swift Galley, with order if possible to get before that which carried the former Decree, and command *Paches* to abstain from putting it in execution. Yet the former arrived at *Mitylene* first, having set forth a whole day before it; but whilst *Paches* was considering of the sharpnesse of the Decree, and how to perform it, the latter arrived, and so the lives of the multitude were saved, being so near to destruction, as scarce any thing nearer. But to punish the revolt, above 1000 of those whom *Paches* had sent to *Athens* as authors of it, the People commanded to be put to death, *Mitylene* was deprived of it's walls and ships, all *Lesbus* except the *Methymnæans* had hard conditions imposed upon them. The fields were taken from all the owners, of which the tenth part being dedicated to the gods, the remainder was distributed to the Citizens of *Athens*, the tillage thereof being left under a vast rent to the *Lesbians*: and all such Towns as were now subject to the *Mitylenæans*, the *Athenians* reduced under their Dominions. The same Summer they seized upon *Minoa*, an Island lying before the shore of *Megaris*, and the Port of *Nisæ*, and fortifying it, made the Coasts more safe and convenient to all intents. In the mean time those that were left in *Platæa* were forced by meer famine to yield themselves and City to the judgement of the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent five men to hear their Orators, and the *Thebans* their Enemies. These men adjudged them all to death, which accordingly was executed upon them to the number of 200, with whom were slain 25 *Athenians* found in the Town, and the women adjudged to slavery. The City for some time was given to some exiles to inhabit: then, scarce a year being past, was by the *Thebans* utterly destroyed, an Inne onely being built out of the ruines of the Temple of *Juno*, and the Temple it self inlarged, all the grounds being seized on by the *Thebans*. This was the fortune of the *Platæans* (who thought they might have had some favour shewed them for the merits of their Ancestors in the *Median* War) after they had continued 92 years in the society with *Athens*, and no more is to bee heard of them till *Platæa* was rebuilt by *Alexander* the Great.

Platæa at length yielded and destroyed.

A lamentable sedition at *Corcyra*.

17. During these things, a most lamentable sedition hapned at *Corcyra*, part of the Citizens being for Popular Government, and the rest for that of a few or the most potent; the former trusting to the aid of the *Athenians*, as conformable to their policy, and the other to the *Peloponnesians*. Twice within the City did they fight, and both the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* sent their Fleets to the assistance of their Friends; but the *Athenians* being stronger at Sea, and sending 60 Gallies more to the help of the former Navy, the *Peloponnesian* withdrew themselves, having onely lightly skirmished with the Enemy in the sight of *Corcyra*, before the latter Fleet arrived. Then those for the Popular Government, strengthned by the assistance of the *Athenians*, cruelly raged against their adversaries, no mercy being shewn to such as took sanctuary, or hung upon the Altars, neither from Parents to their own Children, insomuch that the City was almost shaken to pieces and made desolate, and a grievous Sedition indeed came afterwards proverbially to be termed a *Corcyræan*. And it was not onely fatal to *Corcyra*, but to all *Greece* besides, being drawn into example by other States which afterwards broke out into factions.

Stirs in *Sicilie* of which the *Athenians* make advantage.

18. At the same time the *Greek* Cities in *Sicilie* fell into dissentions, some being of the *Dorick*, and others of the *Ionick* faction, the head of the former *Syracusa*, and of the latter *Leontium*, which two made War upon each other. The *Leontines* craved aid of the *Athenians*, for that they were not onely of the *Ionian* stock, but conjoyned with them in an ancient League of confederacy. The *Athenians* willingly took the opportunity to get some footing in *Sicilie*, to hinder thereby the exportation of Corn thence into *Peloponnesus*, and especially to make way for their power and dominion there.

At

SECT. 3. At the end of Summer they sent thither twenty Gallies. In Winter these ships assisted with ten more from *Rhegium* in *Italy*, invaded the *Æolian* Islands near to *Sicilie*, and wasted such as refused to yield. At the same Season the Plague began again at *Athens*, which took away a great number of Soldiers, but much greater of the common people: Earthquakes also hapned in several places. And with this Winter the fifth year of the *Peloponnesian* War ended.

The sixth Summer of the War.

19. In the beginning of the next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* came the sixth time to the *Isthmus*, with intent to invade *Attica*, under the conduct of *Agis* the *Spartan* King; but being affrighted with the frequent Earthquakes, they returned. In the mean while the War in *Sicily* variously proceeded. *Laches* the *Athenian* Captain taking some Towns. The *Athenians* sent out one Fleet to infest *Peloponnesus*, and another the Island *Melus*, which stubbornly withstood their commands, both which did nothing of very great concernment. The *Spartans* planted the Colony of *Heraclea*, in the platform of old *Trachinia* a City in *Thessalie*, being for the convenience of it's situation upon the Sea, and the Haven, very fit for carrying on the War against the *Athenians*. These received a great losse from the *Æolians*, but in Winter thrice overthrew the *Ambraciots*, who were forsaken by their friends the *Peloponnesians*, which made them now imbrace a Peace with their adversaries the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians* (who called in the *Athenians* against them) and entred into a league and society for ten years with them. The war proceeding all this while in *Sicily*, a greater Fleet was sent under conduct of *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, to oppose the *Syracusians*, towards the end of Winter, at which time the Hill *Ætna* belched out great store of fire into the Territories of *Catana*, 50 years after it had the last time so done. Thus the sixt year of the *Peloponnesian* War ended.

Ætna breaketh out into flames.

20. In the beginning of the next, the *Peloponnesians* under the command of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King, again invaded *Attica*. The *Athenians* having furnished 40 ships for *Sicilie*, gave order to the Captains, in their way to have an eye to the *Corcyræans*, who were much infested by their own exiles, and were in fear of 60 *Peloponnesian* Gallies sent thither: and to *Demosthenes* was given the command of some ships wherewith he should infest *Peloponnesus*. As all the ships sailed by *Laconia*, *Demosthenes* a man of a prompt and earnest disposition, advised the other Captains to fortifie *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory joyned to the main by a little neck of Land. Before it lies a small barren Island of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a Creek which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the head-land and Isle. The Promontory having anciently belonged to the *Messenians*, and now desolate, he pressed sore that they might seize upon, and make their own, being very convenient for the wasting of *Laconia*; but the other Captains dissented from him, hasting for *Corcyra*, when in the mean time such a tempest arose as forced them to take into the Harbour. Then did he again urge his former advice, and though he nothing more profited with the Captains, yet the Soldiers desirous to make some stay there, and seeing the commodiousnesse of the Haven, fell upon fortifying the place, and with wonderful diligence and pains perfected the wall in six dayes. Then was *Demosthenes* left there to keep it with five ships, and the rest directed their course for *Corcyra*.

Thucyd. lib. 4.

Attica the sixth time invaded.

Pylus fortified by *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*.

21. The news of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* in all hast thither out of *Attica*, fifteen dayes after their arrival, and they brought their whole Force both by Land and Sea to recover this piece of ground, which they well foresaw how bad a neighbour it might prove in time. In the Island named *Sphacteria*, they placed a number of men all *Spartans*, which were to keep it by their turns, and stopped up the Haven on both sides, that there might be no entrance in for the *Athenian* ships: then furiously did they assault *Pylus* both by Land and Sea, but it was as valiantly defended by *Demosthenes*; So that with several new onsets the storm was continued till the next day, and then the *Peloponnesians* drew off to recruit themselves, and provide

Draweth the *Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*, and being sorely laid at the *Peloponnesians* are worsted.

SECT. 3.

provide for a new onset. In the mean time came in fourty *Athenian* ships (to which *Demosthenes* had before-hand sent to acquaint them with his condition) and with them some belonging to their Allies, which first offered fight to the *Peloponnesians* in the open Sea; but that being refused, set upon them in the Haven, brake, and sunk many of their Vessels, took some, and forced the rest to run themselves on ground, about which afterwards ensued a great contention, whilest the *Athenians* would become masters of them, and the *Spartans* out of shame, and grief for their friends in the Island, laboured with more earnestnesse to get them off, which they effected by some, and the rest fell as prize to the Enemy, who now closely besieged the *Spartans* that were left in the Island.

22. *Pylus* being now secure, but the *Spartans* in the Island as good as lost, the Magistrates were sent for from *Lacedæmon* into the Camp (as the custom was in great dangers) who perceiving that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens, than by composition with the Enemies, took Truce for a time with the Captains, till they might send to *Athens* about a peace. The conditions of the Truce were, that *the Peloponnesians should deliver up to the other all their ships, as well such as were upon the Coast of* Laconia *as there, to be restored to them if the peace should not succed, and that they should attempt nothing upon the Fort, nor the* Athenians *against their Camp. That a certain quantity of victuals should be daily carried into the Island, but no ships should passe into it secretly; that the Truce should end at the return of the Ambassadors, and if in the mean time it should be broken in any one point, it should be esteemed utterly void in all.* The Ambassadors coming to *Athens* put the people in mind of that moderation all men ought to shew in prosperity, & with what credit they might now, at their request, make a peace. But *Cleon* a man very vehement, and much in request, withstood it, so that in stead of a peace on equal terms, and recompence for harm received, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities, which had been by the *Spartans* long before this War taken from them, and refused to continue the Treaty, except the *Spartans* in the Isle were delivered up to them as prisoners. The Ambassadors returned without successe, and the Truce being ended, both sides betook themselves to their Weapons again about *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* desire a Truce,

And send to *Athens* about a peace, which *Cleon* crosseth.

23. The *Peloponnesians* demanding their sixty ships which they had given up, and now at the end of the Truce were to be restored to them in as good a condition, were put off, under pretence that they had broken the Truce. The Island was also afresh besieged, and the *Spartans* valiantly standing out, things went on but slowly, so that *Cleon* himself, who much vaunted what he could do, was by the people, who now began to relent of their not imbracing a peace, forced, whether he would or not, to command a new supply of men thither. He, and *Demosthenes* (whom he chose for his Collegue) first offered conditions to the *Spartans*, and then upon their refusal forced them, after the losse of 128. to yield themselves to mercy. The number of those that yielded were 292. (whereof 120 of the Nobility of *Sparta*) which were carried to *Athens*, and being closely imprisoned, it was resolved, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, they should all be slain; and then was a Garrison of *Messenians* (the old Inhabitants, and bitter Enemies to the *Spartans*) sent into *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians* sorely discouraged by these Events, and fearing worse things, sent to *Athens* again about the liberty of the prisoners, and delivery of *Pylus*, but the Ambassadors were often rejected, and nothing done, the *Athenians* being still more puffed up by their good successe. This Summer they overthrew the *Corinthians* in the *Isthmus*.

The *Spartans* in the Island *Sphacteria* yield to mercy.

The Sedition of *Corcyra* endeth.

A Fleet being also sent for *Sicily*, assisted the *Corcyræans* in their way against their Exiles (who having got footing in the Mountains, annoyed them) and by their help they now utterly subdued them, and using them with unwonted cruelty, the sedition here had an end. *Anachorium* a Town of *Corinth*, upon the Bay of *Ambracia*, they also took. In Winter *Artaphernes* a *Persian* being sent from his Prince to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace*, and brought to *Athens*, where his Letters being opened and read, they contained

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no secret, and he was sent back with Ambassadors to *Ephesus* to the King of *Persia*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, concerning whom they there had intelligence that he was dead, and so the Ambassadors returned home. The Inhabitants of *Chius* being suspected by the *Athenians*, were commanded to demolish their new Wall; with these things the seventh year of the War ended.

A partial Eclipse of the Sun on the 21st of March.

24. In the beginning of the eighth year hapned a partial Eclypse of the Sun, which the Astronomical Tables shew to have falln out on the 21st day of *March* after the *Julian* account, before noon, half of the Diameter or above being obscured, the fourth year of the 88 *Olympiad* now drawing to an end; and an Earth-quake hapned on the first of the Moneth *Munichion*, which some make to fall in with the same day. The *Athenians* this year fell upon the Island *Cythera*, lying near to *Laconia*, and inhabited by a *Spartan* Colony, which they took, and putting therein a Garrison for a time, thence made excursions into *Laconia*. Afterwards they took thence a great part of the Colony, and took, and burnt *Thyrea*, standing upon the Confines of *Laconia* and *Argolis*, given by the *Spartans* to the *Æginetans*, whom now they took away, and plundring the Town set it on fire. Carrying their prisoners to *Athens*, the *Æginetans* were condemned to death, and the *Cytheræans* being dispersed throughout the Islands, such as they left in *Cythera* were subjected to a great Tribute. But in *Sicily*, at this time, an Universal peace was made, and imbraced by all the Cities, through the earnest perswasion of *Hermocrates* a *Syracusian*; so that the *Athenian* Forces were driven to quit the Island, for which at their return two of the Generals were unjustly banished, and the third underwent a great fine.

An Universal peace in *Sicily*.

25. The Exiles of *Mitylene* with others of *Lesbus*, and some Mercenaries, seizing upon *Rhetium* in *Asia*, took *Antandrus*; but selling the former again to the Inhabitants, they were drawn out of the later to fight, by *Aristides*, and *Demodocus* (or *Symmachus*, as *Diodorus* calleth him) who overthrew them, and took the Town from them. These two were Captains of the Fleet, which gathered Tribute from the Islands; their Collegue *Lamachus* being gone into *Pontus* against the *Heracleans*, who being in League with the *Persian* King denied Tribute. His ships, by the vehemency of water which ran down the River, were shattered, and he lost the greatest part both of them, and his Forces; so that he could not move thence, either by Sea, or Land; whereupon the *Heracleans* thinking it a more honorable part to do good than to take revenge, furnished him with provisions, and sent him away with a Convoy, esteeming that the wasting of their grounds would be well recompensed if they should make friends of their Enemies. With this Convoy he passed through the Countrey of the *Thracians* in *Asia*, and so came to *Chalcedon*.

25. At this time the Inhabitants of *Megara* were much distressed, what by the several inrodes of the *Athenians*, and their own Exiles whom they had cast out, and now preyed upon them from the Villages. Wearied with these continual disturbances, they thought of recalling the Exiles; but the Magistrates understanding that, and presently apprehending what danger might arise to themselves from those of whose banishment they had been the cause, consspired with *Hippocrates* and *Demosthenes*, the two *Athenian* Captains, to betray the Town to them. The Gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had been Masters of the place, but that some of the Conspirators changed their minds, and obstructed the business, which the other seeing seized upon part of the long Walls, and casting up a crosse work against the Town, set themselves with all their might to compasse about the *Nisæa*, or Port, hoping, if they could get it, the more easily to obtain the Town. And the Garrison in it being presently discouraged by the stopping of victuals, which they were wont dayly to receive out of the Town, yielded; the *Spartans* to mercy, and the rest upon condition of liberty to Ransom themselves. Then the *Athenians* provided for setting upon the Town: but were hindred by the coming of *Brasidas* the *Spartan*, who hovering about *Corinth*, upon notice how things passed

Stirs about *Megara*.

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passed here, hasted, thinking to prevent the taking of *Nisæa*, and after he had heard of its surrender, yet used all expedition, hoping to save the Town, and to recover it. But when he came the *Megarians* were divided in their affections, yet both parties feared to let him in, for that they thought it best to reserve themselves for that party that should have the better, and Govern themselves according to Occurrences, and therefore he was forced to depart at this time without having done one thing or other.

26. Not long after, the *Bœotians* came, and joyned themselves to *Brasidas*, and thereupon followed an Engagement with the *Athenians*, which ended with equal successe to both sides. That party of the Town which favoured the Exiles, being incouraged with the presence of their friends, sent for *Brasidas*, and other *Peloponnesian* Officers into the Town, to consult with them, who confirming them in their resolutions then departed home: The *Athenians* also following, such as sided with them for fear betook themselves to flight. Then were the Exiles recalled, having first taken an Oath to forget all things past, and not consult their own passion, but the good of their Countrey; but having got the power into their hands, and having the Guards of the Citie at their disposal, they caused 100 of those they suspected to be apprehended, and being condemned by a forced judgement of the people, they put them to death. Then taking all the Government to themselves, it continued in an *Oligarchical* way a long time.

The Exiles re-admitted rage against their Adversaries, contrary to their Oath.

27. At the same time, several amongst the *Bœotians* attempted to change the frame of their Government, being much desirous of *Democracy* as it was established at *Athens*; and to this purpose held correspondence with them there, plotting to betray several places into their hands; but the matter being discovered succeeded not, but onely to the losse of the *Athenians*, who were overthrown in battel. In the mean while the *Lacedæmonians* being invited by *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, and some of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* (who promised them some pay for their men) resolved to send some Forces into *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, to divert the power, and design of the *Athenians*, who now began to be ill thought of by many in those parts, and feared by reason of their growing strength. They made choice of *Brasidas* for their General, a man of approved valour, and remarkable integrity. They did a thing at this time, which is noted with cruelty and injustice. Being something down the wind in their Fortune, they suspected the power and number of their slaves the *Helotes*, left in this their weaknesse they should attempt something against them, and took occasion at this expedition, by offering all such of them liberty as would chearfully imbrace the service, to observe who amongst them were most active, and when they expected to be manumised, instead thereof they made away (though how is not known) about 2000 of them, and sent 700 away with *Brasidas*, together with 1000 Mercenaries hired out of *Peloponnesus*.

Several amongst the *Bœotians* attempting to bring in Democracy are disappointed.

Brasidas the *Spartan* sent into *Thrace* to give trouble to the *Athenians*.

28. *Brasidas* after his arrival, by fair means reduced *Acanthus* and *Stagirus* (both Colonies of the *Andrians*) from the *Athenians*, and then in Winter set upon *Amphipolis* a famous Colony of theirs, situate upon the River *Strymon*, which almost compassing it gave an occasion to the later name of it, being before called *Nine-wayes*. In a dark night he seized on the bridge, and all but the Citie it self, and 'tis thought had taken it also had he led his Soldiers on, but such as had consspired with him to betray it being overmatched, and stirring not, he onely wasted the grounds about it, and attempted nothing further for the present. The Inhabitants who affected the *Athenians*, being more in number, sent to *Thucydides* the son of *Olorus*, and the Writer of the History of the *Peloponnesian* War, then the *Athenian* General, lying in *Thasus*, an Island inhabited by a Colony of the *Parians*, half a dayes sayl distant from *Amphipolis*, who with seven ships hasted thither to prevent the delivery of it, or however to save *Eione*. But *Brasidas* being aware hereof, to obtain *Amphipolis* before his coming offered them most large conditions; that all should there remain, and live in the same State as formerly, as well *Athenians* as others; or if they liked better to remove, it should be free for them so to

Thucydides the Historian, the *Athenian* General.

SECT. 3. do, which they accepted of, hearing nothing from *Thucydides*, who yet came to *Eione* that very night, and saved it, whereas *Brasidas* else had taken it the next morning. Yet he took three other Towns near to *Amphipolis*, and left them to be Garrisoned by *Perdiccas*.

29. The *Athenians* were much moved for the losse of *Amphipolis*, which had been of great use to them in affoarding them Wood for shipping, as well as money, and besides this, how a free passage seemed to be open to the *Lacedæmonians* to invade their confederates, who thereupon might be induced to revolt by *Brasidas*, who being a very moderate, and just man of himself, gave out, that his design was to set *Greece* at liberty. And even so it fell out, for the Cities hearing what had hapned, and great commendations of *Brasidas*, sent to him to hasten his march towards them, with promise to revolt, thinking they might safely enough do it, for that they falsly perswaded themselves, that the power of the *Athenians* was not so great as they found it afterwards, when it was too late to repent them of their rash and inconsiderate resolution, into which they were hurried by an earnest desire of liberty. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, used all diligence to send Soldiers into all of them, as the shortnesse of the time, and the Winter season would bear. *Brasidas* sent to *Lacedæmon* for a new supply of men, but little heed was given to his message, partly because the great ones there envied his glory, and especially because the people being well wearied now with the War, desired to have their men that were taken in the Island, and to make peace.

Brasidas envied by his own Countrey men.

Yet he having made provision for the building of ships upon the River *Strymon*, went on with the War, drew all the Towns on the Mountain *Athos*, except two, to submit, and then by surprise taking *Torone*, a Town of *Chalcis*, and tributary to the *Athenians*, he stormed the Castle the third day after. The remainder of the Winter he spent in fortifying the places taken already, and providing for taking of others which he designed. And thus the 8th year of the War ended.

30. In the beginning of Spring the *Lacedæmonians* for the reasons above mentioned were desirous to come to a composition, and they hoped that now the *Athenians*, something discouraged by what *Brasidas* had done in *Thrace*, might not be averse to it. And indeed they were inclining to a cessation of Arms, that they might stop his proceedings till such time as they could recruit themselves, intending to Govern themselves in reference to the length of the Truce as their affairs should comport, and so a Truce was concluded for a year, the Articles of which imported these things especially.

A Truce for a year.

That *what both sides possessed at this time they should enjoy; that free accesse and regresse should be given to Ambassadors and Heralds, and their Confederates, to treat about a peace: that Runagates should not be received; that all controversies should be decided by Law, and not by force: and something was added concerning the use of the Sea; In this Truce the Confederates on both sides being comprised.* During this Cessation several Treaties were held about a League, but something hapned which disturbed sorely the minds of the *Athenians*. For *Scione* a Town of the Peninsula of *Pellene* of its own accord revolted to *Brasidas*, and was followed by *Menda*. *Brasidas* ignorant of the Truce, after the revolt of the former, laboured sore with the later, and *Potidæa*, to reduce them also; but then news came to him of the Cessation, and much contention there was about the places; for that the *Athenians* said that *Scione* revolted two dayes after the Truce was sworn to, and concluded. Being not able to recover them by words, they sent an Army to effect it by deeds, and *Menda* they recovered, whilest *Brasidas* was absent, assisting *Perdiccas* the King of *Macedonia* in his War with *Archibæus*, where such dissatisfaction passed betwixt the King and him, that thenceforth *Perdiccas* began to joyn himself to the *Athenians*. Who compassed *Scione* about with a Wall, which having finished in the later end of Summer, a sufficient Guard being left, the rest of the Army was brought home. The Winter following all was quiet betwixt the two States by vertue of the Truce; but the *Mantineans* and *Tegeatans* fought a battel with equal successe, both parties erecting their

their trophies. The Spring drawing on, *Brasidas* attempted by night to surprise *Potidæa*, but missed of his purpose. And with this Winter the ninth year of the War ended, in which the Temple of *Juno* at *Argos* was burnt through the negligence of *Chrysis* the Woman-Priest, which flying for it, another was placed in her room, after she had during this War continued eight years and and half therein. SECT. 3.

The Temple of *Juno* at *Athens* burnt.

31. The Truce being expired on the day of the *Pythian* Games, the seventh of the moneth *Thargelion*, *Cleon* having himself perswaded the *Athenians* to undertake the Expedition, was sent into *Thrace* with a Fleet of thirty ships, abord of which were 1200 Foot, and 300 Horse, besides Confederates. Hearing that *Torone* was but manned with a mean Garrison, he departed from the siege of *Scione*, and set upon it with such earnestnesse, both by Land and Sea, that in the same day he took it, and though he attempted *Stagirus* in vain, yet he effectually did it upon *Galepsus*, a Colony of the *Thasians*, after which he staid at *Eione* expecting some Auxiliaries out of *Macedonia*, and *Thrace*. Here he grew very secure, being exceedingly puffed up with his late successe, and that at *Pylus*, which he arrogantly imputed to his own wisdom; but his men disdained to lye idle, and pretended to be wearie of his Government, as thinking him unfit to command. Herewith he moved from *Eione* in a secure posture, thinking of nothing lesse than fighting, which was taken notice of by *Brasidas*, who having fewer men than he, and lesse experienced, thought it not wisdom to trie a battel with him, nor at once to let him have a fight with all his Forces; but pouring them violently upon him by degrees, thereby to confound and overthrow his Army. He had a discovery of *Brasidas* his intents, and began to retreat, but then he fell upon him out of *Amphipolis* in the manner aforesaid, and without much adoe put his men to the rout. *Cleon* himself flying was slain outright, and *Brasidas* before this was mortally wounded and carried to *Amphipolis*, where he died, after he had heard how his men had got the Victory, being honoured by the Touns-men, as an Heroe, by Sacrifice, anniversarie Solemnities, and naming a Colony after him, which they did to ingratiate themseves with *Sparta*, because of the fear they stood in of the *Athenians*. Of the *Athenians* were slain 600; but of the Conquerours but seven; such disadvantage was there in the battel. *Thucyd. lib.* 5.

Cleon sent into *Thrace*, is quickly puffed up.

Is slain together with *Brasidas* his adversary.

32. In the beginning of Winter *Ramphias* with others in commission with him, was sent from *Lacedæmon* with new Forces, and came as far as *Pieria* an hill of *Thessalie*; but there the *Thessalians* opposed his passage, and news of *Brasidas* his death arriving, other causes also moving him (whereof this was not the least, that the *Spartans* before his coming from home were inclined to a peace,) he returned into *Lacedæmon*. And after the action at *Amphipolis*, and his return, came to be known, both sides for weighty and urgent reasons were much more enclined to it, *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slain, whereof the one was a man of a turbulent spirit, and the other a great soldier, who sought after glory in Military matters. The *Athenians* having received two great blows, at *Delium* first (when the change of the Government was to be made in *Bœotia*) and now at *Amphipolis*, had learnt not to trust too much to the smiles of their fortune: therefore they who before would hear of no conditions, as certain of Victory, now were much abated in their confidence, and repented they had not imbraced peace, when it was offered them upon such honourable terms, after the action at *Pylus*, for that they feared their confederates would be incouraged by this change of their fortune to change their affections. On the other side the *Lacedæmonians* who thought they should have ended the War, and brought the *Athenians* to terms by an invasion of *Attica*, now found they were much mistaken; the defeat in the Island they had ever before their eyes, and felt the excursions from *Pylus* and *Cythera*; they feared their slaves, lest they should rise against them; and another danger pressed them sore; for the State of *Argos* which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, and likely to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joyning with

Both the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* desire peace,

Sect. 3. with those who alone found them work enough, being so powerful at Sea. Above all, the liberty of the prisoners at *Athens*, whereof most of them were of the greatest quality, provoked them to a pursuite after peace.

33. The businesse was much helped on by *Plistonax* the *Spartan* King, and *Nicias* the *Athenian*, the former being weary of those calumnies which were raised against him upon any miscarriage in the War, and the other much enamoured of Peace, by the obtaining of which he thought he should be famous to succeeding Ages. Several treaties all the Winter were on foot about it, and towards the Spring the *Lacedæmonians* to make the *Athenians* the more readily imbrace it, gave out, that they would with the whole force of all their confederates invade *Attica*, and fortifie a Castel therein. After much stickling about it, a peace was concluded for fifty years, upon these terms especially: that a *restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides, except Nicæa, which the Athenians might still keep from the Megarians, and Platæa, which the Thebans refused to restore to it's Inhabitants.* The two States swore to the performance of it, and all their allies and confederates (except the *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, who liked it not) and it was concluded at *Sparta*, upon the 26th day of *Artemisius Pleistolas* being *Ephorus*, at *Athens*, upon the 24th of *Elaphebolion*, *Alcæus* being Archon, in the beginning of the Spring, presently after the *Bacchanalia*, ten years and a few dayes being past since the first invasion of *Attica*, and the beginning of the War.

Which is concluded.

34. The *Lacedæmonians* were by lot to make restitution first; which they presently did of persons, but as to places, *Amphipolis* was the cause that they could not perform it; for neither the Inhabitants, nor the rest of the associates would suffer it, though the *Spartans* drew out their Garrison, and did all that in them lay to restore it, they being unwilling to come again under the dominion of their old Lords, and counting it unreasonable for the *Spartans* to desire it. The deputies of the dissenting Cities were at *Lacedæmon*, and being desired to sign the League, flatly refused, except some things were changed in it. Which the *Spartans* hearing dismissed them, and very prudently applied themselves to the *Athenians*, making an offensive and defensive League with them, thereby to retain them from joyning with the *Argives* and *Peloponnesians*, which confederacy it behoved them above all things for to hinder. After this straight League, the prisoners taken in the Island were set at liberty, the eleventh year of the War now rising, and the peace was observed according to agreement; but all the late confederates of *Sparta* took this exceedingly ill, and let out all their hatred, formerly conceived against the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, upon their unjust friends. The *Corinthians* especially took it in great disdain, who had been the greatest incentives to the War, out of envie to the State of *Athens*, and as their Deputies departed from *Lacedæmon* they took *Argos* in their way, where to the principal Citizens they inveighed grievously against this League, saying, it was made with design to enslave *Peloponnesus*, whose vindicators they the *Argives* must needs be, and that it was incumbent upon them to decree, that all free Cities which would, might enter into an alliance with them for their mutual safety, which if they would so do, they were sure that many, out of hatred to the *Spartans*, would give their names to it.

Several Cities dissent,

And the Deputies of the *Corinthians* application to *Argos*.

35. After their departure the thing was first referred to the Magistrates, and then to the People, who chose twelve men, to whom they gave power to make a League with any City or State, except the *Spartans*, and *Athenians*, with whom nothing was to be concluded, without the advice and consent of the whole body of the People. This they did, because they foresaw a War to be made with *Sparta* after the end of the Truce, and hoped by this means to become master of *Peloponnesus*; for as the *Lacedæmonians* were now contemned for their bad successe (and the rather more for that all had such vast conceits of their courage, that they thought they would have submitted to no conditions, but have cut out all by the Sword) so they who had been of neither parry in this War, but allied to both, had bettered their condition, and

Those of *Peloponnesus* apply themselves to that City.

Sect. 3. and now flourished exceedingly. The *Mantineans* first, who livnig in *Arcadia*, stood in fear of the *Spartans* whose confederacy they had shaken off, entred into an alliance with them, and after them the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, who thought they might understand more of the matter than themselves did, and had high thoughts of this great and rich City, conceiving it able to do much, because that of so long it had done nothing. They were grievously incensed against the *Spartans*, and this offended them especially, that in the straight League betwixt them and *Athens* it was provided, that *by mutual consent they might add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures.* This proviso they looked upon as made to enslave *Peloponnesus*, by the assistance of *Athens*, for that if any thing was to be changed, it were but just that it should be done by consent of all the Confederates who were concerned in it.

36. The *Lacedæmonians* knowing well how much they were concernd in these courses, sent Ambassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, whence they well perceived the mischief to have proceeded. They expostulated with them for what had been done, and laid perjurie to their charge, in case they left their society and betook themselves to *Argos*, and blamed them for not admitting the League with *Athens*, because it was formerly agreed, that what the major part should conclude, it should oblige all; except some divine impediment interposed. The *Corinthians* replied in the Assembly of the Agents of those Cities which refused the League, that in general the *Lacedæmonians* themselves had not fully performed the conditions of the League, who had not taken order that the places forced from them should be restored, and that for their part they could not desert their confederates in *Thrace*, whom they perswaded to rebel against *Athens*, and taken into protection, and to whom they were obliged by oath taken more than once, which to them appeared to be a sufficient divine impediment why they could not enter into a League with *Athens*. And as for their conjunction with *Argos*, after they had advised with their friends, they should do what was right and fitting. After their departure, in the next assembly they entred into a League with the *Argives*, and so did the *Eleans* with the *Corinthian* Colonies, and those of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*.

The *Lacedæmonians* vindicate themselves at *Corinth*.

37. All the Summer of the eleventh year, the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* had commerce with one another, though great consultations were on foot, and, the associates bickered with one another, and both parties wanted not dissatisfaction. For, the *Lacedæmonians* restored not *Amphipolis*, neither procured the associates in *Thrace*, the *Bœotians*, nor *Corinthians*, to sign the League, though they ingaged joyntly to cause them to do it, and that if within a certain time they did it not, both were to hold them as Enemies. The *Athenians* seeing that they performed not these things, suspected they dealt deceitfully with them, and for this cause refused to surrender *Pylus*, repented they had dismissed the prisoners, and with-held other places till the *Spartans* had first performed the Covenants. They excused themselves, for that they had done as much as in them lay, having set at liberty their prisoners, drawn out their Forces from *Thrace*, and omitted nothing in their power, in which the restitution of *Amphipolis* was not: and as for what concerned the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, they would do what they required. They earnestly desired that *Pylus* might be restored, or, at least, that the *Helots* and *Messenians* might be taken thence, which after much adoe was granted, and these men were conveied into the Island *Cephalenia*.

Dissatisfaction betwixt the parties.

38. In Winter the Deputies of the Confederates came to *Lacedæmon*, and laboured in vain to dissolve the League betwixt that State and *Athens*. But now other *Ephori* having entered into their Office, who had nothing to do in making the straight alliance, and were also much averse unto it, they dealt secretly with the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, to perswade the former to joyn themselves to *Argos*, and then all to enter into a League with *Sparta*, which they were sure would purchase this willingly, with a breach betwixt them and *Athens*, for that then the War would be more easie out of *Peloponnesus*; onely

Sect. 3. onely they desired much that the *Bœotians* would deliver up *Panactus* into their hands, that therewithall making exchange with the *Athenians* for *Pylus*, they might with lesse difficulty make War against them. As the Ambassadors were in their way, two of the principal men of *Argos* met them, and were very earnest with the *Bœotians* to imbrace their society, which, when they came home, they laid open to the *Bœotarchæ*, and Ambassors followed from *Argos* to perswade them to it, who were kindly entertained and dismissed with hope that some Ambassadors should follow them to conclude upon the businesse. In the mean time the Agents from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and *Thrace*, agreed with the *Bœotarchæ*, that they should bind themselves by Oath to assist him who should want it, and not to begin, or finish any War without the joynt consent of all, and upon these terms, that the Treaty should be signed. But ere this could be done, the *Bœotarchæ* were to refer the matter to the four Councils of *Bœotia* wherein lay the supreme power, which not being made acquainted by them what advice the *Ephori* and others of *Sparta* had given, for fear they should give that State offence by joyning with *Corinth* which had revolted, they judged the contrary, and so by the means of the *Bœotarchæ*, who took it for granted that the Councils would act according to their advice, the matter proceeded no farther now, and afterwards was neglected by them.

The designs of the *Bœotarchæ* frustrated.

39. This Winter also many Treaties were held betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, about the restitution of the places; and the *Spartans* hoped, that if *Panactus* was but restored to the other, they should recover *Pylus*. But such Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent, and therefore Ambassadors were sent earnestly to request the *Bœotians* to deliver up *Panactus* with the *Athenian* prisoners. They stourly refused to do it, except they would enter into as peculiar and straight a League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*. Now this could not be legally done, because in the League with *Athens* it was provided, that neither should make either League, or War, without mutual consent. Yet being possessed with an inflamed desire of recovering *Pylus*, and the more, for that they something now were moved by the *Ephori*, and others that desired a breach with *Athens*, they struck up a League with them. Then did the *Bœotians* utterly demolish *Panactus* instead of giving it up, and so the eleventh year of the War ended.

Panactus dismantled.

40. In the Spring the *Argives* hearing nothing of the *Bœotian* Ambassadors promised to be sent but great talk of the demolishing of *Panactus*, and the League betwixt them, and the *Spartans*, whom they thought to have drawn them in with the consent of the *Athenians*, were much perplexed, thinking they now should be run upon by all, though they formerly promised themselves the Dominion of *Peloponnesus* by forsaking the alliance of *Lacedæmon*. They therefore sent presently thither, and struck up another League with them for fifty years. In the mean while three were sent from *Sparta* to receive from the *Bœotians* the *Athenian* prisoners and *Panactus*, who yielded both persons and place, but this utterly demolished, pretending for their excuse, that by an antient League it was to be held by neither of them in particular, but be common to both. The *Athenians* received their men, but were much moved that *Panactus* was demolished (though the Ambassadors put it off by telling them they needed not now then to fear any thing from it) being sensible of a double injury received, both as to the Town, and the League made without their knowledge, and then they called to mind other breaches of the peace, and were jealous that they were circumvented by the *Spartans*. An occasion was hence taken by such amongst them as bare no good will to the peace, to seek all manner of wayes to destroy it. Amongst these was *Alcibiades* the son of *Clinias* by the sister of *Pericles*, who though a young man, yet eminent for his Nobility, Riches, and Favour with the people, bare a secret grudge against the *Lacedæmonians*, for that despising his youth, and having no regard to the antient friendship betwixt them and his family (which his

The *Athenians* thereat, and otherwise offended.

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his Grand-father having dissolved, he sought to restore by kindnesse shewed to the prisoners taken in the Island) made use of *Nicias* and *Laches* in the conclusion of the League before him, which he thought was much to the prejudice of his honour.

Are incensed by *Alcibiades*,

41. He cried out, that their design was first to suppresse *Argos*, and then to do as much for *Athens*, and at this time there being no good agreement betwixt the *Argives* and *Spartans*, he sent to them privately, exhorting them, as they tendered their own safety, to enter into a League with *Athen*. They who were now not consulting how to become masters of others, but how to save themselves, were well pleased with his message, and though they had Ambassadors now resident at *Lacedæmon* about the League with that State, yet did they send away others to *Athens*, together with the *Elæans* and *Mantineans*, to make one offensive and defensive with them there. The *Lacedæmonians* hereat were at a stand, seeing well, that such a Combination tended to their hurt. To keep in with the *Athenians* the *Ephori* thought that more was done already than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest course, seeing they had done so much, not to stick at a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction, to retain the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution prevailing, such were sent away to *Athens* as had most affection to peace, who said in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commission to conclude all, excused the League entred into with the *Bœotians*, as having been done onely to pleasure them in the regaining of *Panactus*, and assured them of the readinesse of their State to give all satisfaction, being much grieved that things went otherwise than according to their pleasure. *Alcibiades* taking notice that they said in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commission to conclude, feared that thereby the people might be drawn to a peace, & interposed by a notable stratagem. He perswaded the Ambassadors of his friendship towards their Citie, and advised them to take heed that their absolute power to conclude might not be known to the Commonalty, lest the multitude should thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, except they could draw them to unreasonable conditions.

Who hindreth the peace by a notable stratagem.

42. The Ambassadors believed him, and ordered their speech to the people according to his directions. Hereupon he took the advantage which their double dealing afforded, and openly inveighed against them as men of no sincerity, come for no other purpose than to draw the people from strengthning themselves with friends, intending to withdraw the *Argives*, and their adherents, to their own alliance, as already they had done the *Bœotians*, though contrary to their Oath. Then he commended the cause of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, to the people, which was much moved, having had before no good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*; but an Earth-quake intervening before they came to the question, nothing was done that day. At the next meeting *Nicias* perswaded them to let him first go to *Lacedæmon* to know their minds concerning the League with the *Bœotians*, whether or no they would renounce it, and their friendship with *Amphipolis*, and restore *Panactus* in such a condition as it ought. But *Xenares* the *Ephorus*, and his party, was so strong, that none of these things could be procured; onely the peace with *Athens* was again sworn to, to gratifie *Nicias*, who was sensible how he should be blamed at his return, being accounted also the cause of the League. After his return the *Athenians* made a League with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* for 100 years, at large described by *Thucydides*, but tending to the mutual assistance of each other. Hereby nothing in terms was done derogatory to the League with *Sparta*, and the *Corinthians*, though the Allies of *Argos*, yet refused to be comprised in it (as in the former betwixt the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*) alleging that the former Convention was sufficient, which did not oblige them joyntly to make War upon any one, though to defend one another. This they said, for that they seemed to find reason to forsake these Confederates, and to apply their minds afresh to the *Lacedæmonians*.

Nicias labours eth for it.

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The *Lacedæmonians* kept from the *Olympick* exercises.

43. This Summer the 90th *Olympiad* was celebrated, from the solemnity of which the *Lacedæmonians* were kept by the *Eleans*, being forbidden the Temple, and offering sacrifice, for which a Guard was set, because they had not paid a Fine of 2000 Minæ imposed upon them by them, according to the *Olympian* Law, for putting some men into the Castle *Phoryeus*, and the Town of *Lepreа*, during the *Olympian* Truce. They sent their Ambassadors to excuse the matter, but nothing was done, so that they sacrificed at home, which bred very ill bloud betwixt them. After this solemnity the *Argives* and their Confederates sent to *Corinth*, to perswade them there to imbrace their party; but the Ambassadors of *Sparta* being there, and it being much debated, an Earth-quake hapned, and so they returned without any successe. In Winter hapned a fight betwixt the *Heracleots* of *Trachine* (placed there by the *Spartans* to their losse) and part of the *Thessalians* with others, wherein they were worsted, and many of them slain: amongst whom *Xenares* the *Lacedæmonian* General. With these things the 12th year of the War ended.

Alcibiades marcheth into *Peloponnesus.*

44. The next Summer *Alcibiades* with some forces out of *Attica*, and the assistance of *Argos*, marched into *Peloponnesus*, which passing over he came to *Patræ*, where he deale with the Inhabitants about building a Wall thence unto the Sea, intending also of himself to build another as far as *Rhium* in *Achaia*; but the matter was hindred by the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and others, who would have been endamaged thereby. The *Argives* made War upon *Epidaurus* upon light occasion, thinking, that if that Town was but subdued, they should be more safe from the *Corinthians* on that side, and the *Athenians* would have a readier way to send them aid from *Ægina*. Whilest they were busie about a peace, *Ephamidas* the *Corinthian* threw this in their dish, that what they made words of, that they contradicted by their deeds, and upon that account they drew back their Army. But no conclusion coming of the Treaty, they invaded the Territories of *Epidaurus* again, and wasted the third part thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* were twice abroad with their Armies this Summer, but were recalled by their superstitious Ceremonies. The *Athenians* also sent the *Argives* 1000 men under Conduct of *Alcibiades*; but they having drawn away their forces, and having no imployment for them, they returned home. In Winter the *Lacedæmonians* conveyed 300 Garrison Soldiers into *Epidaurus*, which passing through the Borders of the *Athenians*, the *Argives* expostulated with them for suffering it, contrary to the League, and complained that they restored not the *Helotes* and *Messenians* unto *Pylus*, whence they had taken them upon the desire of the *Spartans*. This accordingly was done at the instance of *Alcibiades*. All others were quiet this Winter, except the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, who skirmished sometimes, and towards Spring the former hearing *Epidaurus* to be naked, came suddenly with their scaling Ladders, and endeavoured the taking of it, but in vain. Together with this Winter the 13th year of the War ended.

Agis the *Spartan* King invadeth the *Argives.*

45. The Summer following, the *Spartans* seeing in how bad a case their friends the *Epidaurians* were, and that the rest of *Peloponnesus* had either already revolted, or was ill affected to them, fearing that if they delayed, all things would go worse, they armed themselves, and slaves, with their Confederates, under the conduct of *Agis* their King. It hapned that the *Argives* were compassed round about by their Enemies; but when they were about to fall on, two of their Captains stepped out, and perswaded *Agis* to abstain from fight, saying, that the *Argives* were willing to do all just things, and make peace with the *Lacedæmonians*. This they spake of their own heads, without the consent or knowledge of the multitude, and *Agis*, without acquainting any more of the Captains or Confederates, consented to a Truce for four moneths, and therewith drew off his Army. The *Lacedæmonians* and Confederates obeyed him for the rigour of the Law, but grievously blamed him for letting slip, or rather wilfully losing so great an opportunity, having the Enemy at such an advantage, and having such a numerous and well-furnished

Is easily put off, and deservedly blamed.

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nished Army as had not been seen of the *Græcians* to that day; there being met together besides the *Spartans*, the *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliasians*, and *Megarians*, and the choice of all these States, who seemed not onely able to fight with the *Argives*, and their associates, but with any other in combination with them. The *Argives* also not considering what danger they had escaped, were sore inraged against their Officers, who had as they thought let the other escape out of their hands, insomuch that they had stoned one of them had he not taken Sanctuary, and they sold his goods. Not long after a Party of 1000 Foot, and 300 Horse coming from *Athens* to their aid, the People, by the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, renounced the Truce made with *Agis*, and the Confederates gathering together went and besieged *Orchomenus*, wherein the *Spartans* had put the Hostages received from the *Arcadians*, and which was without much to doe delivered up to them.

Severely sentenced.

46. The *Lacedæmonians* being grievously inraged against *Agis*, especially after the news came about *Orchomenus*, beyond all precedent decreed his house should be demolished, and fined him 100000 Drachmes, which he deprecating, and promising to redeem his credit by some notable exploit, they yet made a new Law, that there should be ten men assisting to him, without whose consent he should not as much as lead the Army from the City. News presently was brought that *Tegea* was besieged, whereupon he took the field, and came to a set battel with the *Argives* and their confederates, wherein though his right wing was over-borne through the negligence of the *Polemarchi* (who did not soon enough communicate the orders received from him)

According to his promise he redeemeth his credit.

yet he put to flight the Enemy in the other, and then coming to the help of it, obtained the Victory. This was that noble fight, as *Thucydides* excelleth it, betwixt the most eminent and powerful States of *Greece*, than which there was none more eminent that hapned amongst the *Græcians* themselves. Yet the number of the slain was not great. Of the *Argives* and their allies about 1100, of the Confederates of *Sparta* not many, and of the *Lacedæmonians* themselves 300 were reported to have fallen. The day after, the *Epidamnians*, whilst *Argos* was naked, fell in upon their grounds, and killed many of those that came out of the City against them. Whilst the *Lacedæmonians* were busie in their *Carnean* Solemnities, the *Eleans* and *Athenians* assisting the *Mantineans*, went and drew a line about *Epidaurus*, upon which they left a sufficient Guard, and departed.

Yet the *Lacedæmonians* send to *Argos* about a peace.

47. In the beginning of Winter the *Lacedæmonians* after their solemnity was over, again took the field, but thinking now the *Argives* might be humbled, sent to feel their minds about a Peace. At this time such as desired a change of the Government at *Argos* became powerful, and hoped if they could conclude with the *Spartans*, to take it out of the hands of the multitude, and bring it to a temper agreeable to the constitutions of that State.

Which is procured by those who affected an Oligarchy.

By the artifices of those men, the *Argives* were brought to forsake the *Mantineans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, and joyn themselves in a League with the *Lacedæmonians* to continue for 50 years: It was agreed, that no entercourse should be held with the *Athenians*, except they would draw out all their Forces from *Peloponnesus* (The freedom of *Epidaurus* being especially looked at herein by the *Spartans* as much concerning them) and that no Treaty or War was to be entred upon without mutual consent. They then took care for several other things, and sent to *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, to enter into a League with him, but de did not throughly assent to it, though he bore respect to *Argos*, whence he accounted himself descended: but they renewed the League with them of *Chalcis*, and obliged others unto them. The *Argives* sent also to the *Athenians*, to receive them to draw off their Guards from *Epidaurus*: but they hereupon sent *Demosthenes* thither to get all the Fortification into their own hands, after which they surrendred it to the Towns-men, and renewed their ancient League with them. The *Mantineans* at first refused to joyn with the *Argives* in the League with *Athens*; but after considering that they could not subsist without them, subscribed, and

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gave up thoſe places they had in their hands. After this, 1000 men from *Lacedæmon*, and as many from *Argos*, were ſent to *Sicyon*, where by the endeavours of the *Lacedæmonians*, the Supreme Power was transferred out of the hands of the People to a few men, which was after effected at *Argos* alſo, an Oligarchy being introduced, agreeable to the Government of *Sparta*. With this Winter the fourteenth year of the War ended.

On Oligarchy ſet up a *Sicyon* and *Argos*.

48. The Summer following, the People of *Argos* bearing heavily the change of the Government, took their opportunity when the *Lacedæmonians* were buſy in the naked exerciſes of their youth, and killing ſome of their adverſaries, and expelling others, reſtored the Popular Government, renounced the League with *Sparta*, and renewed that with *Athens*. Then they fell on building of their long walls from the City to the Sea, thinking, that if they ſhould be blocked up by Land, to have entercourſe with the *Athenians* by Sea. In Winter the *Lacedæmonians* knowing that they were buſied (men, women, ſlaves and all) in this work, with their aſſociates (all but the *Corinthians*, who ſtirred not) came againſt *Argos*, hoping to take the City by means of thoſe within that were of their Party; but being fruſtrated of their expectations, they demoliſhed the wall, and taking *Hyſiæ* a Caſtle of *Argolis*, put to the ſword all the males of free condition, and ſo returned. After this, the *Argives* waſted the Territories of the *Phliaſians*, for harbouring their exiles. This ſame Winter the *Athenians* renounced the League with *Perdiccas*, accuſing him of conſpiracy with the *Argives* and *Laconians*, of non-performance of the League betwixt them, and laying the blame upon him that the Expedition miſcarried which they had made, under the conduct of *Nicias* againſt the *Chalcidians* and *Amphipolis* in *Thrace*. With theſe things the Winter ended, and together with it the fifteenth year of the War.

The *Argives* recover the Democracy, and renounce the League with *Sparta*.

The *Lacedæmonians* in vain attempt to take *Argos*.

49. The year following, *Alcibiades* with twenty ſhips ſailing to *Argos*, took thence 300 men ſuſpected of *Laconiſm*, who were carried into the Iſlands ſubject to the *Athenians*, and there committed to cuſtody. After this the *Athenians* with a ſtrong force invaded the Iſland *Melus*, the Inhabitants of which being a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, denied them obedience. They firſt ſent Commiſſioners to the Town to treat with the *Melians*, where there was much canvaſſing the caſe; but in concluſion they continuing in their reſolution not to yield, Fortifications were made againſt the City, and ſtrong guards left upon them. Almoſt at the ſame time, the *Argives* making excurſions into the *Phliaſian* Territories, by the lying in wait of the *Phliaſians*, and their own exiles, loſt 80 of their men. The *Athenians* that lay in *Pylus* now alſo waſted *Laconia*, notwithſtanding which, the *Lacedæmonians* would not take ſo much notice as to account the League broken, and thereupon to take arms; but onely cauſed it to be proclaimed by a Cryer, that whoſoever of their Subjects would, might prey upon the *Athenians*: the *Corinthians* onely about ſome controverſie made War upon them, all *Peloponneſus* beſides being quiet. The *Melians* made two ſallies againſt the beſiegers, with good ſucceſſe; but a freſh Army being ſent from *Athens* ſet upon, and by the help of ſome treachery took it this Winter, upon terms of yielding to mercy. All the males of ripe age that could be taken were put to the Sword, the women and children made ſlaves, and the Town was repeopled by a Colony of 500 *Athenians*.

They will not take notice that the League is broken with *Athens*.

Melus taken.

50. This ſame Winter the *Athenians*, with greater preparations than ever, reſolved ſeriouſly to look after *Sicilie*. Their pretence was to give aſſiſtance to their friends and allies there, but the true and onely cauſe was the deſire of propagating their Empire, by the bringing under of all that whole Iſland. A good occaſion was now given them by the *Egeſtans*, who upon account of former alliance, came and ſued to them for aid againſt the *Selinuntians* their Enemies, upheld by them of *Syracuſe*, offering them money for carrying on the War; whereupon they thought fit firſt to ſend Ambaſſadors to be informed concerning the money boaſted of, and the ſtate of the War. The *Lacedæmonians* this Winter made excurſions into *Argolis*, and carried away much booty. The *Argives* cauſed *Ornea* to be demoliſhed, where their

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The *Athenians* look after *Sicilie*.

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their exiles harboured, by the help of the *Athenians*, who ſent ſome Forces to *Methone* a Town bordering upon *Macedonia*, thence to infeſt the Territories of *Perdiccas*. The *Chalcidians* hereupon ſollicited the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend aid to the King, but they thinking it not policy to break quite with *Athens*, refuſed. Thus the Winter with the ſixteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* War ended.

Decree aid to be ſent to the *Egeſtans*, under the command of *Nicias*, *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*.

51. In the beginning of Spring the Ambaſſadors ſent from *Athens* returned out of *Sicilie*, bringing from the *Egeſtans* 60 talents of Bullion, with a moneths pay for 60 ſhips, as was required. They affirming (though falſly) as well as the *Egeſtans*, that they had much money in their Temples and publick Treaſury; the People thereupon much elevated decreed aid to be ſent to them, under the conduct of *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, to whom they gave in charge, that, if it might be, they ſhould reſtore the *Leontines*, and do thoſe things which they ſaw to be moſt advantagious to the Commonwealth, according to the comportment of affairs. *Nicias* laboured with all his might to divert the People from ſuch a ſuddain reſolution, propoſing all the difficulties and dangers of the War, and thought to have excuſed himſelf by magnifying the power that was required to ſuch an undertaking; but his mouth was ſtopped by a Decre, which gave him as much as he could exact. For 100 Gallies were ordered for the Expedition, beſides others of their Confederates, which amounted to above 30, over and above Veſſels of burthen, and others neceſſary for the tranſportation of 6100 men, whereof 5100 bore heavy Armour. All things were prepared, with the greateſt care and induſtry imaginable; the Soldiers were compleatly furniſhed with Arms, clothes, and all things neceſſary; and a drachme a day aſſigned for their wages.

The *Hermæ* broken at *Athens*.

52. Before the departure of the Fleet, all the *Hermæ* throughout the City (theſe were the images of *Mercury* ſet up at every man's gate) in one night were mangled and abuſed, which was taken as an ill omen, and the People was jealous that it was done by ſome that were Enemies to the Popular Government. Great inquiſition was made in vain to find out the Authors, but the ſuſpicion light upon *Alcibiades* one of the Generals, through the practice of his emulators, who made uſe of his lofty deportment, which ill ſuited with their kind of policy. He offered himſelf to the tryal, being fearful to be condemned abſent; but his Enemies put it off for the preſent, and got him to be ſent away, intending to make uſe of that which he feared, that being condemned unheard, he might be the ſooner oppreſſed, becauſe now by his own authority and intereſt, he had drawn many to give their names to the Expedition, and therefore they could not eaſily carry any thing againſt him, becauſe of his popularity. As the Fleet ſaild toward *Sicilie*, the Generals ſent ſome before to diſcover further in what condition the *Egeſtans* were, who bringing tidings clean contrary to what both they, the *Egeſtans* themſelves, and the Ambaſſadors ſent to them had aſſerted, the Generals were all divided in their opinions what to do, but *Alcibiades* hot and youthful, was for their proceeding, to which *Lamachus* at length aſſenting, his deſire was obtained. They then landed and ſeized upon *Catana*, attempted *Camarina* in vain, when *Alcibiades* received orders to come and plead his cauſe at *Athens* about the *Hermæ*, his Enemies having obtained it ſhould be ſo. In truth he was condemned beforehand, but to colour the matter, he was ſent for to plead, and that muſt be with bonds laid upon him. He was aware of the danger, and departed ſtraight to *Lacedæmon*, with intention to retch the *Athenians* what perſon they had compelled by unjuſt Judgment to forſake his Country, and betake himſelf to their Enemies. After this was known, ſentence of death was publiſhed againſt him of his Partners, many (whether juſtly or no *Thucydides* much queſtions) being put to death without proof already in the City.

Alcibiades ſuſpected, and deſirous to be tried, is yet by his Enemies ſent away.

Then again recalled.

The *Syracuſians* ſtand on their Guard.

53. The *Syracuſians*, though not fully perſwaded of the deſign of the *Athenians* againſt them at firſt, (and thereupon not ſo well provided as they might have been) yet made all poſſible proviſion for reſiſtance. The two Generals, after the departure of *Alcibiades*, by a ſtratagem drew them out of the

Sect. 3. the Citie, and in the mean time brought their Forces near unto it, and worsted them when they sallied out, but without any great losse sustained on either part, and then drew off to their Winter quarters at *Catana* and *Naxus*. The *Syracusians* incouraged by *Hermocrates* one of their new Generals (a wise man, who had forwarned them of the design of the *Athenians*) sent to *Sparta* and *Corinth* for aid; strengthened their Fortifications, made excursions to *Catana*, where they wasted the grounds, plundred, and burnt part of the *Athenian* Camp which was empty. Both sides laboured to draw the *Camarinæans* to their side, but in vain; yet many Cities, especially in the in-land, imbraced the society of the *Athenians*, who sent also this Winter to the *Carthaginians* to procure their amity; the Cities upon the *Tyrrhenian* shore they also drew in, and all *Sicily* was now divided into these two factions. The *Corinthians* readily resolved to send aid to the *Syracusians*, and sent some of their own with their Ambassadors to *Sparta* to procure as much for them from that State. The *Spartans* made difficulty at first to do it, for fear of giving the *Athenians* offence; but hearing from *Alcibiades* what their designs were (who was come thither upon the publick faith) at his perswasions resolved also upon sending Forces under the Command of *Gylippus*: they also imbraced his Counsel concerning renewing the War, and fortifying *Decelea* a Castle in *Attica*. At the same time, the *Athenian* Generals sent to *Athens* for money and horse-men, which was readily decreed to be sent. Herewith the 17th year of the War was ended.

The Corinthians and Spartans send them aid.

54. The next year the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* preyed mutually upon one another in *Peloponnesus*. In *Sicily* the *Athenians* with their whole force, and new supply of horse, sayled to *Syracuse*, about which they seized upon many places, and several skirmishes ensued about the fortifications, wherein the *Athenians* had the better. Then was the *Athenian* Fleet conveyed into the Haven of *Syracuse*, whence great contention ensued, and *Lamachus* one of the Generals assisting his friends was slain. The *Syracusians* endeavouring the recovery of *Epipolæ* were repelled by *Nicias*, who thence drew a double work against the Town, and strengthened himself by the accesse of Confederates, and store of provision. The besieged receiving no assistance from *Peloponnesus* parlied with *Nicias*; but the matter succeeding not, they made choice of new Captains, whilest *Gylippus* was not now far off, but despised by *Nicias* for the small number of his men. In *Greece* the *Spartans* distressed the *Argives*, who were assisted by the *Athenians* with thirty ships. These made excursions into the Territories of *Epidaurus*, so that the League which had so long continued betwixt them and *Sparta*, though in a doubtfull condition, was now openly broken, and the War resumed; and that more by their fault than any blame of the *Lacedæmonians*, if *Thucydides* be judge.

55. *Gylippus* arriving at *Syracuse* disturbed the work of *Nicias* about the Wall, and changed the constancy of his good fortune, who yet was not discouraged thereby, but proceeded in his utmost endeavours for the service of those that sent him, making preparation for Sea-matters, wherein the *Athenians* seemed to excell all others: hereupon ensued several skirmishes with various fortune, and the remaining of Summer was spent on both sides in increasing their forces and procuring aid. *Nicias* writing to *Athens* for supplies, new Levies were made, and *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon* joyned in Commission with him, whereof the later was sent in mid-winter with ten Gallies, and a great summe of money into *Sicily*, and the other staid till Spring to get ready what was remaining: twenty ships they also ordered to attend the motions of the *Peloponnesians*. These things being known, the *Spartans* and *Corinthians* calling upon their Confederates provided for the invasion of *Attica*, accordingly as *Alcibiades* had advised. With these things the 18th year of the War ended.

Thucyd. lib. 7.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon joyned in Commission with Nicias.

56. In the beginning of the Spring the *Peloponnesians* under the Command of *Agis* the *Spartan* King, invaded *Attica*, where they fortified *Oecalea*, a place some twelve miles distant from *Athens*, and as much from the Borders

Borders of *Bœotia*. The *Athenians* sent thirty ships to waste *Peloponnesus*, and sixty (with five of *Chius*) into *Sicily* under *Demosthenes* his command. Out of *Peloponnesus* were sent to the aid of the *Syracusians*, from *Sparta* 500 men, from *Corinth* 500. *Sycion* 200. & out of *Bœotia* 300. to which the *Corinthian* Gallies lying at *Naupactus* were ordered to be a Convoy. At *Syracuse* the affairs of the *Athenians*, through the skill and valour of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, went down the wind, who being also much distressed at home by the excursions out of *Decelea*, yet kept up their spirits to the admiration of all men. After *Demosthenes* had arrived in *Silicy*, and heard of the miscarriages of their Fleet at Sea, he blamed *Nicias*, that he had not as soon as he came applied all his endeavour to *Syracuse* the head of the War, and caused him to agree to set upon *Epipolæ*, a difficult and craggy place, where falling on in the dark night, they could not discern betwixt friend and foe, all speaking in the same dialect, and thereby great slaughter being made of them, partly by themselves and the Enemy, the *Athenians* received a great defeat. The Generals hereupon consulting together, were not of the same opinion; *Demosthenes* now was for departing away speedily out of the Island, seeing all things hapned crosse therein, though he had been the cause of the fight: on the other side *Nicias*, who had laboured with all his might against the War, now pressed earnestly that it was for the honour and intereſt of their Countrey to stay and carry on the siege, and though *Eurymedon* was of the same opinion with *Demosthenes*, yet could not *Nicias* be removed from his, so that their departure was deferred till they understood that *Gylippus* was come with new supplies out of *Peloponnesus* and *Silicy*. This resolution he stuck to so much, for that he knew the multitude rather to look at successe than the reason of things, and was unwilling to hazard his life and reputation in the hands of those who would be ready to condemn before they heard him, as they had done *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* the former Generals, pretending they had taken money for making peace, when indeed there was not any possibility of making War.

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The Athenians defeated at Syracuse.

57. But upon the report of *Gylippus* his coming, *Nicias* was content, and order was given for the Army to dislodge with the greatest secrecie; when in the mean time fell out an Eclypse of the Moon. By this, which was accounted an ill Omen, was *Nicias* again so terrified, that out of a superstitious conceit he would not have the Camp break up till 27 dayes were past. The *Syracusians* much rejoyced hereat, and resolved to hinder their flight, or force them to transfer themselves to some other place. They first beat up their Camp, and the next day provoked them to fight, both at Land and Sea, and in the mouth of the Haven ingaged in a great and bloudy battel, wherein *Eurymedon* one of the *Athenian* Generals was slain, and though the Squadron of *Gylippus* was worsted, which made the *Athenians* Erect a Trophy, yet had they the worst of it, all considered. They made them too late repent that they had so ambitiously and unjustly undertaken a War with a Citie as great as *Athens* it self, and one of the same kind of Government, Enemy to *Oligarchy*. But the *Syracusians* were more and more animated, conceiving now great hopes of obtaining much glory and favour amongst the *Græcians*, of whom some they might free from slavery, and others from the fear of it for the time to come, by chastising their Tyrants, as they were accounted. As a way hereto they resolved to block up the mouth of the Haven, that the *Athenian* Fleet should not passe out thence by stealth.

Again at Sea.

Sorely straightned.

57. The *Athenians* seeing themselves in this straight, concluded it the best for them to make a new, and a more narrow Camp near to their ships, and attempt another battel at Sea, in which, if they had the better, then to remove to *Catana*, but if not, to burn their Vessels and depart by Land to some conveniene place. This was attempted with all care and expedition; but the *Syracusians* opposed them, and in the straight of the Haven was such a dispute, as scarce ever before had hapned, which was beheld by the land armies with passion suitable to the condition of their friends: Notwithstanding the *Syracusians* lost almost as many Vessels, yet the other were so weakned, and the

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the Sea-men ſo diſcouraged, that though the Generals would have attempted to break out another time, yet they refuſed any more to go aboard; ſo that they concluded of going away by Land the next night. If this had been done it might have falln out well for the Army, but by the cunning device of *Hermocrates* they were circumvented, and perſwaded to ſtay till the third day after.

59. Their departure was moſt full of out-cries, ſorrow, and miſery, ſet out to the life by *Thucydides*, ſo that none can read it without compaſſion. *Gylippus* ſeized upon their 130 ſhips left in the Haven, then purſued them, and ſet upon them behind, before, and on all ſides, ſo that diſtreſſed for all neceſſaries, they took another way than that which lead to *Catana*, otherwiſe than they had intended, and they were divided into two bodies, whereof that with *Demoſthenes* ſoon yielded upon promiſe of their lives. *Nicias* required better terms, and refuſed to ſubmit; but at length was forced to it, craving favour for himſelf and men, at the hands of *Gylippus* and the *Spartans*; 18000 in one day were ſlain, 700 taken and condemned to Mines, were after ſold. The two Generals were (contrary to the utmoſt endeavour of *Gylippus*, who would fain have had the honour of carrying them to *Sparta*) put to death, or as *Diodorus* ſaith, killed themſelves in priſon. This was the end of the *Sicilian* War, ſo indiſcreetly overtaken by the *Athenians*, who when they had thoſe already that gave them enough to do, would needs make to themſelves more Enemies, and ſo by labouring to graſp, loſt, all. *Meton* (*a*) the Aſtronomer (mentioned before) was ſo certainly perſwaded of the danger of this expedition, that when he was enrolled amongſt thoſe that were to undertake it, to prevent his going, he counterfeited himſelf mad, to confirm the belief of which he ſet fire on his own houſe. But (*b*) *Hippocrates* the *Coan* (Prince of Phyſicians) is ſaid to have ſet out his own ſon at his own charge, as Phyſician to the *Athenian* Army.

They fly.

Are forced to yield to mercy.

(*a*) *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* 13. *cap.* 12.

(*b*) *Vide Simpſon in Chron. ad ann.* M. 3590.

60. The *Athenians* were loath to give credit to the firſt report of the loſſe of their Army and Fleet, becauſe of the greatneſſe of it, but then knowing it to be ſo indeed, were much incenſed againſt thoſe that perſwaded them to undertake the War, and for that they feared the *Sicilians* would now come upon them whileſt they were deſtitute of all things, the Citie was filled with great conſternation. Yet within awhile, they took courage, and making all proviſion for defence, gave Commiſſion to ſome few of the moſt ancient and experienced amongſt them, to conſult and provide fit matter for the multitude to decree. In Winter following all *Greece* was elevated upon this their bad ſucceſſe. They who were neuters before, now offered themſelves to joyn in ſuppreſſing thoſe of whom formerly they ſtood in fear: the Confederates of *Lacedæmon* more vigorouſly provided againſt them, and all thoſe that had been ſubject to them were earneſt to ſhake off the yoak. The *Lacedæmonians* having ſuch encouragement, ſet themſelves very ſeriouſly to the War. *Agis* their King went into *Theſſaly* to raiſe money, and a Fleet of 100 Gallies was prepared amongſt the Confederates. *Pharnabazus* one of the *Satrapes* of *Perſia*, and Lieutenant of thoſe parts of *Aſia* about the *Helleſpont*, and *Triſſaphernes* another of the *Satrapaes*, ſent to *Sparta*, and offered them aſſiſtance. Theſe deſigns were carried as ſecretly as could be, that the *Athenians* might get no knowledge of them, who laboured alſo at the ſame time about the Rigging of a new Fleet. With theſe preparations the 19th year of the War ended.

Thucyd. lib. 8.

Great joy in *Greece*.

61. The next year the *Athenians* were at the beginning ſomewhat encouraged by ſome ſucceſſe at Sea, and thereby the *Lacedæmonians* ſo far diſcouraged again, that they thought ſeriouſly of concluding the War, till otherwiſe perſwaded by *Alcibiades*, who undertook an expedition into *Ionia* to withdraw it from the obedience of *Athens*, and did very much effect it. The *Athenians* hereat abaſhed, and fearing all their Aſſociates would revolt, took out 1000 Talents, which as yet had been untouched, as forbidden by the Law, and laid them out in this caſe of extremity in proviſions, and eſpecially in preparing a new Fleet. Then by *Alcibiades* his means was a League of

Alcibiades his actings againſt his own Country.

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of alliance made betwixt *Darius Nothus* King of *Perſia*, and the State of *Sparta*, by virtue of which the King allowed money for paiment of their Soldiers. The *Athenians* recovered *Lesbus*, and *Clazomena*, the *Mileſians* and *Chians* (principal in the revolt) were deſtroyed by them, but again they had the worſt of it in a Sea-fight near unto *Rhodes*, which the *Peloponneſians* then by fair means drew to their ſociety, exacting of the Inhabitants 23 talents in the name of tribute, which ſucceſſe, becauſe of the ſtrength of this City, made them confidently deſpiſe the money, and alliance of *Perſia*.

62. For, *Triſſaphernes* and they were at ſome difference about the form of the League, which they complained was not rightly drawn, for therein they were tied to give up to the *Perſian* the Iſlands, *Theſſalie*, *Locri*, and *Bœotia*, which heretofore had been under the power of that Empire: which ſeemed unworthy for the *Lacedæmonians* to do, who pretended themſelves the vindicators of the liberty of *Greece*, againſt the incroachments of the *Athenians*; Herewith *Triſſaphernes* was grievouſly nettled, and departed in diſcontent from *Cnidus*, where eleven *Spartans* had met him to require that the inſtruments ſhould be corrected. At this time alſo it hapned that *Alcibiades* was envied for his glory, and ſuſpected by the *Peloponneſians*, and hated by *Agis* the *Spartan* King, for that he had corrupted his wife, inſomuch that order was reported to have been ſent to *Aſtyochus* the General, to kill him, but he withdrew himſelf to *Triſſaphernes*. He laid open to him the full State of the *Peloponneſians*, perſwaded him to diminiſh the pay that his Maſter allowed them, by changing a Drachme into three Oboli a day, part of which alſo he ſhould ever keep unpaid, to keep the Seamen at his devotion. He further ſuggeſted crafty counſel to him: eſpecially that they ſhould not ſuffer the *Athenians* to be ſuppreſſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, but to keep thoſe two States ever in an even ballance, and let them weaken one another by their mutual enmities; yet to favour a little more the *Athenians*, becauſe they would be content with part of the ſoverainty of the Seas, and would go no further, whereas the *Spartans* would not reſt here, but contend for the ſole Dominion, and to bring all the *Græcians* from under the *Perſian* yoak. Theſe things he preſſed upon him as great myſteries of State for his Maſter's ſervice, and as ſuch he imbraced them; wherefore the promiſe he had made of joyning the *Phœnician* Fleet with that gallant one of the *Peloponneſians* was not performed, and the power of this weakened by the with-holding of the Soldiers pay.

He flieth from the *Spartans* out of fear.

He ſuggeſteth crafty counſel to *Triſſaphernes*.

63. *Alcibiades* had a great deſire to return into his own Country, which would not be ſo any purpoſe except it were preſerved, and therefore he communicated theſe things to *Triſſaphernes*. He wrote to ſome of the chief of the *Athenians* then lying at *Samus* concerning his deſire, and told them wherein he was dealing with him; and yet he ſignified that he had no mind to return, as long as the Popular Government (under which he was baniſhed) ſhould continue. The *Athenians* that lay at *Samus* liked the matter well, and generally inclined to change the Government, for that they were made to believe that *Triſſaphernes* by the procurement of *Alcibiades* would be their friend, and they ſhould have money from him for the payment of their Army. But *Phrynicus* the General ſtanding in fear of *Alcibiades*, by reaſon he had ſpoken too freely againſt him, oppoſed it with all his might, and when he could do nothing by words, very boldly acquainted *Aſtyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* General with the matter. He who now had not *Alcibiades* in his power, was no whit eager for his deſtruction, and being withall corrupted by *Triſſaphernes* to betray his truſt, went and acquainted him and *Alcibiades* with what he had received. Hereupon *Alcibiades* wrote to the *Athenians* in *Samus*, and acquainted them with the treachery of *Phrynicus*, required them to put him to death as a Traitor to his Country, who hereupon was exceedingly troubled, and boyled with anger againſt *Aſtyochus*; yet in ſo deſperate a caſe adding one raſh act unto another, he wrote again to him, upbraided him with unthankfulneſſe, and ſignified that he would betray *Samus* with all the *Athe-*

Phrynicus ſtandeth in fear of him, and laboureth to deſtroy him.

To no purpoſe.

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nian Army there unto the *Lacedæmonians*, which he could do, becauſe the Town was unwalled, and would do, foraſmuch as it was lawful in ſo eminent a danger, as he was in, to provide for his own ſecurity.

64. *Aſyochus* without taking this opportunity to ſerve his Country, made this known alſo to *Alcibiades*, which *Phrynicus* underſtanding, and knowing that *Alcibiades* would write hereof to the Army, that he might prevent him, he told the Soldiers that the Enemy intended to ſet upon *Samus* by Sea and Land, now that the City wanted walls, whereupon he commanded them, having abſolute authority, to raiſe a work about it, and keep diligent watch. This was done accordingly, and then though *Alcibiades* his letters preſently after arrived, yet no credit was given to the accuſation, as proceeding from his bitter Enemy, but more confidence repoſed in him. *Alcibiades* then applied himſelf to *Tiſſaphernes* to reconcile him to the *Athenians*, but he being unwilling to loſe all his credit, was cool in the buſineſſe. But whilſt he dealt with him, the Soldiers in *Samus* having ſent to *Athens* to deal with the People about the change of Government, *Piſander* chief of the meſſengers labour-ed to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity thereof, for that otherwiſe they could not be freed from imminent deſtruction. The People being circum-vented yielded to it, & gave him with ten other Commiſſioners power to treat, and conclude whatſoever they found neceſſary for the State, with *Tiſſapher-nes* and *Alcibiades*: but the former of theſe ſtanding in fear of utterly loſing the *Peloponneſians*, and having this always in his mind to keep the two States in an equal ballance, would not give any encouragement, or open his mind fully to *Alcibiades*, who fearing to loſe his credit and power with him, which he had ſo boaſted of to the *Athenians*; that he might put them by, demanded ſuch hard Conditions as he knew they could not grant, and ſo the Commiſſi-oners returned with great ſtomack and diſdain, to have been ſo ill uſed by him.

Commiſſion-ers ſent to treat with *Al-cibiades*, and *Tiſſaphernes*, but in vain.

65. And *Tiſſaphernes* to proſecute that deſign of ſetting the *Græcians* upon each other, and keeping them in equal power; fearing that if he detained any longer the pay from the *Peloponneſians*, that they would be too much weakened by the *Athenians*, who now of late had had the better of it in ſome engagements, and thereby the Kings Provinces ſhould be expoſed to danger, he went this Winter into *Caria*, where he renewed the League on better terms for the *Peloponneſians*, paid the arrears due to the Army, and promi-ſed to diſpatch away the *Phœnician* Fleet. This new alliance was made in the thirteenth year of *Darius*, (*Alexipidas* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*) upon the River *Mæander*, atteſted by the names of *Tiſſaphernes*, *Hieramenes*, and the Children of *Pharnaces*. Towards the end of Winter *Oropus* a Town ſituate upon the confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, revolted to the *Bœotians*, be-ing formerly in the juriſdiction of *Athens*. Hereupon the *Bœotians* conceived hopes to alienate all *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*, eſpecially for that the *Ere-trians* who were principal in that Iſland, inclined to a revolt, and ſent away to the *Peloponneſians* to deſire they would come into *Eubœa*. But their care for *Chius* which was diſtreſſed by the *Athenians* ſuffered them not to comply with their deſire; for they ſet out a Fleet to relieve that Iſland, but the *Athenians* being maſters of the Sea, it durſt not venture further than *Mile-tus*; and therefore the *Athenian* ſhips returned unto *Samus*. Thus ended the 20th year of the War.

Tiſſaphernes re-neweth the War with the *Peloponneſians*.

66. In the beginning of Spring *Dercylidas* was ſent from *Sparta* by Land to the *Helleſpont*, with no great force, where with eaſe he brought off *Abydus* (a Colony of the *Mileſians*) from their obedience to *Athens*, and after that *Lampſacus*, but attempted the ſame upon *Seſtus* to no purpoſe. The *Athe-nians* and *Chians* had a battel at Sea upon equal terms: but *Strombichides* the *Athenian* hearing what was done in the *Helleſpont* haſted thither, reco-vered *Lampſacus*, was repelled by the Inhabitants of *Abydus*, and then went to *Seſtus* in *Europe*, where he placed a ſtrong Garriſon for the ſecurity of thoſe parts. In the mean time *Piſander* and his Colleagues being return-ned from *Alcibiades* to *Samus*, in conjunction with thoſe therein, reſolved without

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without him to change the Government. They firſt did it in moſt of the Ci-ties which were ſubject to *Athens*, and found it almoſt effected there, after that *Androcles*, a man who was moſt earneſt in the defence of *Democracy*, with ſome others, were ſecretly murdered by ſome Conſpirators, who laboured thereby to gain the good will of *Alcibiades* and *Tiſſaphernes*. Theſe deſign-ed to have the State governed by 5000 men of the moſt able with bodies and eſtates to ſerve it, and the People durſt not contradict them, ſuch factions and jealouſies had riſen, that no man was ſecure of his neighbour. But *Piſander* and his Colleagues arriving, obtained of the multitude, that ten men might be impowred, to conclude and ſet down in writing ſuch things as ſeemed to them requiſite for a ſettlement, which on a certain day were to be referred to the People.

The Govern-ment changed to Oligarchy in *Athens*, and the Cities ſubject to it.

67. When the day came, theſe ten men firſt required, that it might be lawful for any one to ſpeak his opinion without danger of incurring any penalty by the Laws. Then they propoſed, that no Magiſtracy ſhould be undertaken and exerciſed after the uſual manner, nor any receive ſalary for the exerciſing thereof: that five Preſidents ſhould be choſen, who ſhould pick out 100 men, and each of theſe chuſe three more, that all might make up the number of 400. That theſe 400 men ſhould be inveſted with the Supreme power and authori-ty; ſhould decree and ordain what ſeemed good unto them; and might call together the five thouſand when they thought it convenient. Theſe propo-ſitions, though of ſo great conſequence for the change they were likely to produce, were yet admitted of, not as much as one man gainſaying them, ſuch a change there was made in the minds of the People, which now ſince the baniſhing of the Tyrants had onely been governed by it's Laws and con-ſtitutions, and not onely not ſubject to the authority of others, but reigning over many, deveſted it ſelf of ſo great ſoveraignty and power. But theſe 400 men thus authoriſed, were conducted in a ſolemn manner to the Senate-houſe, with daggers under their coats, and compaſſed about with armed men, where the old Senate having their Salaries paid were diſmiſſed. They choſe the *Prytanes* or *Preſidents* out of their own body, and then began to exerciſe their authority; but not without blood, bonds, and baniſhment. They ſent to *Agis* the *Lacedæmonian* King, then lying at *Decelea*, to treat of Peace, but he not having any opinion of their power as long to continue, but thinking the People would ſhortly reſume it, rejected their Ambaſſie, and ſending for more Forces out of *Peloponneſus*, came to *Athens*, hoping that in theſe commotions he might affright the City into a ſurrender. But he found the contrary; for all agreeing in this to reſiſt him as the common Ene-my, they ſtood notably in their defence, and ſallied out upon him; ſo that having no hopes, he diſmiſſed his new forces, and with the other returned to *Decelea*.

Four hundred men have the executive power.

They ſend to *Agis* about a peace, who ſlighteth them.

68. After his return, the 400 ſent other Ambaſſadors to him about a peace, who referred them to *Sparta*, whither they went, but what ſucceſſe they had, doth not appear from *Thucydides*. They knew the common Soldiers at *Sa-mus* (though *Piſander* and his Companions had ſtickled ſo for it) to be Ene-mies to Oligarchy, and therefore to take them off, they ſent to acquaint them that the power was not in them onely, but in the 5000 alſo, and laboured to ſatisfie them in this point, that this was equivalent to *Democracie*, ſeeing that during that Government, when all things were done by the body of the Peo-ple, a greater number did not uſe to meet. But they at *Samus* being impa-tient of any but Popular Government, after the departure of *Piſander* and his Colleagues, had reſtored it there, and ſent to *Athens* to ſignifie ſo much, not knowing what had hapned there, which was very unwelcome news to the 400, who caſt ſome of the meſſengers into priſon. But *Chæreas*, hiding himſelf for ſome time, eſcaped, and carried back a report how things ſtood, amplifying much the oppreſſion and inſolence of theſe Governours; whereat the Soldiers were grievouſly enraged, and threatened death, not onely to the authors of the *Oligarchy*, but to all that had been partakers of it; and at ſuch a ſeaſon when the Enemy expected ſuch advantages, they had committed ſomething,

Refers their ſecond addreſs to *Sparta*.

The Army at *Samus* inraged at them.

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tending to the ruin of their Countrey, had they not been restrained by the interposition of more stayed and prudent men. *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus*, who had been most earnest for restoring the popular Government, that they might do it in a safe and honorable way, caused all the Soldiers, especially such as they knew to favour *Oligarchy*, to take an Oath unanimously to act for the restitution of the power of the people; to fight resolutely against the *Peloponnesians*; to take for Enemies the 400 men at *Athens*, and to admit of no entercourse with them by any Officer at Arms; which Oath also they caused to be taken by all the *Samians* that were at age, whose conjunction they thought necessary for carrying on the design.

Takes an Oath of Combination against them,

69. Then did the Soldiers chuse them new Officers, of whom were *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus*, and encouraged one another to the Enterprize, both from the justnesse of their undertaking (for that the Army had not revolted from the Citie, but the Citie from it) as also from their strength, far superiour (especially in respect of the Fleet) to that of the 400. adding also, that *Alcibiades* upon promise of security, and restitution, would be assisting to them, and that they might hope well concerning *Tissaphernes*, and the King of *Persia*. In the mean while the *Peloponnesians* fore mutined against *Tissaphernes* and *Astyochus*, that they had not their pay, and were not lead out to fight with the *Athenians*, whilest they were so at odds amongst themselves, which forced the later to draw both Sea and Land-forces to *Mycale* for an ingagement, but the *Athenians* refusing to fight, for that they were inferiour to them in number of ships, when more came from the *Hellespont* presented themselves; but then the *Peloponnesians* conceiving themselves too weak for the encounter, refused to ingage. *Thrasybulus* in the mean while perswaded the Army to recall *Alcibiades*. Audience being given him, after he had complained of the injustice of his Enemies, he discoursed much of the state of Affairs as they then stood; Magnified above measure his power with *Tissaphernes* (which he did, both to discourage them at *Athens*, and to render the *Satrapa* the more odious to the *Peloponnesians*) who he said would assist them to the selling of the bed he lay on. Hereupon the Soldiers mightily elevated with hopes, presently created him one of their Generals, with full power, thinking of nothing but the punishment of the 400. and resolving without any regard of the Enemy at hand to sayl directly for the *Piræus*.

Recalleth *Alcibiades*.

70. *Alcibiades* withstood their resolution, saying, that nothing was rashly to be committed, and seeing that they had put the power into his hands, he must go to *Tissaphernes*. This he did, not onely to transact what he pretended, but also to boast of his new power, to let the *Persian* know he could either pleasure him, or incommodate his affairs, and so this crafty man procured, that he both made him fear the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* stand in awe of him, whilest hereby he made up his own interest. That also which he intended concerning *Tissaphernes*, and the *Peloponnesians*, came to passe; for distrusting him before, they were now very bitter against him, since he hindred the fight at *Miletus*, and defrauded them of their pay, and *Astyochus* their own General they had killed in a mutiny, had he not taken sanctuary. Presently upon this came *Mindarus*, sent from *Sparta* to succeed him, who then departed home with an Agent from *Tissaphernes*, whom he sent to excuse himself to that State, and answer such objections as were made against him.

The Ambassadors of the 400 come to *Samus*.

Alcibiades returned from *Tissaphernes* to *Samus*, where met him the Ambassadors of the 400 men (who upon hearing how things went here, had all this while out of fear staid at *Delus*.) The Soldiers would not hear them, and voted they should be put to death; but he caused them to have leave to deliver their message, which they did with all the advantage they could, in excuse of those that sent them, accusing of falshood what had been reported by *Chareas*; but still the Army was dissatisfied, and cried out to sayl to the *Piræus*. *Alcibiades* now timely interposed himself; for, had the Army then departed for *Athens*, all *Ionia*, and the *Hellespont* had been presently lost; but he put a stop to their heat, and checked those that were so fierce against the Ambassadors.

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Alcibiades giveth them a crosse answer.

sadors. He himself bad them return this answer, that the 5000 might retain their power, but the 400 were commanded to desist, and restore the *Senate* of 500 whom they outed; that they should do well at *Athens* to take care of the Commonwealth, and not to give place to the Enemy: for whilest the City was safe, he hoped to make up the breaches; but if either it should be lost, or the Army at *Samus* miscarry, there would want those who should be reconciled to each other.

71. With this answer he dismissed the Messengers in safety, as he did also with much kindnesse Ambassadors sent from *Argos* to offer assistance against the 400. *Tissaphernes* now upon what design is uncertain, went to *Aspendus* where the *Phœnician* Fleet lay, pretending he would purge himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, and give order to *Tamus* his Officer to pay the Arrears due to the Army. But neither did he remove the Fleet from *Aspendus*, according to agreement, pretending frivolous things, nor did *Tamus* accordingly pay the monies; which raised many conjectures and much discourse. *Thucydides* thinketh his design to have been to hold the *Grecians* in suspense, and suffer them to weaken one another, for that if he had joyned himself to either party, by the help of his Fleet he might in a short time, and without difficulty have finished the War, and given the victory to which side he pleased. *Alcibiades* went to him with 13 ships, promising either to induce him to joyn his Fleet with the *Athenians*, or to procure that he should not assist them of *Peloponnesus*; it being likely enough that he knew his intention of not moving to the one part or the other; but this he did, especially by his entercourse, and familiarity with him, to increase the indignation and choler of the *Peloponnesians*, and thereby to constrain him to joyn himself with the *Athenians*. But the return and report of the Ambassadors sent from the 400 men raised great perturbations in the minds of men at *Athens*, whilest those, who either out of some ambitious design (all men being greedy of power over others) or for the publick good, desired the Supreme Authority might be in the 5000. had the advantage of the other factions. The other were as busie as concerned, especially *Phrynichus*, because so obnoxious to *Alcibiades*, *Pisander*, and others. They sent to *Lacedæmon* to make peace with that State upon any terms, and Fortified that part of the *Piræus*, which commanderh the mouth of the haven, which made the other party, which affected *Democracie*, very jealous; *Theramenes* crying out that they intended to betray the Citie to the Enemy, who now with 42 Gallies hovered about the Coasts.

The Counsels of *Tissaphernes* in the dark.

How men in *Athens* stood affected to the 400.

72. Neither were these mere Calumnies; for these 400 men for the most part desired to retain the Dominion over both Citizens and Allies; but if not that, yet to continue Masters of the Fleet and Fortifications, and if this could not be obtained, then to call in the Enemy, to redeem their lives, and part of the Citie, with the ships and works; being resolved never to give way to the popular Government, from which they could expect nothing but sudden destruction. To this purpose they made the Wall upon the *Piræus* with several Gates to let in the Enemy if need were. But *Phrynichus* returning from *Sparta* whither he was sent Ambassadour (though to no purpose) was stabbed in the Forum by a conspiracy, after which *Theramenes* and his party grew more bold, and by the help of the Soldiers seized upon some of the Chief of the 400. whence ensued a very great tumult, all being ready to fall one upon another, and certain mischief had followed, but that the antient men somewhat repressed the younger, and *Thucydides* the *Pharsalian*, then sojourning in the Citie, laboured earnestly to perswade them, crying out, that they should not themselves destroy their Countrey, now that the Enemy was ready to assail it, and with much ado he kept them from offering violence to one another. *Theramenes* also checked the Soldiers in the Haven; but he giving way to it, the new Fortifications there were demolished. The next day the 400 met, though in great fear, and sent some of their number to appease the Soldiers, saying, that they would chuse 5000 men, who from amongst themselves should chuse the number of 400 by turns to rule the State, desiring they would not undo the Citie by compelling it to yield to

The Traiterous designs of the 400.

Tumults at *Athens*.

the

Sect. 3. the Enemy. Herewith the minds of the Soldiers were somewhat quieted, and with much ado they agreed that a general Assembly should be had at a certain day for an agreement: but when the day came, and the Assembly was scarce gathered together, news came that the 42 ships, under Command of *Hegesandrides* the *Spartan*, held their course directly from the Coast of *Megara*, to the Island *Salamine*.

73. The Soldiers now concluded of the certainty of what *Theramenes* had told them, and that these ships intending for the *Piræus*, it was good that the Fortifications were demolished; and likely enough it was that *Hegesandrides* hovering so long about *Epidaurus*, expected some good opportunity to fall on *Athens*. Hereupon all the Assembly hasted to the *Piræus*, but the Fleet making towards *Eubœa* at length came to *Oropus*, which making them very sollicitous for *Eubœa* wherein their hope onely remained, they sent *Thymochares* with some ships to *Eretria*, which he joyning to those that were in the Island, made up 36 sayl. He was forced to fight sooner than he intended, by the fraud of the *Eretrians*, who delayed to bring victuals to sell as they were wont, and thereby drew the Soldiers further off from the Fleet, and made great disorder; so that the *Peloponnesians* setting upon them, whilest out of good order, quickly put them to flight. They took 22 ships, killing some, and taking the rest of the men: such as fled to Land, and betook themselves to *Eretria* as to friends, were killed by the Inhabitants; then presently all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolted to the *Peloponnesians*. When tidings hereof came to *Athens*, never did so great consternation seize upon them there, no not after the overthrow in *Sicily*. For the Army at *Samus* dissented from the Citie; they had neither ships left, nor men to serve in them, and were broken into factions, of which they could not foresee the event; and the losse of *Eubœa* was exceeding great, because that Island furnished the Citie with more Commodities than *Attica* it self. And their fear was increased by the nearnesse of it, from which the Enemy might presently come and seize upon the *Piræus* now destitute of ships, which they did not onely think would be, but imagined to be already done.

The *Athenians* defeated are seized with great consternation.

74. And had the Enemy been a little bolder, he might easily have done this, and more. Had he besieged the Citie, it would have been more grievously broken by seditions, and constrained to call home the Army at *Samus*, and thereby he might have reduced with ease *Ionia*, the *Hellespont*, all the Islands, and all as far as *Eubœa*; and so consequently all the *Athenian* Dominion into his power. But well was it for the *Athenians* that they had such an Enemy to deal with as the *Spartans*, who were of so contrary dispositions: they being speedy and bold in executing all their designs; but these slow, and something fearfull, especially in Sea matters, whereby they affoarded many opportunities to the *Athenians*. These things are confirmed from instance in the *Syracusians*, who being of the same nature as the *Athenians*, were good enough for them at all assayes. The *Athenians* in the midst of all their fears took yet all care possible for their Affairs, furnishing out twenty ships, and meeting together in *Pnice*, the usual place for popular Assemblies, they abrogated the power of the 400. and gave it to 5000. amongst whom some were to furnish the Commonwealth with Arms, ordering that none should receive any wages for his imployment. Many other meetings then succeeded, in which certain Law-makers were chosen, and other things decreed for the good of the State, at which time *Thucydides* thinketh the *Athenian* Commonwealth to have been better than ever tempered and qualified, a moderate, and equal way being brought in betwixt the power of a few, and that of the whole people. A decree also passed for the restitution of *Alcibiades*, and those with him. Upon this change *Pisander* and the rest that adhered to *Oligarchy* fled to the Enemy.

The contrary dispositions of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

The power of the 400 abrogated, and the Government most equally poised.

75. In the mean while the *Peloponnesian* Fleet lying at *Miletus*, in vain expected money from *Tissaphernes*, and the coming of the *Phœnician* Fleet: on the other side *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant to the King upon the *Hellespont*, promised them all kindnesse, and in particular used his indeavour to draw all the

Sect. 3. the *Greek* Cities within his Government from the society of the *Athenians*, which *Tissaphernes* also had promised, but performed like other things. *Mindarus* the General of the Fleet moved herewith, went from *Miletus* towards the *Hellespont*, with a Fleet of 73 ships, which *Thrasyllus* the *Athenian* understanding, made after him with 55 Sail, labouring to get before him. Some stop was made by the way, but nothing very considerable done till they came towards an engagement at *Gnosema*. Sixteen Gallies of *Athens* were first met with by the *Peloponnesians*, who took three of them, and burnt another; and at length both the Fleets joyned battel, being inlarged since they came into the *Hellespont* by the accesse of other ships. At first the *Peloponnesians* put to flight the middle battel of the *Athenians*, and driving the ships to Land had the better of it there; but being too eager in the pursute, they brake their ranks, which *Thrasybulus* and those with him observing in his wing, wound about and fell upon them with such violence, as forced them to flie. They took 21 ships, the rest by reason of the straightnesse of the Sea getting into some Harbour or other, and though they lost fifteen of their own, yet obtained they a seasonable Victory, which made them lift up their heads (having been dejected by so many disasters) and cease to complain of their Fortune.

The *Athenians* obtained a Victory at Sea.

76. The report of it at *Athens*, as of an unexpected thing, mightily incouraged the people also: so that notwithstanding the revolt of *Eubœa*, and intestine Seditions, they had hopes still, if they prosecuted the War with diligence, to have the better. Four daies after the fight the Fleet removed from *Sestus* towards *Cyzicus*, where in their way they took eight Gallies that came from *Byzantium*, and taking the Town, which then for want of walls could make no resistance, fined the Inhabitants; the *Peloponnesians* at the same time endeavouring to recruit their Navie. In the mean while *Alcibiades* having been with *Tissaphernes* returned to *Samus* with thirteen Gallies, bringing word, that he had stopped the *Phœnician* Fleet from joyning with the *Peloponnesians*, and had rendred the *Satrapa* more friendly towards the *Athenians*. Then presently adding nine ships to the former, he constrained the *Halicarnassians* to pay a great sum of money, and fortified *Cos*. *Tissaphernes*, when he heard that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was gone towards the *Hellespont*, hasted from *Aspendus* into *Ionia*, where understanding that the Inhabitants of *Antandrus* had received a Garrison from the *Peloponnesians* of *Abydus*, because they had been ill dealt withall by *Astacus*, whom he had made his Lieutenant in those parts, as also that the *Peloponnesians* had cast his Garrison out of *Miletus*, and *Cnidus* (which they did to affront him, laying grievous matters to his charge) lest they should proceed any further, and grieving that *Pharnabazus* in a lesse time, and with lesse expence, should make more use of them against the *Athenians*, he determined to follow them into the *Hellespont*, to expostulate with them about *Antandrus*, and purge himself as well as he could of those things laid to his charge about the *Phœnician* Fleet, and other matters. And when he came to *Ephesus* he sacrifized to *Diana*. Here the history of *Thucydides* (*a*) endeth (with the Summer of the 21st year of the War) which afterwards was continued by *Theopompus* for seventeen years; but by *Xenophon* for 28. The work of the former is lost; and that of the latter extant, but without a beginning, in the judgement of a learned man, who, besides the proeme, will have the history of two years to be wanting; from the end of that Summer at which *Thucydides* left, to the conclusion of the Summer of the 23 year of the War. But *Diodorus* placing the last things of *Thucydides* in the second year of the 92 *Olympiad*, in the very next relateth those which are mentioned in the begining of the first Book of *Xenophon*, so that if the whole was extant in his time, he either missed these two years, and so inverted the Chronology of all his history succeeding; or else onely the proeme of the first Book of *Xenophon* is lost (if there was any) and the History entire.

(*a*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 2.

(*b*) *Usserius in Annal. Vet. Test. pag.* 216.

77. Not long after the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* engaged thrice in fight at Sea, wherein the *Athenians* had the better first and last, the second having

Xenoph. Hellanic. l. 1.

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Plutarch in Alcibiade.

Tissaphernes secureth *Alcibiades.*

Alcibiades overthroweth *Mindarus* the *Spartan.*

A. M. 3594. *Ol. 92. an. 2. V. C. 343. Darii Nothi 13. Belli Pelop. 21.*

78. The news of the successe with the letter of *Hippocrates* coming to *Athens*, filled the People with excessive joy, who offered sacrifice to their gods, and kept holy day. They chose then 1000 of the most valiant Foot, and 100 Horse for prosecuting the War, and sent thirty Gallies more to *Alcibiades*, that he might with greater successe set upon the allies of *Sparta* now the Sea was in his power. The *Lacedæmonians* when they understood how things went, dispatched away Ambassadors (the chief of which was *Endius*, unto *Athens*) about a peace. They offered that both States might retain such places as they had already in their power, that the Garrisons might be dismissed on both sides, and the prisoners redeemed man for man; and much in a little was said by *Endius*, to shew that the *Athenians* were more concerned to be for peace, though he denied not but that the War was hurtful to *Sparta*. The most moderate men amongst the *Athenians* were willing to hear of an accommodation; but such as made their own markets out of the publick losse, and gained by the War, withstood the proposition. Amongst these as principal was *Cleophon*, the most eminent of the *Demagogi* (or leaders of the People) at this time, though formerly a maker of Harps, whom many remembred to have been bound with fetters, but he was surreptitiously registred amongst the Citizens. He speaking many things fit for his purpose, especially made use of the late successe; which he so improved, as if Fortune now had forgot to be inconstant. The People herewith puffed up, and conceiving great hopes that by the conduct of *Alcibiades* they should re-obtain their antient power, refused to entertain the proposals made by *Endius*; of which ill advice they were afterwards sensible, when it was too late, falling so low from this height of presumption, that they could never after recover themselves.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 92. an. 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* send to *Athens* about Peace.

Cleophon hindereth it.

79. After this, *Agis* the *Spartan* King made excursions from *Decelea*, as far as the walls of *Athens*, at which time it hapned that *Thrasybulus* was in the City about businesse, who leading out his *Athenian* Soldiers and others that were present, offered him battel; at which he was troubled, and hasted away, losing a few of his men in some light Skirmishes. This service got *Thrasybulus* such credit, that he easily obtained what he came for; 1000 Foot of heavy Armour which he himself would pick out, 100 Horse, and 50 Gallies, being decreed to him; but *Agis* seeing that it was to no purpose to besiege *Athens* by Land, as long as they could bring in what provision they pleased at the *Piræus*, sent away *Clearchus* the Son of *Ramphias* to *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, to make provision for Sea matters, who got through the *Hellespont* with much adoe, and with the losse of three ships out of his fifteen he had with him, came to *Byzantium*.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1.

Agis repulsed from *Athens.*

80. The

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The acts of *Thrasybulus* the *Athenian.*

80. The next year in which the 93 *Olympiad* was solemnized, wherein *Eubotas* the *Cyrenæan* got the prize in the course, *Euarchippus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Euclemon Archon* at *Athens*, *Thrasybulus* having obtained the ships decreed to him, with 5000 Sea-men, sailed to *Samus*, whence after three daies he departed, and took *Colophon*, made excursions into *Lydia*, where obtaining much booty, he also went against *Ephesus*. *Tissaphernes* coming in in good time, he was beaten back from the City with double losse, whence he sailed to the *Hellespont*, and in his way at *Lesbus* put to flight a Fleet of 25 *Syracusian* ships, four whereof he took with the men in them. Then departed he to *Sestus* to the other *Athenian* Forces, and thence removed to *Lampsacus* with the whole Army in the beginning of Winter, which Town they fortified, and besieging *Abydus* overthrew *Pharnabazus*, who came with a considerable body of Horse to relieve the Town; which Victory reconciled the Soldiers, who before this were at odds, because those under *Alcibiades* being hitherto victorious, would not be joyned with the followers of *Thrasybulus* who had been beaten. In the same Winter the *Athenians* made frequent depredations in the territories of the *Persian* King. Then also the *Helots* which had fled from *Malea* to *Coriphasium*, were upon agreement dismissed by the *Lacedæmonians*; and the Plantation of *Heraclea*, and *Trachinia*, were by the *Acheans* the ancient Inhabitants, betrayed into the hands of the *Oeteans* the common Enemy, and 700 of them slain, together with *Labotas* the *Lacedæmonian* Governour. Thus the 24th year of the War ended, wherein the *Medes* having rebelled, were reduced to obedience by *Darius Nothus*, and the Temple of *Pallas* at *Phocæa* was burnt with Thunder and Lightning.

81. In the beginning of the next Spring *Pantacles* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Antigones Archon* at *Athens*, the *Athenians* with their whole Army and Fleet went into *Proconnesus*; thence to *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, and sate down before *Chalcedon*. The *Chalcedonians* aware of their coming, sent all their booty to the *Bythinæans* their neighbours, which being known to *Alcibiades*, he went with a sufficient force, and by threats got it delivered up to him, after which returning he compassed *Chalcedon* from Sea to Sea with a rampire, and to the River. *Hippocrates* the *Lacedæmonian*, Governour of the Town, troubled hereat, sallied out, and fought with that Party that was under *Thrasyllus*, for a long time with ambiguous Fortune, till *Alcibiades* coming in, *Hippocrates* was slain, and his men repulsed into the Town. *Pharnabazus* during the fight came to relieve him, but could not get to them by reason of the *Athenian* fortifications. He, whilst *Alcibiades* was absent, gathering Money from the Cities, made an agreement with the other *Athenian* Captains, that he should pay them 20 talents, that the *Chalcedonians* should pay all their arrears, and afterwards as much as they were wont: in the mean time the *Athenians* should offer them no violence, till the *Athenian* Ambassadors, which he took upon him to convey, should return from the King. *Alcibiades* at this time was at *Selymbria*, which having taken, he returned to *Byzantium* with a body of Horse and Foot newly raised in *Cherronesus* and *Thrace*, where *Pharnabazus* expected him to have his oath to the agreement. He refused to take his oath except *Pharnabazus* did the like, who condescended to him, and so they both swore not to hurt each other. Together with the *Athenians*, others went as Ambassadors to the King from the *Lacedæmonians*; as also *Hermocrates* and his brother *Proxenus* now banished from *Syracuse*.

Alcibiades besegeth *Chalcedon.*

82. The *Athenians* then presently besieged *Byzantium*, which having no hopes to obtain by strong hand, they attempted by treachery, and had it delivered up to them, whilst *Clearchus* the Governour, a *Lacedæmonian*, was gone to *Pharnabazus* to sollicite him about money to pay the Soldiers, and to gather a Fleet together wherewith if possible he might raise the siege. News hereof was carried to *Pharnabazus* then wintering at *Gordium* in *Phrygia* with the Ambassadors whom he was carrying to the King. In the beginning of Spring when they were on their journy, they met with some *Spartans*,

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The *Athenian* Ambassadors and others sent to the *Persian* King never come at him.

tans, who already had been with him, and said they had obtained from him for the *Lacedæmonians* what they desired, and how he had appointed his younger son *Cyrus* his Lieutenant for the Sea-coasts, whom he had commanded also to assist the *Spartans* in the War, bringing a Commission with him whereby he was constituted Governour over all that used to meet upon the plains of *Castolus*. The *Athenian* Ambassadors hearing this, desired first to see *Cyrus*, and then to go to the King; but if not, to return home. But *Cyrus* required *Pharnabazus*, either to deliver them up into his hands, or to send them back, because he would not have the *Athenians* privy to what was done. But he neither sent them to the King, nor dismissed them, but kept them off and on for three years, after which he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to dismisse them, seeing he would not permit them to go to his father, and so procured them by *Ariobarzanes* to be conveyed through *Mysia* to sea: and so they sayled to the *Athenian* Army.

Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Alcibiade.

83. *Alcibiades* having a great desire to return to *Athens* with the Army, first betook himself to *Samus*, whence he went and gathered up 100 Talents amongst the *Carians*, and returned thither. *Thrasybulus* with thirty ships going into *Thrace*, reduced several places into his power, and *Thasus* amongst the rest, sorely at this time distressed with Seditions, Famine, and Pestilence. *Thrasybulus* with the rest of the Army sayled to *Athens*, before whose coming the people had created anew three Generals, *Alcibiades*, and *Thrasybulus*, who were absent, and *Conon* present in the Citie. *Alcibiades* encouraged hereby sayled to the Citie, where at his landing multitudes of people came to meet him, admiring his person, and the present posture of affairs, which they ascribed to his good conduct, whom they now acquitted from what was laid formerly to his charge, and excused him for siding with the Enemy, seeing he was thereunto led by necessity. He spoke to the *Senate* and people in his own defence, and gave such satisfaction, no body opposing, that he was created General with full power, as able to restore the Commonwealth by his own industry to its antient power. He first on Land (which of late had not used to be done for fear of the Enemy) celebrated the *Eleusinia*, and then in the third moneth after his arrival, with a Fleet of 100 Gallies, aboard of which were 1100 foot of heavy Armour, and 150 Horse, he sayled to *Andrus*, the Inhabitants of which he worsted in fight, and thence departed to *Samus*, intending to make use of that Island as the Seat of War. At this time *Lysander* was sent from *Sparta* to succeed *Cratisippidas* in the Fleet, who went to *Cyrus* to desire him in earnest to undertake the War, blaming the backwardnesse of *Tissaphernes*. *Cyrus* promised him his utmost assistance; but he desired that the saylers might have a drachm a day assigned as their wages, thereby to entice the *Athenian* Mariners to forsake their Masters. He answered, he could do nothing against his fathers order, who had appointed for every ship 30 *Minæ* a moneth, it being in the power of the *Lacedæmonians* to furnish out as few, or as many ships as they pleased; but afterwards he condescended to increase their pay to four *Oboli* a day: Moreover, he paid them all their Arrears, and gave them a moneths pay before-hand, which made them very chearfull, and ready for all duty.

Alcibiades returneth to *Athens.*

Lysander made Admiral by the *Lacedæmonians*, obtaineth pay of *Cyrus* for his Seamen.

Who refuseth to meddle with the *Athenians.*

Alcibiades going to speak with *Thrasybulus*, leaveth his Fleet with his Pilot, who fighteng with *Lysander*, contrary to his expresse command, is defeated & slain.

84. The *Athenians* were much troubled hereat, and sent also to *Cyrus* to obtain his favour, but could not be admitted, though *Tissaphernes* used all his interest in their behalf, relating, that his design had been according to the wise Counsel of *Alcibiades*, not to promote the Affairs of either, but to suffer them to destroy one another. *Alcibiades* understanding that *Thrasybulus* being gone from the *Hellespont* fortified *Phocæa*, went thither to speak with him, leaving the Fleet with *Antiochus* his Pilot, whom he commanded expresly not to fight, no, not although he were provoked to it, untill his return. But he being not at all used to command any thing except the Helm of a ship, could not bear his new power without making tryal of it, and with two Gallies went, and provoked *Lysander* in the Haven of *Ephesus* (where he was intent upon mending his Fleet consisting of 90 sayl) who first sent out some parti-

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particular ships against him; but the whole *Athenian* Fleet coming in to his aid, he was also forced to carry out his, and so ingaging with it, there ensued a sharp conflict upon uneven terms. For, the *Athenians* came on without order, and so within a short time were discomfited, *Antiochus* slain, and fifteen ships lost; the other returning back to *Samus*. *Alcibiades* returning within awhile, in great chase for what had hapned, went, and offered battel again to *Lysander*, but he contenting himself with his former victory would not stir, & not long after the *Lacedæmonians* took *Delphinium* and *Eion*, two Towns in *Thrace*. This losse was at *Athens* by *Thrasybulus* imputed to the neglect, and luxury of *Alcibiades*, who thereupon by the people was outed of his Command, and ten other Captains chosen for the management of the War, amongst whom was *Thrasybulus* himself, *Conon*, and *Pericles* the son of *Pericles* the Great. He then went and made War upon the *Thracians* that were not under the command of that King, and thereby enriched himself with great Treasure, having built a Castle for his security, called *Bisanthe*, in those parts. *Conon*, who at this time was Governour of *Antandrus*, *Phanisthanes* being assigned his Successor, according to the decree of the people, went to *Samus*, took *Thuria*, and made excursions into the Territories of the Enemy. So this year ended, in which the *Carthaginians* with a Fleet of 120 Gallies, and 120000 men invading *Sicily*, overthrew the *Agrigentines*, whom after a seven moneth's siege they also forced to a surrender.

For which *Alcibiades* is discarded.

An Eclypse of the Moon.

85. The year following wherein the Moon was Eclypsed in an evening (*April* the 25. some three hours after Sun-set, as the Astronomical Table demonstrates) and the old Temple of *Pallas* was burnt at *Athens*, *Pitæus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Callias Archon* at *Athens*, the 26th year of the War commencing, *Callicratidas* was sent from *Lacedæmon* as Successor to *Lysander*, whose time was now expired. He having furnished himself with money subdued *Methymna*, and charged *Conon* the *Athenian* General to depart out of those Coasts, and when he perceived him putting out to Sea, made after him, intending to stop his passage to *Samus*. He pursued him to the Haven of *Mitylene*, where he worsted him, took thirty of his ships, and then besieged him in the Town, from which he cut off all provisions. *Conon* sent out two Gallies to carry word hereof at *Athens*; one of which escaping clear from the Enemy, came thither with the news, whereupon relief was presently decreed to be sent. *Callicratidas* in the mean time overthrew *Diomedon*, who came to relieve *Conon* with twelve ships, ten whereof he took, but when he heard that the *Athenian* Fleet was now come to *Samus*, consisting in all of 150 sayl, he left *Eteonicus* with fifty ships to continue the siege, and with the other 120 betook himself to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbus* over against *Mitylene*, where he supped, and it hapned that the *Athenian* Fleet coming to *Arginusæ* (a place also over against *Lesbus*) supped there the same night. Here they fought the next morning a long, and earnest battel, wherein at length *Callicratidas* his ship being sunk, and he in it, his men began to flie towards *Chius* and *Phocæa*. The *Peloponnesians* lost 79 ships, and the *Athenians* 19. with most of the men in them.

Callicratidas succeeding *Lysander* defeateth, and besiegeth *Conon* in *Mitylene.*

The *Athenian* Generals overthrew *Callicratidas.*

86. The *Athenian* Generals resolved that *Theramenes*, *Thrasybulus*, and others, with 42 ships should hasten to such Vessels as were as good as lost, to preserve them and the men, and the rest should sayl to *Mitylene* against *Eteonicus*; but a vehement Tempest arising they were all hindred, and forced to continue in the same place, during which stay, *Eteonicus* having notice by a Pinnace how things went, told his men the clear contrary, with which artifice incouraging them to take the Sea, he escaped. It might have been expected that the ten Captains, who joyntly had the command in Chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, might have received great honour for such a victory: But they were instead hereof, by the especial endeavour of *Theramenes*, brought to judgement, for suffering many Citizens to perish in the broken, and sunken ships; whereas, as it was pretended, they might have saved them.

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They alleged justly for their excuse the Tempest which followed the fight; but after much canvasing, both in the Senate and Assembly of the people, the malice of *Theramenes* (who set persons on to make great lamentations for those that were dead) so far prevailed, together with the forgery of a certain fellow (who saying that he himself escaping in a Meal-Tub, had been intreated by those that were in peril of drowning, to desire the people to revenge their death against the Captains) that against the form of Law (contrary to which *Socrates* the Philosopher onely refolutely refused to act as one of the *Prytanes*) eight of them were condemned, and six being present were put to death; amongst whom was *Pericles* the son of *Pericles*. Those that were absent escaped, the heady multitude quickly repenting of their rashnesse, and the accusers of them were bound over to answer what they had done. Afterwards a sedition being raised, wherein *Cleophon* was slain, they took the opportunity and fled; but *Callixenus* one of the most faulty returning to the Citie, and hated of all men, was famished to death.

And for that 8 are rewarded with a sentence of death executed upon six of them there present, amongst whom *Pericles*, the son of *Pericles*.

87. The Soldiers of *Eteonicus* wintring in the Island *Chius*, where they wanted both victuals and clothes, most of them conspired together to seize upon the Citie *Chius*, to which whosoever agreed was to wear a Reed as a distinction. He having notice of it, was sensible what ill will, disgrace, and damage it would bring upon him if it proceeded, and fearing his own life, he boldly killed one of the Soldiers, whom he met with the Reed upon him, and being asked the reason of it, said as boldly, it was for wearing that mark of Sedition, whereat the rest were so daunted that they for fear cast away their Reeds, and so the plot was broken in pieces. Then received he money of the *Chians*, and gave them a moneths pay, and taking no further notice of the plot, encouraged them with fair words, and promises, and so sayled away. *Xenoph. lib. 2.*

After this the Allies met together at *Ephesus* to consult about their affairs, where it was agreed, that ten men should be sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire that *Lysander* might be sent back to the Fleet, of whose abilities they had already sufficient proof. By the Laws of *Sparta* he could not be twice General, and therefore they found out a middle way, to appoint *Aracus* to that place, and send him as his Lieutenant. Five and twenty ships were then delivered to *Lysander*, at the end of the 26th year of the War, wherein *Cyrus* killed his two Cousins *Autobasaces* and *Mitraus*, because they had not given him the honour due to Kings of *Persia*, by holding their hands within their clothes when they came to him. For this he was accused to his father, who upon pretence of sickness sent for him to come to him.

Lysander is sent for by the Allies to resume the Government of the Fleet.

88. The year following wherein *Archytas* was *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Alexias Archon* at *Athens*, *Lysander* gathering his Navy together, went to *Cyrus* for money, which being obtained with some difficulty he paid his Soldiers and Sea-men their Arrears. At *Samus* also the *Athenians* provided for fighting; where in the mean time came a Message to *Cyrus* from his father, who now being sick desired to see him, although at this time the King lay incamped against the *Thamneri* of *Media*, Neighbours to the *Cadusians*, who had revolted. *Cyrus* hereupon sent for *Lysander*, and consulting with him about the War, desired him not to fight the *Athenians*, except he were matched them in number of men, told him his father and he were able enough to encrease the Fleet upon occasion, and to bind him and the state of *Sparta* to him, he gave him all the Revenues he had in those parts, with all the ready money, and so took his journey. *Lysander* neither daring to fight the Enemy with so few ships, nor to be idle with so many, subdued some places, and having given *Agis* a visit in *Attica*, sayled unto the *Hellespont*, which finding clear, he besieged *Lampsacus*, and took it. The *Athenian* Fleet, which consisted of 180 Gallies, hearing of this, came from the *Cherronesus* to *Sestus*, and thence sayled to *Ægospotamos*, a River over against *Lampsacus*, the *Hellespont* at this place being not two miles broad. *Lysander* contained his men in great order, and refused to fight without an advantage, which was at length given him by the *Athenians*, who braved him, but were in continual disorder, carelesly running up and down, insomuch that *Alcibiades* having

Idem ibid. Corn. Nepos & in Plutarch. in Lysand. & in Alcibiad.

The *Athenian* Fleet quite defeated at *Ægospotamos* by *Lysander*.

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ving notice of it, came and advised the Captains to look better to themselves, but returned with no other recompence than bad words. But *Lysander* keeping diligent watch upon them, observed his time when they were most of them landed, some eating and drinking, others looking for victuals, and others wandring up and down, and setting upon the Fleet easily became Master of it all without any opposition, except eight, wherewith *Conon* fled into *Cyprus* unto *Evagoras* the King, knowing how bad entertainment he should have at home.

89. Such *Athenians* as had confusedly got into their ships were slain or taken, and those that were yet on Land by the Land Forces, which *Lysander* had in a readinesse for that purpose. He took 3000 men, with the Captains and all the ships, except those eight of *Conon*, and a Packe-Boat, which tacking to his own ships, with the sound of Pipes and the *pæan* sung, he returned in triumph unto *Lampsacus*. Then called he the allies together to consider what was to be done with the prisoners. Many crimes were objected against them, as that they had done many unjust things, and now had determined, if they had got the Victory, to cut off the right hands of the *Peloponnesians* (or the thumbs rather, as *Plutarch* hath it, of their right hands, that they might never be able more to handle spears, but row with oares) and having taken the two Gallies of *Andrus* and *Corinth* to cast headlong all the men into the Sea; the perswader to this being *Philocles*. Hereupon it was resolved, that they should all be put to death, except *Adimantus* who had withstood the Decree of cutting off the hands, which sentence was accordingly executed. *Lysander* then sailing about to the Cities under the *Athenian* power, dismissed the Garrison Soldiers and all others he found, with charge to get them to *Athens* under pain of death, which crafty policy he used to fill the City with men, that it might not be able long to endure a Siege for want of *Victuals*. When they of the City heard the news, they were affected accordingly, bewailing not onely the fortune of the slain, but their own also, expecting now that should be done to themselves, which heretofore they had done to the *Melians*, a Colony of *Sparta*, and to the *Histiæans*, *Scionæans*, *Toronæans*, *Ægineans*, and many other *Greek* Cities, not in way of revenge for any injury, but out of indulgence to their own lust; for that they rejoyced in other mens miseries. Yet as grief would give way to prudence, they took care for fortifying the City against a Siege, in which they could not look for any assistance from elsewhere, all their Confederates, except the *Samians*, having forsaken them, and such as they had banished from their dwellings being again restored to those places which they had filled with Colonies of their own.

A consultation what is to be done with the prisoners.

All of them put to death except *Adimantus*.

90. *Lysander* having taken away *Democracy*, brought in the power of a few into all the Cities. Herein he dealt with much cruelty and ambition, (putting in such men onely as were his creatures, that he might obtain an unlimited power or Tyranny over all *Greece*) and sending for Land forces from *Sparta*, he besieged *Athens* both by Sea and Land. The *Athenians* continued so resolute for a long time, that till many were already dead of famine, not a word was heard of asking Peace. Then Ambassadors were sent to *Agis* the *Spartan* King about it, who referred them to *Sparta*, having as he said no commission to entertain their overtures. Thither then they went, offering, that they might gain the friendship of *Lacedæmon*, to part with all places besides the City and *Piræus*, where they would retain the Fortifications; but they had for answer, that if they seriously desired peace, they must repair home, and not return till they had better advised of the matter. Hereat the *Athenians* were much abashed, thinking now of nothing but servitude; none daring to propose the demolishing of the walls; for the *Lacedæmonians* having offered them Peace upon these terms, *Archestratus* for advising them to embrace it, was imprisoned, and it was decreed that it should be unlawful to mention it for the time to come. *Theramenes* then procured to be sent to *Lysander* to get out what his intention was, whether to enslave them, or to have the walls demolished, and thence he returned not till the fourth moneth, that in this time they might be constrained to resolve of something. At his return,

Lysander besiegeth *Athens* both by Sea and Land;

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return, he said he could get no other answer, but that they must send again to *Sparta*; and thereby he procured himself and others to be sent with full authority for concluding a Peace.

91. The Ambassadors of the Confederates being assembled at *Sparta*, many of them, especially the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, urged that no composition was to be made with them, but that *Athens* should be destroyed; but the *Spartans* would not give way to it, saying, it was not their intention to destroy a City, which in the greatest dangers of *Greece* had done the greatest things for it's deliverance. They then without much delay made peace with them upon these terms: *That the long walls and the fortifications of the Piræus should be demolished; that they should deliver up all their ships except twelve, receive their exiles, follow the Lacedæmonians both by Sea and Land in the Wars, and have the same Friends and Enemies with them.* Some at the return of the Ambassadors would have refused these terms; but the far major part siding with *Theramenes* accepted of them. *Lysander* then seized upon the ships, and the walls, upon the sixteenth day of the moneth *Munichion* (on which they had formerly overthrown the *Persians* at *Salamine*) and went about to alter the Government, which the People strongly resisted, insomuch that he sent back to *Sparta* to complain of them, saying, they had broken the League, in that their walls were not demolished; and though no worse thing was yet decreed against them though pressed by some, yet this made them willing to receive any thing. Then sent he for all the Pipers out of the City, to whom joyning those in his own Camp, at the noise of their instruments he caused the walls to be demolished, and the Gallies to be burnt, the Confederates making great solemnity, as if that day gave beginning to the liberty of *Greece*. Herewith, the 27th year, and the War it self ended, which being carried on for so long a time with most various fortune, dubious and inconstant events, with infinite charges, all sorts of contests, and the ruine of so many Captains, as had not perished in all the Wars of *Greece* besides, was finished by the politick industry of one man, whom some thought thereupon they could not sufficiently admire, in the 78oth year after the end of that of *Troy*, in the fourth of the 93d *Olympiad*, the nineteenth of *Darius Nothus* (who died presently after the conclusion of the Peace) A. M. 3600.

Which yieldeth.

The walls demolished, and the Gallies burnt.

A. M. 3600. *Ol.* 93. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 349. *Darii Nothi* 19. *Belli Pelop.* 27.

SECT. IV.

From the end of the Peloponnesian *War to the beginning of the reign of* Philip *King of* Macedonia, *containing the space of* 44 *years.*

1. THe year following being that wherein the 94th *Olympiad* was celebrated, in the course of which *Crocinas* the *Thessalian* got the prize, *Endicus* was *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Pythadorus Archon* at *Athens*, whom yet the *Athenians* did not so account, because that the *Oligarchy* being brought in this year, they esteemed it as *anarchical*. As soon as the long walls and the *Piræus* were demolished by the command of *Lysander*, thirty men were chosen to make Lavvs, by vvhich the Commonvvealth might be governed. After their creation and investiture in the povver, they deferred both to publish or vvrite the Lavvs; but constituted the Senate and other Magistrates at their pleasure. Then, first, they laid hold of all such as had under the *Democracy* lived by informing, and false accusing of others, vvhich vvas not displeasing to honest men. So that those being condemned by the Senate, they vvere put to death. But aftervvards they began seriously to lay their heads together, hovv they might make themselves Masters of all. They sent *Æschines* and *Aristotle* tvvo of their company to *Sparta* to desire a Garrison for the better government of the City, till they had taken out of the vvay all naughty persons, and had setled the Commonvvealth, promising themselves to

Xenoph. ut prius.

The 30 Tyrants at *Athens.*

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to pay the Soldiers. *Lysander* being made use of procured vvhat they desired, and *Callibius* vvas sent as *Harmostes* unto *Athens*, vvhom they so flattered, that they brought him to consent to vvhatsoever they should act. Novv then they fell upon, not onely naughty and dissolute persons, but on the best, vvhosoever they thought ill affected, and would endeavour to stop their proceedings. *Theramenes* one of them protested against this cruelty, and added, that it was impossible their power should continue in that State without a sufficient company to assist them. Hereupon they fearing him, lest he should make himself Captain of the discontented, which was almost the whole City, chose out of the Citizens 3000 which they thought meetest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the power, with this privilege, that none of them should be put to death without the consent of the Senate; all the rest of the People being left to the discretion of the thirty, whom they also disarmed at a general muster.

2. Now thinking themselves secure enough, they filled all places with murders, not onely of their private Enemies, but such whose wealth might enrich them, of which they were excessive greedy; and to this purpose they agreed, that every one should name one man whom he would put to death for to seize upon his goods. *Theramenes* having disliked the election of the 3000, uttered now also his detestation of this wickednesse, refusing himself to commit it. For this they were more jealous of him, fearing he might crosse their abhominable practices; and resolved upon his destruction; so that having provided a Company of young men with daggers to assist them, they called the Senate together, and therein *Critias* (his once familiar friend, but now his deadly Enemy, because the most cruel Tyrant of the thirty) bitterly accused him as a turbulent and unsetled man; being novv for the People, and another while against them; he objected against him the death of the six Captains procured by him, and concluded he vvas not a fit man to live in a Commonvvealth, especially so constituted. *Theramenes* replyed vvith undaunted courage, and gave satisfaction to the Senate, as *Critias* perceived by their muttering, vvho thereupon concluding, that if he escaped it vvould endanger his ovvn life, he consulted vvith his Companions, and then returning to the Senate, told them, that having first expunged his name out of the Catalogue of the 3000, and hereby he being subjected to their censure, they condemned him to death. *Theramenes* replied again, that his name was no more easy to be blotted out than any other mans, if consideration vvhereof, he advised them all to make his case their ovvn: but none daring to oppose, for that they knevv the men that were present to be privily armed, he was led away, and compelled to drink poyson, which he did with a resolute and gallant Spirit. After this the Tyrants, as being at liberty to do what they pleased, forbad all that were not contained in the Catalogue, to come into the City, from which they expelled them and the borders, that they and their Associates might enjoy their Lands. The Citizens betook themselves to the *Piræus*, but being thence also expelled, they filled *Megara* and *Thebes* with their multitudes.

Fill all places with murders and rapine.

Theramenes one of them, for detesting their wickednesse, is put to death.

3. This banishment of the *Athenians* procured their liberty. For, now they entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives for the freedom of their Country; seeing that now what would have been treason at home, would have no danger abroad, but such as might be found in the execution. First *Thrasybulus* who was then at *Thebes*, with but * thirty in his company, seized upon *Phyla*, a Castle in the Territories of *Athens*; which the Tyrants understanding, endeavoured to recover, but to no purpose; for he having gotten to him within a while 700 men, put to flight the Garrison Soldiers of *Sparta*, whom they had set to watch two miles off from the Castle, killing of them about 120 men. Herewith the Tyrants were something discouraged, but thinking it best to get *Eleusine* into their power, they went thither, and perceiving the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms to go out at the gates, that they might onely as they pretended take the number of their heads, most wickedly murdered them. After this *Thrasybulus* with 1000 men

** Corn. Nepos in Thrasybulo.*

Thrasybulus oppoſeth the Tyrants.

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men seized upon the *Piræus*, against whom, though the Tyrants came out with their whole power, yet he obtained the victory against them, killing 70, and what more, *Critias* the Arch Tyrant, with *Hippomachus* one of his Collegues, and *Charmides* one of the ten Captains which had been placed over the *Piræus*. When the slain were delivered up to be buried, and thereupon both parties met, *Cleocritus* a Cryer belonging to the Priests, and a man famous for his loud and audible voice, expostulated with those who sided with the Tyrants for expelling them their fellow Citizens, educated together, partakers heretofore of the same things, sacred and prophane, prosperous and adverse, and all for to satisfie the lust of those Monsters, who had kindled such a flame as had already consumed more than the *Peloponnesian* War did in ten years. His speech produced such effect, that the 3000 fell at difference amongst themselves; such as had been bufied in the destruction of other men, together with the Tyrants, vehemently contended that nothing was to be granted to them in the *Piræus*; but those that were confident in their own innocence, crying out, there was no reason that they should obey the will and pleasure of the thirty, and suffer the Citie to perish, *prevailed* against them. Then was the power of the thirty abrogated, and ten chosen into their room, one out of very Tribe, after which they quitted the Citie, and retired to *Eleusine*.

Their power is abrogated.

4. Notwithstanding the change of the Government, yet there was no accord betwixt them in the *Piræus* and those in the Town, but several acts of Hostility they committed against one another. At length the 3000 in the Town, and the Tyrants of *Eleusine*, sent to *Sparta* to desire aid against the other, saying, that the people revolted from the *Lacedæmonians*; and *Lysander* procured them 100 Talents to be sent out of hand, himself ordered to go General to assist them, and his brother *Libys* General of the Fleet. Then besieged he the *Piræus*, both by Land and Sea, and sorely straightned them; but *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King thinking much that he should get the glory of Conquering *Athens* the second time, which he would make as his own, he perswaded the *Ephori* to give way, that he should follow him with another Army, under pretence of assisting him; upon which account the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians* amongst the Confederates refused to follow him, alleging they should break their Oaths by fighting against them, who had done nothing prejudicial to the peace. This they did, concluding that the *Lacedæmonians* would lay the Territories of *Athens* to their own demains. *Pausanias*, after his arrival, sent to them in the *Piræus* to bid them depart, and they refusing it, for a colour to his designs, he lead his Forces against them. But returning without any thing performed, he went to view the Walls the next day, at which time they sallied out upon him, and still fresh supplies coming in on both sides, wrought, and received considerable damage.

They send for aid from *Sparta*.

Lysander is sent and besiegeth *Thrasybulus*, and his fellows in the *Piræus*.

5. Yet for all this he underhand sent unto them about a composure, and instructed them what they should offer. They obeyed him, and he perswaded also those in the Citie to end the controversie, that both might become friends to the *Lacedæmonians*. The two *Ephori* present with him (for two used always to accompany the *Spartan* Kings in their expeditions) inclined to his opinion, rather than to the severity of *Lysander*, and so accordingly they sent Ambassadors from both parties to *Lacedæmon* about an agreement. The *Lacedæmonians* after audience presently dispatched ten Commissioners with them back to *Athens*, who, together with *Pausanias*, might make an agreement. They presently composed all on these terms: *That all should return home to their own habitations, except the* 30. *and the* 10. *and* 11 *men which had commanded in the* Piræus: *and if any feared the people they might remove to* Eleusine. These things being done, *Pausanias* drew off the *Spartan* Army, and those that were in the *Piræus* went up with their Arms into the Citie, and there sacrified to *Minerva*. Then by the perswasion of *Thrasybulus* the popular Government was restored, and all things ordered as in former times. A little after it being heard that they in *Eleusine* hired Soldiers abroad, attempting new matters, the whole Citie rose against them, took

But *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King emulating *Lysander* taketh up the matter.

The popular Government restored.

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took their Captains as they came to parley, and slew them: the rest by their friends sent to them were perswaded to agree. Then passed a general Act of Oblivion for all that was past, confirmed by an Oath, to keep which they being very carefull, even yet saith *Xenophon*, joyntly manage the affairs of the Commonwealth. By which wise order the Citie returned to its former quietnesse, upon this Sedition raised by the 30 Tyrants, who being created by a Decree of the *Senate*, as * another saith, put to death 1400 Citizens unheard, and forced more than 5000 to fly into the *Piræus*.

Isocrates in Areopagit.

6. But this Tyranny of the 30. not onely produced the dest uction of many in the Town, but of *Alcibiades* also then living in *Asia* with *Pharnabazus*, whom he intended to make use of to bring him to the King, hoping he might deserve no worse of that Prince than *Themistocles* had done of his Predecessor. When the *Athenians* were deprived of their liberty by the means of *Lysander*, and the Tyranny of the 30. they then began again to repent of what they had done to him, judging that if he had been yet at the Helm, they should never have made shipwrack of their liberty, and still their confidence was in him, and thought their cause was not utterly desperate as long as he was safe. The Tyrants also were jealous of him, procuring all the intelligence they could concerning all his actions, and at length *Critias* remonstrated to *Lysander*, that things could not stand as they did long, if he lived, who yet was nothing perswided to procure his death, till he received a *Scytala* from the Magistrates at *Sparta*, who either feared his great abilities, or did it to gratifie *Agis*, to remove him by some means out of the way. He sent to *Pharnabazus*, requiring him to dispatch him, who enjoyned his brother *Magæus*, and his Uncle *Susamithres* to be his Executioners: They coming to the Village in *Phrygia* where he lived, durst not enter his house, but compassing it about set it on fire. He perceiving what was done, took some Clothes, and casting them into the fire, which keeping down the flame for some space, he brake out, whereupon the Barbarians fled, not daring to stand to him, but at a distance killed him with Darts, after which his body was burnt (with that matter that was prepared to consume him alive) by the care of his Paramour *Timandra*, the Mother of *Lais* the famous *Corinthian* Courtisan. Thus he died in the flour of his age, scarce exceeding fourty years, a man very beautifull, of most excellent parts, fit for any imployment, able to accommodate himself to all, both times and customs, though never so repugnant, and therein yet esteemed also to excell. *Socrates* upon him exercised the true *Platonick* love, labouring to infuse such virtue into him as might make him truely lovely; but such were his temptations, and inclination, that counterpoising the instructions, nature in this man seemed to try what she could do; it being agreed by all, saith * one who wrote of him, that none was ever more eminent, both for vice and virtue.

Plutarch in Alcibiad. & Corn. Nepos.

The thirty Tyrants procured *Alcibiades* to be made away.

* *Corn. Nepos.*

7. After these things *Cyrus* made War upon his brother *Artaxerxes*, as hath been said elsewhere, at what time he sent to *Lacedæmon*, demanding a return for his kindnesses shewed to them, who thinking it most just, sent their Admiral to keep in play *Syennesis* the *Satrapa* of *Cilicia*, till he passed that Countrey. After his overthrow, *Tissaphernes* his greatest Enemy, being a most insolent man before, now grew more haughty (after the King had laid the Province of *Cyrus* to his *Satrapie*) and began to be more troublesome to the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*. They sent to complain hereof at *Sparta*, which State sent to their relief *Thimbron* with an Army of 1000 new raised Soldiers out of *Laconia*, 4000 Foot of *Peloponnesus*, and 300 Horse from *Athens*, which the Citie willingly parted with all, with no good prosperity wished to their persons, for that they had been in the service of the thirty Tyrants. What he did in *Asia*, and how he returned home after *Dercyllidas* was sent to succeed him, and was banished upon complaint of the Confederates, is related in the Affairs of *Asia*. At the same time as *Dercyllidas* managed the War beyond the Seas, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans* reviving their old grudges and complaints, broke out into another War, which was begun by the

Xenoph. lib. 3.

Thimbro sent into *Asia*.

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Lacedæmonians at the instance of the *Ephori*. They sent out *Agis* their King, who led an Army into the Territories of the *Eleans*; but an Earth-quake happning at his first entrance, which was counted ominous, he returned without any thing at all performed. The year after, he undertook another expedition, the *Athenians*, and all the other Confederates, except the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, following him, wherein he sorely afflicted all the Countrey, sparing the Citie *Elis* it self, and though he retreated, yet the Garrison he left behind him, continuing these depredations all the next Summer, and the Winter following, the next Summer the *Eleans* were constrained to receive such conditions as their Enemies would give them. The Wall about *Patræ* was demolished, *Cyllene* relinquished, five Towns delivered into the hands of the *Spartans*, and three to the *Arcadians*; the management of the Affairs of the Temple belonging to *Jupiter Olympius* being onely left remaining to them.

8. Not long after these things *Agis* died, having fallen sick in his return from *Delphos*. He had born to him by his wife *Timæa*, a son called *Leutychides*, but conceived at that time when *Alcibiades* sojourned at *Sparta*, by whom there were great presumptions that he was begotten. He had not been with his wife of ten moneths before the Child was born; *Timæa* her self was wont when she would play with it to call it *Alcibiades* more commonly than *Leutychides*, as was acknowledged by her maids; and neither did *Alcibiades* himself forbear to acknowledge that he had to do with her, saying, it was not out of any carnal affection, but out of a desire that those who should proceed from him might reign at *Lacedæmon*; upon these grounds *Agis* owned not *Leutychides* for his son, but told the *Ephori* he was none of his, divorcing also his Mother; but when he lay sick, having no Children, and moved by his prayers and tears, he owned him for his son before many witnesses. After his death a great contention insued about the succession betwixt *Leutychides* and *Agesilaus* brother to *Agis*, a man lame of one foot, but of a most noble and valiant disposition. *Agesilaus* was bred after the ordinary strict way, as not having expected the Kingdom being a younger brother, and yet was in great favour with the people, and pressing the illegitimation of his adversary had their ear; but one thing they much stuck at, which was an old Prophecie much urged by *Diophites* their Prophet, that *it should go very hard with* Sparta *when it should have a lame King*. Yet *Lysander*, who had taken a great affection to him, answered, that by a lame King was not meant lame of a foot, which could be no hinderance to virtue, but one of spurious extraction; and herewith, and by his private interest, procured the sentence to passe for *Agesilaus*.

Idem. ibid. Corn. Nepos, & Plutarch. in Agesilao, & Lysandro. Xenoph. in Orat. de laudibus Agesil.

A contention betwixt *Leutychides* and *Agesilaus* for the Spartan Kingdom.

Agesilaus carrieth it, by the means of *Lysander*.

9. *Agesilaus* had not been a year in his Office, before that being to sacrifize for his Countrey according to the custom, the entrails of the beast three times did not permit it, which being viewed by the Prophet, he foretold that a grievous conspiracy was hatched against him, and all Magistrates, both in Town and Countrey. Five dayes after this a notable conspiracy indeed was disclosed to the *Ephori* by one of the Complices, the head of which was *Cinadon*. They presently referring it to the *Senate*, it was thought fit that he should be sent out of the Citie, under pretence of some employment, and that some should go after him to make him reveal his fellows, which accordingly was done, and an ignominious death was executed upon them. After the execution *Herodus* of *Syracuse* came with news out of *Phœnicia*, that a Fleet of 300 Gallies was prepared by *Tissaphernes*, and the King, but upon what design was not known. The *Lacedæmonians* moved at this, called the Deputies of their Confederates to *Sparta* to consult about it. Now *Lysander* had a great mind to return into *Asia*, desirous to relieve those his friends, who being by him placed in the Government of the Cities, ten in a place, were for their violence and great misdemeanours, either killed, or driven into banishment. He therefore perswaded *Agesilaus* to undertake so noble and pious an expedition, and wrote to his friends in *Asia*, to desire of the State that he might be sent. Being perswaded, he offered his service on condition they

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He is sent into *Asia* by the same means.

they would grant him thirty Assistants, by whose directions and advice he might manage the War; with 2000 choice men newly to be raised, and 6000 of the Confederates: These were all decreed to him by the dealing of *Lysander*, who procured himself to be sent as chief of the thirty, to which place he might well pretend for the great glory of his atchievements, and his friendship to *Agesilaus*, whom as he judged he had more obliged by procuring this employment, than by the former courtesie of preferring him to the Kingdom. A.M. 3608. Ol. 95. an. 4 V. C. 357. Artaxerxis Mnemon. 8.

10. Having his Army and Provisions in a readinesse, he marched to *Aulis*, that thence, after the example of *Agamemnon*, he might passe over into *Asia*; but going about to sacrifize a Doe to the Goddesse, with which he thought she would be better pleased than she was with *Agamemnon* for his daughter, he was hindred by the *Bœotians* from doing that which was contrary to their custom, and was constrained in a great chase to passe over without the Ceremony, the Omission of which he accounted as a bad presage. When he came to *Ephesus*, it appeared that he onely bore the name, and *Lysander* had all the credit and authority, all men making application to him, and observing him as a man of whom they had had former experience to exceed all men in earnestnesse to gratifie his friends, and destroy his Enemies.

Is Eclypsed by *Lysander*.

This much moved *Agesilaus*, though a man of a most mild spirit (who was famous for bearing with any thing) and troubled also his own Collegues, so that the King resolving to cut off his authority, rejected all the sutes he made for any, and plainly shewed that his design was to crosse him in all he attempted. *Lysander* hereupon told his friends how the case stood, that they must make no more addresses to himself, and being sensible of the disgrace expostulated with him about it, who let him understand that he could not endure to be overtopped by him; He then desired some imployment of him, wherein he might both save his own credit, and do him service, wherein he promised to be faithfull. He then sent him to the *Hellespont*, where finding *Spithridates* the *Persian* to be offended by *Pharnabazus*, he brought him over to him with a great Treasure, and 200 Horse, although hereafter it was found that he took very hainously the diminishing of his reputation.

11. *Agesilaus* in *Asia* prospered in the War to admiration, gaining great glory for his wisdom, valour, and courtesie, both at home and abroad; insomuch that the *Spartans*, in confidence of his abilities, and integrity, committed the Fleet also to his command, judging it most convenient for expedition, and that both the Armies might joyn the readilier upon occasion, that they should be in the hands of one man whom they could trust. But in this one thing he is accounted to have erred, in that not having respect to the publick good, he passed by many far more Eminent for prudence and gravity, and pitched upon *Pisander*, his wives brother (a man very bold, but meanly practised in businesse) for his Admiral. As he was going towards the Fleet, and *Agesilaus* marching for *Phrygia*, *Tithraustes* (who having cut off the head of *Tissaphernes* had succeeded in his place) considering in how great danger his masters affairs stood, sent *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* with much *Persian* Gold into *Greece*, wherewith to corrupt the principal men in the Cities, and procure them to make War against the *Lacedæmonians*. This was effected at *Thebes* and *Argos*; and the *Athenians*, though they had no Gold, yet were very ready to imbrace the War, believing that therein they should have the Chief command. Those that were corrupted then grievously inveighing against the *Lacedæmonians*, procured that the chief Cities entred into a Combination against them. The *Thebans* knowing that they would not begin the War except first provoked, took occasion to do it by the *Locrian Opuntians*, whom they procured to quarrel with the *Phocians*, and their other Neighbours, about some grounds in question amongst them, concluding, that thereupon the *Phocians* would break into *Locris*. They did so, and did more hurt than they had received; whereupon *Audocides*, who had received much Gold, procured the *Thebans* to assist the *Locrians*. The *Thebans* then in-

Tithraustes by Gold sent into *Greece*, corrupteth the States to War against *Lacedæmon*.

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vaded *Phocis*, which they wasted, and presently did the *Phocians* send to *Lacedæmon* to desire aid, shewing that they had not been the beginners of the War.

12. The *Lacedæmonians* not unwillingly imbraced this occasion of falling out with the *Thebans*, to whom they bore many grudges. They exacted the tenth part assigned to *Apollo* at *Decelea*, refused to make War against the *Piræus*, perswading also the *Corinthians*, as they judged, to do the same; they remembred also how they had forbidden *Agesilaus* to sacrifize, casting the sacrifice from off the Altar, and would not follow him into *Asia*. They resolved now that they had no War in *Greece*, and that their affairs were in so good a condition in *Asia*, to curb their insolence. *Lysander* was then dispatched to *Phocis*, where he should gather the Forces of the Confederates together, and stay for *Pausanias* the King, who was to bring the Forces of *Sparta* and the rest of the associates to *Haliartus*. He marching into *Bœotia* drew *Orchomenus* from the league of *Thebes*, and impatient of delay tarried not for *Pausanias*, who hovered about *Tegæa*, but went with such Forces as he had already to *Haliartus*, which he summoned, but in vain, the *Thebans* who already were in the City hindring the surrender. Upon refusal he led his men to the walls, and they of *Thebes* upon notice hereof halted out of their City to help their friends, and falling upon *Lysander* (whether aware of their coming or not is uncertain) slew him in the place, and routed his Forces, of which were slain 1000 men, and of the *Thebans* 300. This was the end of *Lysander*, which he partly brought upon himself by his eagerness to make this Expedition, being in his old age fallen into melancholy, which rendred him more pevish than usual. He left a great name behind him, but purchased rather by his good successe than Virtue. He would neither spare for cruelty nor falsehood to compasse his designs, taking no estimate of any thing by any balance but that of profit. He scoffed at such as said, that those who were descended of *Hercules* (amongst which he was reckoned, though not of the royal families) ought to manage Wars without deceit, saying, that *where the Lyon's skin would not serve, the Foxes was to be sowed to it.* A design of his was discovered after his death, whereby he intended to have taken the Regal power out of the two families, and have made them common to all in general. To this purpose a writing was found containing a speech he intended to offer to the People; which *Agesilaus* would have published, that it might have been seen what kind of Commonwealths-man he was; but was disswaded by *Lacratidas* chief of the *Ephori*, who said, that *Lysander* was not to be digged up again, but rather that speech to be buried with him. Notwithstanding his ambition, yet he died poor, which rendred him the more famous, so that to do honour to his memory the *Spartans* imposed a mulct upon certain Citizens, who being contracted with his Daughters before his death, afterwards when his poverty appeared, refused to marry them.

Xenoph. ut supra.

Corn. Nepos & Plutarch in Lysandro.

Lysander slain.

His character.

13. The *Thebans* having lost so many men in the late fight, thought they had but small cause to triumph, counting their losse equal with that of the Enemy. The day after, when they understood that the *Phocians* and others had retreated, they took more courage; but again, when they perceived *Pausanias* to draw near, they esteemed themselves in no small danger. Yet the day following the *Athenians* joyning themselves to them, and *Pausanias* not moving forwards, they then had no small confidence in the goodnesse of their Fortune. *Pausanias* being doubtful what to do, called a council of the confederates to consult, whether he had best by main force or by truce recover the body of *Lysander*, who for that it lay near the Town walls, and it was very dangerous to fetch it off by strong hand, concluded a truce was to be desired; and the rather, for that the *Corinthians* refused to joyn with them, and the Enemy had good store of Horse which they wanted. The *Thebans* refused to give up the dead bodies, except the *Lacedæmonians* would ingage to depart out of *Bœotia*, and therefore to their great grief they were constrained to do it, and in their retreat the *Thebans* grown very insolent, killed such as staid behind never so little in the Villages. The Expedition was unfortunate to the

Pausanias sentenced to die.

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accused capitally for not meeting *Lysander* in convenient time, according to agreement, for that he had not by fight but truce recovered the slain, and dismissed such *Athenians* as had been taken in the *Piræus*; and lastly, had not appeared at his tryal. Being condemned he fled to *Tegea*, where afterwards he fell sick and died.

14. The *Lacedæmonians* awakened by their losse, and now knowing for certain that money had been sent out of *Asia* to the several Cities, which had moved them to take arms, they thought themselves in some danger, and recalled *Agesilaus* to defend his Country. He having had successe in the War suitable to his Military skill and valour, was now gathering of greater Forces, wherewith he intended to march into the higher Countries against the King himself; but notwithstanding this, and that it troubled him to leave *Asia*, yet he resolved to obey, acknowledging in his letter to the *Ephori*, that then a General truly and justly commands, when he is governed by the Lavvs and Magistrates, upon vvhich account he said, he vvould followv the letter, if not prevent it (seeing they had set him a day, and that he commanded not for himself but the City and Confederates) although he had subdued a great part of *Asia*, overthrovvn the *Barbarians*, and had made great preparations for the War in *Ionia*. He left *Euxenus* the *Harmostes* of *Asia* vvith a guard of 4000 Soldiers, but making all provision for his Country, drevv over many out of the Cities to the Service. Having passed the *Hellespont* into the *Chersonesse*, he held the same vvay that *Xerxes* formerly had done, vvhen in the mean time the *Ephori* and *Aristodemus* guardian to *Agesipolis* the young King, vvith an Army of 15000 overthrevv that of the Leaguers, consisting of 20000 (vvhereof 13000 bore heavy Armour) making great slaughter, though they lost no more than eight of their number. Care was taken that *Agesilaus* should have notice of this successe (with the Confederates in *Asia*) who grieved onely that *Greece* should destroy so many of it's own Worthies. As he passed through *Thrace*, he would not ask any of the *Barbarians* leave to go through their Countries; but onely sent to know whether he should passe as a Friend or an Enemy. All friendly received and conducted him, except the *Thralles*, who having formerly sold the passage to *Xerxes*, now also demanded of him 100 Talents, and as many women. He jeered at them, asking why they came not to receive what was demanded? and going forwards made great slaughter of them. The King of *Macedonia*, when he asked the question of him, said he would consider of it; so let him, said he; but in the mean time we will proceed in our journy, which boldnesse so awed the King, that he suffered him to passe quietly.

Xenoph. lib. 4. Plutarch in Agesilao, & Apothegmat. Xenoph. in Orat. de laudibus Agesilai.

Agesilaus recalled out of *Asia*.

15. Having passed through *Thessalie* notwithstanding all opposition, by order of the *Ephori* he invaded *Bœotia*, judging alwaies obedience best, though he could have wished, and had intended first to have been better provided. As he invaded *Bœotia* the Sun was eclypsed (*August* 24 according to the Astronomical Table) and he received the news of the overthrow of *Pisander* upon the Coasts of *Asia* by *Pharnabazus*, and *Conon* the *Athenian*, who being for his skil in Sea-matters in great request with the *Persian*, improved his interest for the restitution of the Fortune of his Country. Upon this report he put on a good countenance, lest he should discourage his men, telling them *Pisander* the Admiral was slain, but that his Fleet had obtained the Victory. But now in *Bœotia*, when he was come near to *Coronea*, the Leaguers opposed themselves against him, being the *Bœotians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Ænianes*, and both the *Locrians*, with whom was fought such a battel as had not hapned in that Age. At the first onset *Agesilaus* had the better in one wing, but the *Thebans* in the other, and being in the pursute were forced to retire to help their friends, where he charging upon the Front of the *Thebans*, and not on the Rear, as he might have done, did great execution, and was wounded himself, notwithstanding the valour of his Guard, consisting of Fifty stour young-men, lately sent him from *Sparta* to do him honour. At length he had the better of it, and dis-

The Sun Eclypsed *August* 24. and *Agesilaus* invadeth *Bœotia*. Where he obtaineth a Victory against the Leaguers.

missed

Sect. 4. missed un-hurt 80 of the Enemies, who had taken Sanctuary near hand, after which he went to *Delphos*, and consecrated the tenth of his spoils, which amounted to no lesse than 100 Talents. In the mean time *Gylus* the *Polemarchus* brake out into *Locris*, where the Soldiers beeing greedy of plunder, were fallen upon by the Inhabitants, whom though they repelled at first, yet night coming on they were so intangled, that *Gylus* himself and very many others were slain, and all of them had been lost, but that the Alarm being taken by the Camp, relief was thence sent to them. After this, the Soldiers were dismissed to their several homes, and *Agesilaus* went by ship to *Sparta*. Yet notwithstanding the War continued, the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, *Argives*, and their Confederates, making excursions from *Corinth*, which they had made the seat of Warre; and the *Lacedæmonians* with their allies from *Sicyon*.

16. The *Corinthians* considering that their grounds were wasted, and many of them slain, because of their being so near to the Enemy, but their Confederates free from these mischiefs, the most and best of them desired Peace, and began to consider of it amongst themselves. This being understood by the *Argives*, *Bœotians*, *Athenians*, and especially by such amongst themselves as had received the *Persian* Gold, and caused the War, they fearing *Corinth* would return again to the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent this, they resolved to massacre all such as were for the Peace. This they performed on a Festival, when most were got together, sparing none that took Sanctuary in religious places, so that most of the elder sort were killed, and the younger fled out of the City. Many of them, by the intreaty of their friends, and upon the Oath of the Magistrates, that they should be safe, returned home within a short time; but seeing plainly the City was in the way to ruine by the tyranny of those that governed, as that for *Corinth* it was to be called *Argos*, the Laws of which City they must be forced to receive; moreover being sensible that they had no more power at home than meer strangers, some of them resolved it was better, by attempting the freedom of their Countrey, to die in the quarrel, if it should fall out, than to live in that slavish condition. In prosecution hereof they let in *Praxitas* Governour of *Sicyon* for the *Lacedæmonians* within the long walls, who having no great force with him, fortified himself as well as he might, which being understood at *Argos*, they flocked out thence to assist their friends, and the *Lacedæmonians* opposing themselves they came to a fight, wherein after much difficultie and various Fortune, the *Lacedæmonians* were conquerours, making great slaughter of their Enemies. This Victory was the more eminent, for that so small a number had vanquished such multitudes, after which, they put to the Sword a Garrison of *Bœotians*, which held the Haven called *Lechæus*.

Stirs at *Corinth.*

17. *Praxitas* pursuing his Victory, brake down part of the walls to make a passage for his men, and then going on in the way towards *Megara*, took two Towns, wherein he left a Garrison and departed, after which followed onely some light bickerings, till at length the *Lacedæmonians* issuing out of *Lechæus*, with their friends besieged *Corinth*, at which time the *Athenians* fearing they might passe the long walls and invade their territories, came out of the City with Masons and Workmen, and repaired that part which was towards them. The *Lacedæmonians* grudging that the *Argives* should flourish at home, and prosper abroad, sent *Agesilaus* with an Army against them, who laying waste all their Territories, brake through to *Corinth*, and took the walls which the *Athenians* had repaired, his Brother *Teleutias* Admiral, taking the ships and Arcenals upon the Gulf. Returning home, he was not long after sent out again, who when he came to *Corinth*, thought to have surprised it, but the Citizens aware of it, called in a Garrison of the *Athenians*, under the command of *Iphicrates*, and thereby prevented him. At this time Ambassadors came to him from several parts, and amongst the rest from *Bœotia*, to know what terms of Peace he would propound; but he carried himself so high, that he would take no notice of them; though *Pharax* interceded out of an inveterate grudge he bare towards the *Thebans*. But before

Agesilaus sent against the *Argives.*

Sect. 4. before their departure there came news that the party he had left in *Lechæus* was defeated by *Iphicrates*, at which unusual message being much affected he leaped out from his Throne, and in all haste went to relieve them, but in his way met with three Horse-men, who acquainted him how late his assistance would be. Hereupon he returned, and the next day sent for the Ambassadors to hear what they had to say; but they something incouraged at what had hapned, and minding to requite him for his disrespect, made then no mention of peace, but desired leave to go to *Corinth*.

18. He easily apprehending them, told them they should the next day see their friends in the Town rejoycing, and the defeat of his men, which was the true cause of their desire to go to *Corinth*, and accordingly waiting all about the Citie, went to the Walls, and having in vain provoked the Inhabitants to fight, marched to the *Lechæus* the place of the defeat, after which he dismissed the Ambassadors, not suffering them to go to *Corinth*. His Army now beholding with their eyes the monument of the late mischance, were sorely afflicted, having not at all been accustomed to such a sight, onely the Parents, Kindred, and relations of the slain, according to the *Laconian* custom seemed to rejoyce in the Calamity of their Countrey. Having re-inforced the Garrison of *Lechæus*, he returned home his men, shunning the light and sight of all men, out of shame for what had hapned in this expedition contrary to their former fortune. But *Iphicrates* after his departure, in confidence of his good successe proceeded, and reduced such places as had been taken by *Praxitas* & *Agesilaus*. After these things the *Achæans* being put to it by the *Acarnanians*, who endeavoured to wrest from them *Calydone*, a Town formerly belonging to the *Ætolians*, sent to *Lacedæmon*, and expostulated with them for not assisting them, who always were ready to follow them into all places. The State upon this complaint sent *Agesilaus* to aid them, who invading *Acarnania*, wasted the Countrey, made prey of most of their Cattel, and being opposed by them, was much put to it on the mountainous and precipitous places, by Darts and Arrows; but coming to hand-stroaks, they were presently put to flight, and 300 of them slain. Then consumed he all things with fire and sword, and attempted some Towns by the perswasion of the *Achæans*; but in vain. Now Autumn growing on, he could not be staid by their intreaties to prevent the *Acarnanians* from sowing their Corn, telling them they were not well advised in their requeste; for his intention being to return the next year, how much more Corn they should have upon the ground, by so much would they be the more desirous of peace.

Agesilaus sent to relieve the *Achæans.*

19. And according to his promise, the Winter being over, he returned, at the report whereof the *Athenians* seated in a mid-land Countrey, and thereupon more obnoxious to damage in their Corn, and in great danger of losing their Towns, made an agreement with the *Achæans*, and entred into a society of War with the *Spartans*. This War being over, the *Lacedæmonians* not thinking it safe to contend with the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, whilest the *Argives* were at their back, they resolved to send their Forces against them. The conduct of them falling to *Agesipolis*, the other King, he would not undertake it, till he had consulted both the Oracle of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, concerning the lawfulnesse of the War, because the *Argives* desired a Truce, but being satisfied therein, he invaded, and wasted their Territories; yet ere long terrified with divers prodigies, he retreated without any considerable thing done. In the mean time *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, having overthrown the *Lacedæmonians* in a Sea-fight at *Cnidus*, freed the *Greek* Cities from the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, which *Conon* suggested to the other as the onely way to make them his own, and not to attempt to deprive them of liberty, which would force them to combine against him, and thereby give him work enough. He attempted *Sestus* and *Abydus*; but *Dercyllidas* having secured them, he lost his labour, and gave order to *Conon* to procure a Navy from the Cities upon the *Hellespont* against the Spring, being much

Agesipolis the other King sent against the *Argives.*

Pharnabazus and *Conon* their acts against *Lacedæmon.*

SECT. 4. much incenſed againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and reſolving to invade their Dominions. At Spring he did ſo, and having ſtrengthened the Enemies of *Sparta*, as much as poſſible, he furniſhed *Conon* with a Fleet, and money to rebuild the long Walls of the *Piræus*, than which *Conon* perſwaded him he could not do any thing more ſuitable to his own intereſt involved in the damage of the *Lacedæmonians*, and gaining the good will of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* underſtanding that their own affairs muſt neceſſarily decline as much as thoſe of *Athens* were advanced, (notwithſtanding *Teleutias* brother to *Ageſilaus* had recovered the Soveraignty of the Gulf of *Corinth*) yet thought it neceſſary as much as in them lay to prevent it.

20. Leſt *Conon* ſhould again recover the Iſlands to the *Athenian* ſtate, they thought good to advertiſe *Teribazus*, another of the *Perſian Satrapaes*, hereof, hoping either to draw him to their party, or at leaſt to procure that no more furtherance ſhould be afforded to the deſign of *Conon*. To this purpoſe they ſent *Antalcidas* to him, to lay open theſe things, and to try what could be done with him about a peace, who according to his inſtructions, to gain it the more eaſily, fully left to his diſpoſal the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, provided thoſe without were but left to their own freedom. *Teribazus* liked well of this, but the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*, having alſo diſpatched away their Ambaſſadors upon report of his employment, refuſed to aſſent upon their own private intereſts. The *Athenians* feared, if the Iſlands ſhould be left to their own liberty, leſt they ſhould loſe *Lemnus*, *Imbrus*, and *Sciras*. The *Thebans*, leſt they ſhould be compelled to ſet at liberty the Cities of *Bœotia*, and the *Argives* concluded, that then they muſt lay aſide all thoughts of *Corinth*, which they had conceived great hopes to make their own. Their diſſention hindred *Teribazus* from concluding a peace with the *Lacedæmonians* without the Kings ſpecial Warrant, but underhand he ſupplied them with money to maintain their power at Sea, and committing *Conon* to cuſtody, went to the King to know his pleaſure.

Antalcidas ſent into *Aſia* by the propoſals of a peace to counter-work them.

21. The King upon his giving account how affairs ſtood, ſent *Struthas* to take care of the maritime affairs, who being ſenſible what damage *Ageſilaus* had done his maſter, was inclinable towards the *Athenians*, which being underſtood at *Lacedæmon*, they ſent *Thymbro* into *Aſia* to keep him in action, who at firſt ſorely afflicted the places ſubject to his command, but at length was ſlain, and his Forces defeated. At this time certain *Rhodians* being baniſhed by the people who had the power in their own hands, came to *Sparta*, and complained that the *Athenians* had brought the Iſland under their power by that kind of Government. The *Spartans* underſtood their intereſt in ſo powerfull an Iſland, and ſent *Ecdicus* with eight Gallies to revive, if poſſible, the *Oligarchy* which was agreeable to their own model; and in this Fleet they ordered him to convey *Diphridas* into *Aſia*, who was to gather up the Reliques of *Thymbro*'s Army, and renew the War againſt *Struthas*. He ordered his affairs very well, being a man fitter for the purpoſe than *Thymbro* was. But *Ecdicus* fearfull of the power of the people did nothing at *Rhodes*, into his room *Teleutias* was diſpatched, and with a Fleet of 27 Gallies did that for which he was ſent. The *Athenians* hearing of theſe motions ſent out *Thraſybulus* againſt the *Spartans*, who deſpairing of *Rhodes* went into the *Helleſpont*, where in *Thrace* he reconciled two Princes, *Odryſes* and *Seuthes*, and made them friends of the *Athenian* State. Departing thence, he recovered ſeveral Cities, and amongſt the reſt *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, whence going to the Iſland *Lesbus* (all the Towns whereof except *Mitylene* were joyned to the *Lacedæmonians*) he had good ſucceſſe, taking ſeveral places, and waſting the Territories of the other.

Thraſybulus ſent againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.

22. From *Lesbus* he ſayled victoriouſly unto *Rhodes*, where he obtained money from the Inhabitants of *Aſpendus*; but his men after the receit thereof dealing injuriouſly with them, they iſſued out in great anger, and killed him in his Tent. This is he, who if virtue be to be valued without fortune, one doubts whether he be not to be preferred before all others, ſeeing that for faithfulneſſe, conſtancy, greatneſſe of mind, and love towards his Countrey, no

Is ſlain. *Corn. Nepos.*

no man is to be preferred before him; and whereas it hapned rarely to any to free his Countrey from the ſlavery of one man, he did it from the Tyranny of thirty. But whereas no man excelled him in worth, many overtopped him in nobility, and hereupon it fell out, that though in the *Peloponneſian* War he doing many things of himſelf, *Alcibiades* did nothing without him, yet the eminency of that man eaſily ſwallowed the glory and profit of all archievements. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what he had done, and fearfull of what the friendſhip of *Pharnabazus* to the *Athenians* might produce, though they had nothing to ſay againſt *Dercyllidas*, yet ſent *Anaxibius* out to reſtore their fortune, who had prevailed with the *Ephori* for this employment, and promiſed great matters if he were but aſſiſted with money and ſhipping. They gave him three Gallies, and pay for 1000 men. He coming to *Abydus* skirmiſhed with *Pharnabazus*, and then getting three ſhips more, infeſted the *Athenians*. But the *Athenians* being ſollicitous for keeping what *Thraſybulus* had recovered, though they had nominated *Argyrius* to his place, yet now ſent *Iphicrates* with eight Gallies and 1200 men, who was lately returned from the *Corinthian* War. He ſetting upon *Anaxibius* whileſt he careleſly went abroad, ſlew him as he was going to *Abydus*, and with him twelve more Governours of Towns, and thence berook himſelf into the *Cherroneſus*.

SECT. 4.

23. At this time *Ægina* was withdrawn by *Eteonicus* from the *Athenians*, who thereupon beſieged it, but to no effect. At Sea both ſides as it were played the Pyrats with each other for ſome time: But *Telentias* being made General of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, fell in upon the Haven at *Athens*, where he took ſome Veſſels laden, with the men, and putting the Citizens into a great fright, in his return preyed upon the Coaſts, whence he took many Fiſher-boats with other booty, the places being not aware of any ſuch things. In the mean while *Antalcidas* the *Spartan* returned with *Teribazus* from the *Perſian* King, having concluded a League offenſive and defenſive with him, in caſe the *Athenians* and others would not conſent to their propoſals for a general peace. He coming to Sea took eight *Athenian* Gallies which came from *Thrace*, under the Command of one *Thraſybulus*, and making up the Fleet to the number of 80 ſayl, with 20 *Syracuſian* Gallies, and others which he procured of *Teribazus*, obtained the Soveraignty of the Seas. The *Athenians* were ſtartled hereat, fearing the iſſue of this War might be the ſame with that of the *Peloponneſian*, eſpecially the *Perſian* being now Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Inhabitants of *Ægina* infeſting their Borders; upon all which accounts they were very deſirous of peace. The *Lacedæmonians* alſo being much ſtraightned in maintaining Garriſons in ſo many places, both affected to them, & weary of them, began to have enough of War, having moreover much trouble about *Corinth*. The *Argives* not ignorant that War was decreed againſt them, and that their old ſhifts and pretences would ſtand them in no ſtead, were alſo ready to imbrace peace. They all then ſent their Agents to *Teribazus* to know what was propoſed by *Artaxerxes Muemon*.

Xenoph. lib. 5 Diod.

The parties deſire peace.

24. *Teribazus* ſhewing them the Kings Seals, read the Contents of the writing, which imported, *that he thought it juſt that the Cities in* Aſia, *the Iſlands* Clazomenæ *and* Cyprus, *ſhould be under his Juriſdiction: and all the reſt, little and great, ſhould be left to their own freedom, except* Lemnus, Imbrus, *and* Scirus, *which having been time out of mind ſubject to the* Athenians, *he thought it fitting they ſhould ſo continue. And ſuch as would not admit of theſe conditions, he with the reſt of the Confederates would proſecute with War, both at Sea and Land, to the utmoſt ability.* The Agents returning home, all the States imbraced the conditions, except the *Thebans*, who were unwilling to ſet at liberty the Cities of *Bœotia*; but *Ageſilaus* making preparations to invade them, they were ſo far awed thereby as to receive them. He conſtrained alſo the *Argives* to leave *Corinth*, from which the Authors of the late maſſacre then flying, the Exiles returned home. Theſe things being done, and the League ſworn to by all parties, this firſt peace was

The peace of *Antalcidas*.

SECT. 4. made betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* with their followers, after the ending of the *Peloponneſian* War, and caſting down of their Walls, being called the peace of *Antalcidas*; for ſo it was termed, from the procurer, being indeed the ſhamefull betraying of thoſe Cities into the hands of *Artaxerxes*, for which *Ageſilaus* had proſecuted the War in *Aſia*. A.M.3618. *Ol.*98. *an.*2. *V.C.*367. *Artax. Mnem.* 18.

25. The *Lacedæmonians* were they who had the benefit thereof, being the Protectors and Patrons of it, and grew ſo high upon the ſucceſſe, that now they reſolved to chaſtize ſuch of the Aſſociates as had in the late War born greater affection to their adverſaries than themſelves. Firſt they fell upon the *Mantineans* as guilty of this Crime, whom by their King *Ageſipolis* (for *Ageſilaus*, becauſe of the friendſhip that paſſed betwixt his father and them, deſired to be excuſed) they forced firſt to break down their Walls by turning the River upon them, which ran through the Citie, and then to divide themſelves into Villages. After this they forced the *Phliaſians* to receive their Exiles, and made War upon the *Olynthians* in *Thrace*, at the requeſt of the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians*, who accuſed them of clandeſtine practices with the *Athenians* and *Thebans*. By theſe courſes they hoped that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece*, upon occaſion, would willingly follow them in their Wars as Authors of their liberty; and the great Cities, having loſt their Dependents, would be unable to make oppoſition. And in particular they had conceived an emulation againſt *Olynthus*, now grown ſo mighty, that not onely ſhe commanded her neighbour Towns, but was become terrible to places far remote, and to *Sparta* her ſelf. The *Olynthians* had taken a great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella* the *Metropolis* of that Kingdom, and now imitating the old pretence of the *Lacedæmonians* to ſet at liberty the places over which *Amyntas* did Tyranniſe, had almoſt driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. They of *Acanthus* and *Apollonia* further adding, that either they muſt War upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject to it, and fight ſhortly in its defence, *Eudamidas* was ſent before with 2000 men. He arriving in *Thrace*, fortified the Cities, and recovered *Potidæa*, which had aſſociated it ſelf to the *Olynthians*, and managed his affairs with ſucceſſe anſwerable to ſuch force. In the mean time his brother *Phœbidas*, according as he had requeſted of the *Ephori*, was employed in raiſing the main body of the Army, and having compleated the leavy marched away for *Thrace* to joyn with him.

The Spartans hereupon grew high.

The practices of the Olynthians.

26. At this time the *Thebans* were much divided amongſt themſelves, being headed by two *Polemarchi*, *Iſmenias*, and *Leontidas*. When *Phœbidas* was come on his journey as far as *Thebes*, *Iſmenias* out of his hatred to the *Lacedæmonians* would not ſee him, but his Collegue betrayed *Cadmea* the Citadel of *Thebes* into his hands, ſeized on *Iſmenias*, and got the command of the whole Citie, whereat thoſe of the contrary faction to the number of 400 fled to *Athens*. Then another being choſen into the place of *Iſmenias*, *Leontidas* went to *Sparta*, where he found the *Ephori* and people much diſpleaſed with what *Phœbidas* had done, being both againſt the League, and without any Commiſſion from them; and ſuch as were Enemies to *Ageſilaus*, eſpecially aggravated the matter, labouring to draw him into ſuſpition about it. He otherwiſe as great both a commender and practiſer of Juſtice as any, yet took upon him to defend the fact, ſaying, that *Phœbidas* was worthy to be puniſhed if he had done any thing that was hurtfull to the Commonwealth; but if it was profitable, then according to the ancient cuſtom he was not bound, in ſuch caſes where haſte is required, to ſtay for a Warrant. Following herein his ambition, or giving way to his paſſion (which moſt ſhewed it ſelf againſt the *Thebans*) he not onely indemnified *Phœbidas*, but perſwaded the Citie to own what he had done, to keep the Caſtle, and prefer *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had betrayed it, to the chief command of *Thebes*. The reſt of the *Græcians* were ſore aggrieved at what was done; but the Confederates durſt not contradict it, and each Citie joyned one Commiſſioner to three ſent from *Sparta*, who all together ſhould take Cogniſance of, and judge the cauſe of *Iſmenias*. He was accuſed before them of having favoured the

Cadmea the Citadel of Thebes betrayed.

The fact is unjuſtly excuſed by Ageſilaus.

Xenoph. ut ſupra, Plutarch. in Ageſilao.

Iſmenias put to death.

the *Barbarians*, and held intelligence with the *Perſian*; that he had received part of the money ſent from him to corrupt the *Græcians*, and together with *Andocides*, had been the great incendiary who kindled and fomented their inteſtine broils. He anſwered ſeverally and apart to all; but being believed to have attempted great and pernicious things, was condemned and put to death. Then was the power eſtabliſhed in *Leontides* and his Complices, who did more in favour of the *Lacedæmonians* than was deſired of them. SECT. 4.

27. Things thus proſpering, the *Lacedæmonians* more cheerfully purſued the War againſt *Olynthus*. They ſent General thither *Teleutias*, who with the help of *Amyntas* the *Macedonian*, and *Derdas* Prince of *Elimea*, overthrew the *Olynthians* under their walls, and waſting their grounds, for that Summer was ended, withdrew to their Winter quarters. But the next year when he returned, the *Olynthians* ſallied out againſt him, whom to repel, he ſending a party which drave them back beyond a River which ran by the Town, and followed them over, they then thinking they had his men at an advantage, turned back upon them, and ſlew to the number of 100. He being in a great chafe hereat, went in to the reſcue with all his Forces, and following them within bow-ſhot from the walls, his men were ſore galled by thoſe that ſtood on the Turrets, and forced to give back, and then being hotly charged he loſt his life, with many others, ſo that the reſt clearly put to the rout, and ſhifting for themſelves to ſeveral places, the ſtrength of this Army was broken, which defeat *Xenophon* chargeth upon the paſſion of *Teleutias*, ſhewing how dangerous it is in the Leader of an Army. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what had hapned, diſpatched away *Ageſipolis* their King with all convenient ſpeed into *Thrace*, who upon better advantages invading the *Olynthians*, took *Torone* one of their confederate Towns, and harrazed the Country, but at Midſummer by extremity of heat got a Fever, of which he died the ſeventh day, being much lamented by *Ageſilaus* his Colleague, for their long familiarity, though emulated by him. Being put into Honey and brought home, there he was interred with Royal rites, and *Polybiades* was ſent to command the Army, who beſieging the *Olynthians*, at length forced them by famine to yield on theſe terms: *To have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them as aſſociates whither ſoever they ſhould lead them in their Wars.*

Teleutias ſent by the Spartans againſt the Olynthians.

Is ſlain.

Ageſipolis ſent after him, dieth of a Feaver.

Olynthus taken by Olybiades.

28. In the mean time the *Phliaſians* grown confident upon the abſence of *Ageſipolis*, began to act very inſolently and unjuſtly againſt the Exiles which of late they were made to re-admit. The Exiles complained of them at *Lacedæmon*, and they thereupon in their abſence put a mulct upon them, which underſtanding, they ſtill continued and praied juſtice from that State. At length the *Ephori* reſolved upon War, and *Ageſilaus* was ſent againſt the *Phliaſians*, who thereupon offering largely to do all things fitting, he refuſed them, ſaying, he muſt have deeds and not words, to which now without further confirmation he could give no credit. They asking what he would demand, he required their Caſtle to be delivered up to him, which being utterly refuſed, he beſieged the City. They held out longer than he expected, becauſe the Magiſtrate ſuffered them not to eat above half of the ordinary proportion, and by means of one *Delphion*, who with 300 aſſiſtants, impriſoned ſuch as ſpake of a ſurrender. But at length conſumed with famine, they deſired a Truce, to ſend Commiſſioners to *Sparta* to treat of Peace. *Ageſilaus* ſtomached that they ſhould paſſe him by, and therefore ſending his friends to the City, he obtained that the matter ſhould be referred back to him. He ordered that 50 ſhould be choſen of the Exiles, and as many others, who ſhould determine which Citizens ſhould be ſuffered to live, and which put to death, and that then power ſhould be given them to make Laws for the Government of the City. Whilſt theſe things ſhould be done he left a Garriſon in the Town, and ſo departed, having ſpent Twenty moneths in this buſineſſe.

The Phliaſians ſubdued by Ageſilaus.

29. All things thus falling out to the *Spartans* according to their wiſh, they

SECT. 4.

judged their Empire sufficiently established; but another event (as *Xenophon* gravely discourseth of divine vengeance) taught the contrary, it being clear, both from the Histories of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that God suffereth not to escape unpunished wicked and ungodly actions. They had sworn not long before to leave the Cities to their own liberty, and yet they kept in their hands the Citadel at *Thebes*, and therefore being formerly invincible, were now sufficiently plagued by those alone whom they had injured. There was one *Phillidas* Secretary to the present *Polemarchi* of *Thebes*, who being not at all suspected by his Masters, went to *Athens* where the Exiles lay, and there entered into a conspiracy with *Mello* one of them, for the killing of the *Polemarchi*, and recovery of their Countries liberty. *Mello* and six others being let in by *Phillidas*, were in womens apparrel brought in to the *Polemarchi* as Courtezans, whilst they were drinking and celebrating the Feast of *Venus* at the end of their Office, whom they stabbed with daggers hid under their clothes; after which they did as much to *Leontides* the chief revolter, as he lay in his bed, *Mello* being easily admitted to him without suspition. Then went they to the common prison, and killing the Keeper set at liberty their friends, when now they called the people together, and exhorted them to stand in defence of their native liberty. They presently besieged the Castle, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* Governour seeing the alacrity of the assailants, was forced to yield upon this condition, to go out with his Army, and for that was put to death at his return to *Sparta*. The *Thebans* then slew such as they could come by, who sided with *Leontides*, and, too rigorously, extended the same punishment to their children.

Xenoph. ut prius. Diodorus ad Olymp. 100. an. 3. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Pelopide.

Thebes recovered by the Exiles.

30. The *Ephori* sollicited by the Exiles that fled to *Sparta*, and moved by the authority of *Agesilaus* (who pretended a sufficient quarrel, for that *Archias* and *Leontides* were slain) sent *Cleombrotus* their King against the *Thebans* now in the depth of Winter. He in his passage slew those whom *Phillidas* had let out of prison, to the number of 150, who kept watch upon the mountains, but did nothing farther considerable, onely he left *Sphodrias* Governour of *Thespæ* to raise new Forces, and be a refuge to the disconrented party amongst the *Thebans*, and so returned. Yet herewith were the *Athenians* exceedingly affrighted, insomuch that one they put to death, who had conspired with the *Theban* Exiles, and condemned another who fled upon it. The *Thebans* also despaired of being able to grapple with the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore betook themselves to a politick device, which was invented by *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* principal of the late Conspirators. A Merchant was sent to *Sphodrias*, then lying at *Thespis*, a rash and ambitious man, to perswade him to fall upon the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, as a work very grateful to his superiours, for thereby he should cut off the *Athenian* power at Sea, and he might be sure the *Thebans* would not assist them being already too much incensed. He pricked forwards by these conceits, invaded *Attica* as far as *Eleusine*; but there his design being known, and his Soldiers unwilling to proceed any further, as not sufficiently prepared for such an enterprize, he was forced to return.

Xenoph. & Plutarch.

Sphodrias invadeth *Attica* by the cunning of some *Thebans.*

31. The *Athenians* cast into prison the *Spartan* Ambassadors as conscious of such an unlawful act; but they utterly renounced the least knowledge of it, and promising *Sphodrias* should answer it with his life, they were content to expect the justice of the State upon him. The *Ephori* called him to account indeed, and yet though he appeared not, was he acquitted, to the great admiration of all men, especially because of the author of his acquitment, which was *Agesilaus*. For the King, though at first he refused several times to hear any thing in his behalf; yet *Cleonymus* the son of *Sphodrias* beloved by *Archidamus*, made such means to him, that at length being very indulgent to his children, he excused the matter, and saying, he held *Sphodrias* to be an honest man, and that the Commonwealth stood in need of such Soldiers, he got him acquitted, to his great dishonour. The *Athenians* hereupon out of indignation joyned themselves to the *Thebans*, and the *Bœotians* and they sent to the Cities under the command of *Sparta*, to draw them to their party, which

Xenoph. Plutarch.

Agesilaus moved by his son *Archidamus*, procureth him indemnity, whence the *Athenians* join with the *Thebans.*

which they effected with most, they groaning under the yoak of *Lacedæmon*. They appointed a Common-councel to be held at *Athens*, for carrying on the War, made up of one out of every confederate City, by which course and other wayes of self-denial, the *Athenians* recovered much authority, having constituted their Captains, *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon*, *Chabrias*, and *Callistratus*.

SECT. 4.

32. The *Lacedæmonians* to counterwork them, took off their severity from their Subjects which had not yet revolted, whereby they kept them fast to them, and renewing Military discipline, sent *Agesilaus* into *Bœotia* with a great Army; for *Cleombrotus* liked not the cause so well as to ingage in it; and thereupon he was forced to lay aside his excuse of superannuation (being above 40 years older than one of ripe age) and submitted to the employment. The *Thebans* opposing themselves against him with the *Athenians* and others, took an hill, where by direction of *Chabrias*, they received him carefully, with their shields let down to their knees, and their lances advanced, which courage of theirs as it seemed made him to retreat, and so having done great damage to their Country, and lost many of his men, he returned, leaving the Horse still to make excursions, under the command of *Phœbidas*. Several skirmishes then hapned after his departure, in one of which *Phœbidas* himself was slain, with 300 of his followers. This made the *Thebans* take more courage, and many then revolted to them. The *Spartans* sent a party to reinforce the Garrison of *Thespis*, and in the beginning of Spring prevailed with *Agesilaus* to undertake another Expedition, which was performed to little purpose. He broke a vein in his sound thigh, and the blood caused such an inflammation, that though opening a vein at his ancle gave him some ease, yet at his return he was forced to keep his bed for a long time, the blood at the orifice having ran night and day, till at length he swooned, which stopped the flux of it. The year after *Cleombrotus* was again sent out; but the *Thebans* and *Athenians* disputing the passage with him in his way, after he had lost 40 men he returned. By these conflicts the *Thebans* were so exercised, that they became excellent Soldiers, as *Autalcidas* said jeeringly to *Agesilaus* at his return, that he was very well rewarded by them, whom without either will or knowledge he had taught to fight.

Diodorus ad Ol. 101. an. 1. Xenopo. Plutarch.

Agesilaus undertaketh another fruitless Expedition against the *Bœotians.*

33. The Confederates being met at *Lacedæmon*, accused themselves of idleness, for that they had not stroven with the *Athenians* at Sea, and being now confident they could starve them in the City, they rigged a Fleet of 70 ships for that purpose. And hereby they for some time as it were besieged *Athens*, so that the Corn-ships durst not approach, till *Chabrias* overthrew them in fight, and brought in plenty of provisions. The *Lacedæmonians* preparing to send new Forces into *Bœotia*, the *Thebans* desired of their friends at *Athens* to invade *Peloponnesus* by Sea, to divert them; which they readily did, under conduct of *Timotheus*, the *Thebans* at the same time taking several Towns upon their borders. The *Spartans* sent out one *Nicolochus* to Sea against *Timotheus*, who not staying for six Gallies of *Ambracia*, which he expected, with 55 sail set upon the *Athenian* Fleet consisting of 60, and was worsted. Hereupon *Timotheus* erected a Trophy, but *Nicolochus* getting the six ships of *Ambracia*, went and offered battel again, and *Timotheus* not stirring erected another Trophy as a Conquerour. But *Timotheus* mending his ships, made up his Fleet above 70 Vessels, and prevailed at Sea. The *Thebans* having got all the *Bœotian* Cities into their power invaded *Phocis*, to the succour of which *Cleombrotus* was sent from *Sparta*, and there the associates both of the one side and the other met; but the *Athenians* thinking now that the *Thebans* became too potent by their assistance, were desirous of a Peace. The *Thebans* with 500 men went against *Orchomenus*, held by a Garrison of the *Lacedæmonians*, which sallying out against them, a hot dispute ensued, wherein, although the *Spartans* were double the number, yet they were beaten, which thing had not happened in former Ages. This added courage to the *Thebans*, and their military glory daily increasing, it now became evident that they strove for the Soveraignty of *Greece*. With this

Xenoph. lib. 6. Diodorus.

The *Lacedæmonians* beaten.

SECT. 4. this year *Hermeas* of *Methymna* concluded his History of *Sicily*, which consisted of 10. or, according to some, of 12 books.

34. The next being the second of the 101 *Olympiad*, the 30th of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Hippodamus* being *Archon*; *Artaxerxes* having a design to make War upon *Egypt*, and to use the *Græcians* therein, sent to perswade them to agreement. They being weary of War consented to it, all the Cities being to be set at liberty, and the Garisons drawn out; onely the *Thebans* refusing to quit the Cities of *Bœotia* were not comprised in the League, being very confident in their good fortune, and much incouraged by several excellent good Soldiers amongst them, the principal of which were *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, who from a poor Philosopher became the most renowned for martial affairs of all *Greece*. This change produced great Commotions in the several Cities, but especially in those of *Peloponnesus*, which by the *Lacedæmonians* had been subjected to *Oligarchy*, and now having the popular Government restored, knew not how to use it moderately, but by unjust decrees opposed many worthy men, driving some into Exile, and selling their goods. Great stirs especially hapned amongst the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, and *Phliasians*, whilest those that were unjustly banished endeavoured by force or policy to restore themselves. Those that were for *Democracy* were maintained by the *Athenians*, and the *Spartans* assisting the *Oligarchical* faction, the peace was but for a small time observed by these two States, whilest both favoured such as bare most affection to their form of Government, and so they renewed the War: such is the fruit of Antimonarchical Government, *viz.* nothing but sedition, confusion, and disorder.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 101. ann. 2.

The *Thebans* left out of the general peace.

The peace continueth but a short time.

35. They (*a*) contested first about the *Zacynthians*, and afterwards in *Corcyra*, where the *Spartans* besieging the Citie, the Inhabitants almost all famished, yet sallied out, and killing *Mnesippus* their General, with many others, the rest hearing of the coming of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* with a great Fleet, with such plunder as they had got, disgracefully raised their siege and departed. At this time the *Plateans* having a design to commit themselves to the Protection and Alliance of *Athens*, the *Thebans* thereupon demolished the Town, and not long after did the same by *Thespiæ*. The ruin of *Platea* is by (*b*) *Pausanias* referred to the next year when *Asteus* was *Archon*, in which also (being the fourth of the 101 *Olympiad*) hapned (*c*) such Earth-quakes, and Inundations of the Sea in *Peloponnesus*, that *Helice* and *Bura*, two Towns of the *Achæans*, were together with the Inhabitants swallowed up. Hereof *Diodorus* assigneth several causes, laying the stresse upon an injury formerly offered by them to *Neptune*, in refusing to lend the *Ionians* their Statues, to which they should have sacrifized. Five dayes before the ruin of these Cities, all the Mice, Weasils, Serpents, and such like Creatures came out of *Helice* in great numbers, and took the way which leads to *Coria*. The Inhabitants admiring so strange a sight, had the next night their thoughts diverted by the Earth-quake, which made way for that Inundation wherein they perished, and with them ten ships of the *Lacedæmonians* then lying in the Haven.

Plateæ and *Thespiæ* demolished.

(*a*) *Xenophon.* *Diodorus ad Olymp. 101. ann 3.*

(*b*) *In Bœoticis.*

(*c*) *Diodorus ad Olymp. 101. ann. 4. Strabo lib. 9. p. 385. Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Ælianus Hist. Anim. lib. 11. cap. 19.

36. The next year being the first of the 102 *Olympiad*, wherein *Damon* the *Thurian* got the prize, *Alcisthenes* being *Archon*, *Artaxerxes* sent his Ambassadors into *Greece* again to perswade the States to an agreement. The *Athenians* were now grievously displeased with the *Thebans* for destroying *Platea* and *Thespes*, two Cities which had so well deserved of *Greece* in the *Median* War, and thereupon would no more joyn with them. They sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* about a peace, who used such Rhetorick to that State, specially *Callistratus*, that they brought the *Spartans* to assent upon these Terms: that *the Cities should be set at liberty, the Armies disbanded, and whosoever would not acquiesce in these conditions, it should be lawfull for any of the Confederates, if they pleased (not being constrained to it) to help the distressed.* All others except the *Thebans* subscribed the League, for they were unwilling as before to quit the Cities of *Bœotia*. Hereupon the *Spartans*

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. ann. 1.

Xenoph. ut prius.

tans jealous of them, resolved to make War in the behalf of all *Greece*, and gave order to *Cleombrotus* their King (who now lay in *Phocis*, expecting what they would command him) to invade *Bœotia*. The *Lacedæmonians* having great Forces of their own, besides their Allies, and none willing to assist the *Thebans*, every one gave them for lost, who yet upon *Cleombrotus* his Summons refused to set free the Cities of *Bœotia*, except the *Spartans* would restore *Messene*, and permit the *Laconians* to enjoy their liberty. In summe, they desired they would no more meddle with what they did in *Bœotia*, than they were concerned in any thing done in *Laconia*.

Cleombrotus the *Spartan* King invadeth *Bœotia*.

SECT. 4.

37. They creaded *Epaminondas* General, of whose rare skill and valour they had had abundant proof, joyning with him the *Bœotarcha*. He levying 12000 men marched away, and possessed himself of the Straights of *Coronea*, which *Cleombrotus* hearing, marched through *Phocis* another way, and came into *Bœotia* by the Sea's-side; coming to *Leuctra*, he there rested himself, which the *Bœotians* understanding, passed over the Mountains, and came near to him, but seeing such multitudes to overspread the plain, were not a little discouraged. The *Bœotarchæ* then deliberating what to do, were divided in their opinions, three being for fighting, amongst whom was *Epaminondas*, and as many for departing; but whilest they were still in doubt came in the seventh, and through the perswasion of *Epaminondas* cast the ballance on his side. *Plutarch* saith, that *Pelopidas* first approved of his advice, being Captain of the *Sacred Company*, which was made up (as is most probable amongst many opinions) of intimate friends and lovers, who fighting earnestly for one another, when in danger, did great harm thereby to the Enemy. Whilest *Epaminondas* was several wayes incouraging his men to the fight, came in *Jason* the *Pheræan*, the most Eminent leading man of *Thessaly*, with 1000 horse and 1500 foot, in shew to help the *Thebans*, but with intention to take up the quarrel; and he perswaded both parties to accept of a Truce.

Diodorus ad ann. 2. Xenoph. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Pausan. in Bœoticis.

Ἀὸ Ἐπαμινώνδου Πατρωνυμικὸς ἐστὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας per Syncopen Ἐπαμινώνδας· νόησαι.

38. *Cleombrotus* was then departing out of *Bœotia*, when a new Army met him from *Sparta*, under the Command of *Archidamus*; for the *Lacedæmonians* seeing the courage and resolution of the *Thebans*, whereas otherwise they could not do it, resolved to oppresse them by their numbers. The General then thinking it to be disgracefull at all to fear the *Thebans* valour, marched back to *Leuctra* without any regard of the Truce, where they found the *Bœotians* ready to receive them. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* (both descended from *Hercules*) lead the Wings of their battel. *Epaminondas* gave leave to all that would to depart, which was done by the *Thespians* and others, who bore no good will to the *Thebans*. His prime men he placed in one Wing, and the other by themselves, whom he ordered to give back, as though they fled. Making then an oblique battalion, he with the stoutest men began the fight, and whilest the other retired from the Enemy he followed him close, who now brake his order to get into it. The successe remained doubtfull as long as *Cleombrotus* lived; but he being slain whilest he most valiantly demeaned himself, first a great and bloudy conteft hapned about his body, which at length his men recovered, and gave back in order, and by degrees. But *Epaminondas* still pressing upon them, and doing great execution, at length they fled, having no body to govern them. About 4000 of them were slain, and 300 of the other party. This battel hapned in the 34th year after the end of the *Peloponnesian* War, the second of the 102d *Olympiad*, the 34th of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Phrasiclides* being *Archon*. A. M. 3634.

Epaminondas overthroweth him in the battel of *Leuctra*, wherein he is slain.

A.M. 3634. *Olymp. 102. ann. 2. Urbis cond. 383. Artax. Mnem. 34.*

39. The message of this overthrow came to *Sparta* the last day of their gymnick solemnities, wherewith, though the *Ephori* were so affected, as those that saw now a conclusion of that Principality they had almost enjoyed 500 years, yet suffered not the exercises to be broken off; but sending the names of the slain to their relations, finished the Festival. The day after, when it was known who were slain, and who escaped, one might see the Parents and Kindred of the dead to meet together in the Forum with cheerfull looks and minds, shaking one another by the hands; but on the other side the friends of such

Xenoph. & Plutarch. ut supra.

SECT. 4.

The behaviour of the *Spartans* after the battel of *Leuctra*.

such as were living, as in some solemn time of mourning to keep themselves at home, or if they came abroad, to signifie their sadnesse in their habit, speech and countenance: and this was especially remarkable amongst the women. But when their associates had revolted, and *Epaminondas* was thought to be about to invade *Peloponnesus*, they then called to mind the Oracles, concerning what should happen to them under a Lame King; yet reverencing the valour, power, and glory of *Agesilaus*, they not onely retained him in his several places of King and General, but made use of him as a Physician in this sad distemper. Now whereas by the Laws of *Sparta*, such as had fled from a battel were not onely made incapable of Magistracy, and of marriage with others, who thereupon were noted with ignominy; but were to be strucken by every one that met them, walking in a dejected posture, in Fools Coats, with their beards half shaved; there being many and powerfull who fled from *Leuctra*; lest any inconvenience might follow upon their discontent, *Agesilaus* procured that the Law for his time should be silent, and (without repealing) obtain its antient vigour for the time to come. Then to recreat the minds of the Soldiers he led them out into *Arcadia*, where industriously abstaining from fight, he took a little Town of the *Mantineans*, and made excursions into their Territories, to give his Citizens a little hope, and shew them that the fortune of *Sparta* was not altogether desperate.

40. The *Ephori* made new Levies, listing those now that were above 60. the *Tegeatans*, *Mantineans*, *Corinthians*, *Phliasians*, *Achæans*, and other Cities sent their numbers, the Conduct of all which was committed to *Archidamus*, because his father was not yet recovered. The *Thebans* presently after the victory sent a Messenger Crowned to *Athens*, to let them know their successe, and demanded aid; but the *Athenians* being not a little troubled at what had hapned gave him no audience. Then sent they to *Jason* the *Pheræan* Prince of *Thessaly*, who though he was otherwise employed with the *Phocians*, yet came, and when *Archidamus* had now invaded *Bœotia*, procured a Truce betwixt them, and thereupon the *Spartan* Army returned home. This by *Xenophon* is related as done after the battel at *Leuctra*, and because he maketh no mention of any Truce made by *Jason* betwixt them, before the fight, we may suspect a mistake in the time, either of him, or *Diodorus*, who relateth the story as before. *Jason* returning home was murdred by seven young men, having great designs in his head, after he had, partly by perswasion, and partly by awe, caused all *Thessaly* to receive him as General, the *Lacedæmonians* having refused to send them aid to defend themselves from his power. After his death his two brothers *Polydorus* and *Polyphron*, Authors of his death, were made Generals, of whom the former was slain within a while by the later, who turning his Principality into Tyranny, held it but one year, being then slain by his brother *Alexander*, under pretence of revenging the death of *Polydorus*, and overthrowing the Tyranny. But he proved ten times more Tyrannical, * burying men alive, covering them in beasts skins, and so setting them before the Dogs to be devoured, and killing others with Darts, to make himself sport. At length having a plot against his Wives brothers, he was slain by them by her means, and *Tisiphonus* the eldest of all the brothers succeeded, who continued in the Government when *Xenophon* wrote his History.

Archidamus invadeth *Bœotia*.

A Truce is procured by *Jason* Prince of *Thessaly*, who is presently after murdred by his brothers.

* *Plutarch. in Pelopida.*

41. The *Athenians* considering that the *Lacedæmonians* still expected they should follow them in the Wars as formerly, and would compell them thereto if they could, thought it best for saving their credit to revive the peace formerly made with *Artaxerxes*. They sent therefore fifty men about it, to the Cities, to take an Oath of them to this purpose: That they would observe the Truce established by the King, and confirmed by the *Athenians* and their Associates; and if any injury should be offered to any that took the Oath, to assist them with their full power. All the States willingly admitted of it, and received the Oath, except the *Eleans*, who after the example of the *Thebans*, pretended that the *Margianians*, *Scillusians*, and *Triphyllians* ought

Xenoph.

ought not to be set at liberty, because they belonged unto them. All Cities both little and great being by virtue of this peace to be set at liberty, the *Mantineans* taking occasion thereat, made a Decree to build their Citie again, and to fence it with walls, which formerly had been demolished by the *Lacedæmonians*. They were agrieved that this should be done without their consent, and sent *Agesilaus* to them to stop their proceedings; but the Magistrates refused to call the People together to give him audience, though a friend upon his fathers account, telling him what was once deceed by the people could not be altered. Some of the *Arcadians* sent and promised them assistance, and the *Eleans* helped them with thirty talents of Silver. At this time the inhabitants of *Tegea* fell out amongst themselves, whilst some would have all the *Arcadians* meet together and choose some one man to be their Prince, but others were for living under their own Laws onely, and the maintenance of their liberty. These at the first had the better of it; but by the help of the *Mantineans*, at length the other prevailed, and killing some, drove the rest of their Enemies to *Lacedæmon*, to the number of 80.

SECT. 4.

A Sedition at *Tegea*.

Alias Diodorus, vide.

42. The *Lacedæmonians* thought they were bound by Oath to revenge the cause of the Exiles upon the *Mantineans*, who by falling on them had broken theirs, and gave order to *Agesilaus* to invade them. They by the advice of their friends the *Arcadians* contained themselves within their walls newly built, and suffered him to spoil their Country, which doing with great caution and warinesse, yet without any losse of honour, he returned home. At this time it must be, according to * *Pausanias* (who placeth it in the same year with the battel at *Leuctra*) that by the perswasion of *Epaminondas* the *Arcadians* built them one City to inhabit (destroying there many small Towns) which thence had the name of *Megalopolis*. The fame of *Ploto* being now spread abroad, the *Thebans* and *Arcadians* sent to him to desire his help, not onely for the instruction of their youth, and to teach Philosophy, but also to prescribe them Laws for their Commonwealth. At first he intended to go, but asking the Ambassadors how their Superiours stood affected to an equal distribution of goods and honours, and hearing they were utterly averse to such a constitution, he thereupon refused to go to them. At this same time also *Epaminondas* sent into *Sicilie*, *Italy*, as far as the Islands *Euesperites*, and all over where the old *Messenians* dwelt, to invite them home into their antient Country, which was restored to them, and called after the old name *Messene*. Which restauration hapned 298 years (reckoned from the first of the 28th *Olympiad*) after the taking of *Ira*, and their banishment; in the third year of the 102 *Olympiad*, *Dyscinetus* being *Archon*. During all this time of their Exile they preserved intirely their antient Rites, and the Dorick dialect unchanged, which in our Age (saith *Pausanias*) by them, and onely by them, is also preserved uncorrupt and natural.

Megalopolis builte.

* *In Arcadicis.*

Ælian var. hist. lib. 2. cap. 42.

Pausanias in Messenicis.

The *Messenians* recalled & re-established.

43. The same year hapned such a Sedition and Massacre at *Argos*, as could never be paralleld in *Greece*. That City was then governed in a *Democratical* way; but the Orators so stirred up the People against the Nobility, that some being accused, for fear conspired against the Popular Government, to prevent their own ruine. Being hereupon suspected and examined, some fearing to be tortured made away themselves, and one in the midst of his pains accused thirty of the most eminent in the City. The common sort giveing credit to this accusation, put all those to death unheard, and confiscated their goods, and then many others being accused who were wealthy, they put them all to death, and in this manner made an end of 1600. The Orators themselves now were afraid, lest in this so general a Massacre they themselves also might unexpectedly miscarry, and therefore ceased from their calumniations; which being understood by the multitude, as though they now forsook them, they put as many of them to death as they could find in the City, the vengeance of God thus repaying them.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. an. 3.

An unparelled Sedition at *Argos*, the fruit of Antimonarchical Government.

44. The next year, the *Lacedæmonians* sent 1000 of their Citizens, and 500 *Argives* and *Bœotian* Exiles, under the command of *Polytropus* into *Arcadia*, who there fortified *Orchomenus*, but meeting with *Lycomedes* the

Idem ad ann. 4. Xenoph.

Sect. 4.

Mantinean, General of the *Arcadians*, he was slain in battel with 200 men. The *Arcadians* after this desiring help of the *Athenians* in vain, procured it of the *Bœotians*, who dispatched into *Peloponnesus Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, to whom the other *Bœotarchæ* of their own accord left the command of the Army. When they were come into *Arcadia*, all the Confederates made up the number of 50000 men; but yet the *Thebans* were very unwilling to invade *Laconia*. They considered that the Country was well fortified, and that the *Lacedæmonians* terrible every where would fight more desperately at their own dores. But the other pressing them much to it, and some bringing word how the borders were desolate of defence, and offering to conduct them into it, at length they invaded it in four several bodies, and bearing down all opposition, met together at *Sallasia*, whence they marched for *Sparta* it self, burning and consuming all things in their passage. Six hundred years had the *Dores* now inhabited *Laconia*, and for all this time not an Enemy had dared to appear in it, so that this unusual sight caused great tumults in the City, the women having never before seen as much as the smoak of War, nor the men able to endure a Siege. *Agesilaus* contained them within, bestowing them as he found convenient in several places, for the defence of the City, which had no other walls than the bodies of it's Inhabitants. He was much moved at the arrogance of the Enemy, who challended him by name, as the cause of these dissentions, to come out and fight; yet so contained himself, as taking great pains for the preservation of his Country, he shewed clearly, that if he had not been, the City could not have continued.

Epaminondas invadeth *Laconia*.

Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Agesilao.

45. The *Bœotians* laboured to provoke the *Spartans* to fight, bidding them either do it, or confesse themselves to be inferior to their Enemies; to which they answered, that when they saw occasion, they would not fear to try a battel with them for all. They left then the City, and making great waste of all *Laconia*, returned into *Arcadia*. The *Spartans* in the time of this their extremity, had promised liberty to such of their Slaves as would fight for them, and sent to *Athens* to procure assistance from that State, which the Ambassadors procured to be decreed, especially by this motive, that the *Lacedæmonians* had saved that City, at the end of the *Peloponnesian* War, when the *Thebans* were earnest for it's utter destruction. They made choice of *Iphicrates* for the General in this Expedition, who otherwise a man of excellent conduct, yet is judged by *Xenophon* to have been far overseen in the management of this employment. For having loitered at *Corinth*, and the *Thebans* being about to return home, he ought to have fortified *Cenchrea*, where they had the most convenient passage, and when he sent to spie whether they had passed *Oneu*, he sent both all his own and the *Corinthian* Horse, whereas few had been sufficient to spie, and better for a speedy retreat, and hereby he lost no fewer than twenty men, and the *Thebans* retuned without any great molestation. The *Lacedæmonians* having got 4000 Auxiliaries, besides 1000 Slaves newly manumitted, and many men out of the neighbouring Towns, thought themselves then fit to try a battel; yet convenient for them first to send to the *Thebans* about a peace. They offered it to them on these terms; that *Messene* should be restored by them, and the *Laconians* left to their liberty. Most enclined to receive these terms, till *Archidamus* rising up, said, that peace was not to be received upon such unequal conditions by them, who were wont to give and not to receive it; that *Messene* was justly destroyed 300 years before, and could not be restored, but to the great distresse and dammage of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Iphicrates sent to assist the *Spartans*.

His conduct is censured by *Xenophon*.

46. But *Epaminondas* having to his great honour restored *Messene* fully (the grounds being divided, and all things done) after 85 dayes spent in this Expedition, returned home, and being in his way molested by *Iphicrates*, pursued him home to the walls of *Athens*. But there was a Law at *Thebes*, which made it capital for any one to retain the chief command longer than was in that case provided by the constitutions of the City, new Magistrates being to be chosen the beginning of the new moneth *Bacatius*. This *Epaminondas* knowing to have been made for the good of the City, would not keep

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. ann. 4.

Epaminondas returning questioned for his life.

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keep it to the dammage thereof, and continued his command four moneths longer than his Commission warranted. After his return, he and his Colleagues were accused, and he permitted them to lay all the blame upon himself. They being hereby freed, no man expected any defence from him, as having nothing to say for himself. He appearing, denied nothing that his adversaries objected, confessed what his Colleagues said to be true, and refused not to undergo what the Law inflicted, onely he made one request to them: that this might be written upon his Tomb: *Epaminondas was punished with death by the Thebans, because he constrained them at Leuctra to vanquish the Lacedæmonians, whom, before he was General, none of the Bœotians durst once look on; and for that in one battel he not only saved the Thebans from ruine, but also restored liberty to all Greece; and brought matters to that passe, that the Thebans fell upon Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians had enough to do to preserve themselves; and left not off till Messene being restored, he besieged their City.* Having said this, the People affected with joy set up a laughter, and none of the Judges dared to passe sentence.

Plutarch in Pelopida & Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda.

Ælian. var. hist. lib. 13. cap. 42.

Pausan. in Bœotic.

47. In the same year, according to *Diodorus*, but the next, according to *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas* was sent again into *Peloponnesus* to the assistance of *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who afresh had made War upon the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* had lately established a League betwixt themselves on these terms: *That each should command the Army five dayes in their course, which before was solely left to the Spartans.* The *Athenians* hearing of the coming of *Epaminondas*, sent *Chabrias* with an Army to stop his passage. He coming to *Corinth*, with the *Lacedæmonians* and other allies, made up an Army of 20000, and then all joyning together fortified the passage into *Peloponnesus*, making a ditch and a wall crosse the Isthmus from *Cenchrea* to *Lechæum*. But *Epaminondas* observing at what place the guards were weakest, there with some difficulty brake thorough, harazed the Country, had *Sicyon* and other places delivered up to him, but comeing to *Corinth* was gallantly repulsed by *Chabrias*, who sallying out of the City, and getting advantageous ground, not onely sustained his charge, but did good execution upon the assailants. At this time 2000 *Gaules* and *Spaniards* were sent by *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Sicilie* to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, who arriving at *Corinth*, the *Græcians* to try their valour led them out against the Enemy. They behaved themselves very well, did good service against the *Bœotians*, many of whom and their allies they slew, for which receiving great commendations and rewards besides, they returned in the later end of Summer into *Sicilie*.

Xenoph. lib. 7. Diodorus.

Epaminondas again invadeth *Peloponnesus*.

48. The *Thebans* being returned home, the *Athenians* conceived indignation against them, through the complaints of *Lycomedes* the *Mantinean*, who urged it was an unworthy thing for the *Arcadians*, being more noble (as the onely antient Inhabitants of their Country) and more deserving, to be commanded by the other, and follow them in the War. Being much puffed up with such conceits, the *Thebans* begin to be alienated from them, and the *Eleans* bore them malice, because they could not obtain of them the Towns which the *Lacedæmonians* had taken from them. Things being at this passe, came *Phyliscus* of *Abydus*, sent from *Ariobarzanes* the *Persian Satrapa*, with much money, to perswade the States to Peace. The *Thebans* yet would not come to any conclusion, alleging that *Messene* ought to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the *Spartans*, with which he being offended, not enduring that old pretences should be again revived, he left 2000 men already paid to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and returned into *Asia*. The *Arcadians* having chosen *Lycomedes* their General, sent him into *Laconia* with an Army, where he took by storm *Pallene*, and therein put to the sword 300 of the *Lacedæmonian* Garrison Soldiers. To return the like unto them the year following (the first of the 103 *Olympiad*, wherein *Pythostratus* the *Athenian* was Victor) *Archidamus* was sent into *Arcadia* with the Confederates, and a new supply of men sent from *Dionysius*. He took *Carya*, and put all therein to the Sword, and going on in his attempts, *Cissidas* the General of

Xenoph. Diodorus ad Olymp. 103. ann. 1.

The *Arcadians* fall out with the *Thebans*.

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49. He haſtned to relieve him, and in his march the *Arcadians* and *Argives* oppoſed themſelves, whom charging with great reſolution, he got a moſt famous victory, killing 10000 of his Enemies without the loſſe of one man; ſo that as the Prieſts of *Dodona* had ſung (that it ſhould be a fight without tears to the *Lacedæmonians*) yet the meſſage being come to *Sparta*, *Ageſilaus*, the *Senators*, and the *Ephori*, are all ſaid to have wept for joy. As this ſucceſſe revived the ſpirits of the *Spartans*, which had been almoſt extinct by the battel at *Leuctra*, ſo, as *Diodorus* telleth us, the *Arcadians* now fearing their in-roads, for their better ſecurity built them one great Citie, twenty of the *Menalian* and *Parrhaſian* Villages being taken in for the ſite thereof, though *Pauſanias* will have *Megalopolis* built two years before. The *Thebans* and *Eleans* onely rejoyced in the misfortune of their friends the *Arcadians*, as tending to the humbling of them. The *Thebans* caſting much in their heads how to obtain the principality of all *Greece*, reſolved upon ſending an Ambaſſage to the *Perſian* King to contract a ſtraight League and Alliance with him, and aſſembling the Confederates they pretended a neceſſity thereof, becauſe *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian* was now with the King in behalf of that ſtate. They ſent *Pelopidas*, with others for the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, & *Argives*: the *Athenians* alſo underſtanding hereof ſent *Timagoras* and *Leon*. *Pelopidas* being very famous even in *Aſia* for his valour, by his demeanour got all the favour from the reſt. He urged the King with the merits of the *Thebans*, who had never of all *Greece* born Arms againſt him, or his Anceſtors, either of old in the *Median* War, or of late in aſſiſtance to *Ageſilaus*, and he extolled their valour, ſhewing that the reaſon why the *Arcadians* were of late overthrown by the *Lacedæmonians*, was becauſe of their abſence. For the truth hereof he appealed to *Timagoras* the *Athenian*, whom being at odds with his Collegue, he drew off to his party. He obtained of *Artaxerxes* what he demanded, *viz.* that *Meſſene* ſhould be held exempted from the Juriſdiction of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians* ſhould abſtain from the Sea, and all the other Cities left to their own Laws: Laſtly, that the *Thebans* ſhould be eſteemed the near Friends and Allies of the *Empire*.

Megalopolis now built according to *Diodorus*.

Pelopidas ſent by the *Thebans* to the *Perſian* King.

50. This employment got *Pelopidas* abundance of credit (who not long after was ſlain in a victorious battel, fought in the behalf of the *Theſſalians* againſt *Alexander* the Tyrant) but *Timagoras* returning home received a great Preſent from the *Perſian*, and being accuſed by his Collegue of ſiding with *Pelopidas* was put to death. The *Thebans*, though they had got what they deſired of the King, yet their deſign came to nothing, for the Commiſſioners of the Cities firſt refuſed to take the Oath of this new League, and then moſt of the Cities themſelves after the example of *Corinth*, the anſwer of which was, that there was no need of this new Engagement. This plot then of *Pelopidas* having not taken good effect, *Epaminondas* thought of another to reduce the *Arcadians* and Allies to obedience; and that was, firſt by ſubducing the *Achæans*, to which purpoſe he went again into *Peloponneſus*. He eaſily effected this, and receiving an ingagement from them to continue faithfull to the *Thebans*, returned, for which being much blamed by the *Arcadians*, and the reſt of that faction, Governours were ſent from *Thebes* into the ſeveral Cities, who bringing in the popular Government, thereupon drove away many of the principal men, who uniting themſelves, ſeized again upon their ſeveral Cities, and then ſtood no more Neuters, but openly declared for the *Lacedæmonians*. So this ſecond device of the *Thebans* came to nothing, and the *Arcadians* were preſſed both by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. At this time *Euphron* the *Sicyonian*, a man of great power in his Countrey, perſwaded the people to bring in the popular Government, which done, and he with others being choſen *Prætors*, he murdered ſome of his Collegues, expelled the reſt, and openly eſtabliſhed a Tyranny. The aſſociates he put off by doing them pleaſures, through which the *Argives* being incouraged, together with him fell upon the *Phliaſians*, & brought them to great ſtraights, becauſe of their faithfulneſſe to the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein they excelled beyond Preſident, no adverſity nor any advantage being able to affright, or allure them from it, as is largely diſcourſed by *Xenophon*. The *Athenians* ſent *Chares* with relief to them, who overcame the *Argives* in two fights, and reſtrained their violent attempts againſt them.

Getteth much credit by his Ambaſſie.

Xenoph. ut ſupra, *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 103. *ann.* 2.

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51. But *Æneas* the *Stymphalian*, General of the *Arcadians*, judging things not to be at *Sicyon* as they ſhould, ſeized upon the Caſtle there, and forced *Euphron* to leave the Town, and give up the Haven to the *Lacedæmonians*. Yet a Sedition following in the Town he took occaſion thereat, and repoſſeſſed himſelf, joyning with the people againſt the Nobility, but the Caſtle being held by a Garriſon of *Thebans*, he thought there was no long continuing without their leave, and ſo taking money with him, went to *Thebes*, to procure the good will of the people there. Thither ſeveral of his adverſaries followed him, to withſtand his deſign, and finding that he was upon the Magiſtrates and Senate, to hinder the progreſſe of the buſineſſe, killed him in the Caſtle, at ſuch time as the Senate was ſitting there. One of them taking all the fault upon himſelf, made ſuch a diſcourſe in his own defence, by telling what the *Thebans* themſelves had lately done in the like caſe, and by other arguments, that *Euphron* was pronounced juſtly ſlain, and he was abſolved. Yet being carried to *Sicyon* he was honorably buried in the Forum, and worſhipped by the people as one of their greateſt benefactors. The *Phliaſians* now had by the aſſiſtance of *Chares* taken *Thymia*, which was fortified againſt them by the *Sicyonians*, but their Exiles had ſeized upon *Oropus*; the *Sicyonians* and *Arcadians* recovered the Haven at *Sicyon*, and no body aſſiſted the *Athenians* at *Oropus*, but all forſook them, ſo that it was committed to the truſt of the *Thebans*, till the controverſie about it ſhould be decided. *Lycomedes* ſeeing them diſſatisfied with their Allies, drew the *Athenians* to enter into ſociety with the *Arcadians*. The conditions were, that the *Athenians*, in caſe *Arcadia* was invaded, ſhould ſend ſuccours of horſe, without being conſtrained to invade *Laconia*.

Stirs about *Sicyon*.

The *Athenians* enter into ſociety with the *Arcadians*,

52. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as this was done, caſt in their heads how they might make *Corinth* their own, through the perſwaſion of *Demetion*; which being known there, their Soldiers were diſmiſſed, and the ſociety broken betwixt them. This made the *Corinthians*, who now had gotten ſo new and potent Enemies, look about them for their own ſecurity; and to this end levying all the force they could, they made alſo their peace with *Thebes*, in which they would have the *Lacedæmonians* concluded, ſaying, they were conſtrained to this accommodation; but the *Lacedæmonians* giving them, and all other their Confederates leave to provide for themſelves (which was accepted by the *Phliaſians* and others) ſaid they would perſiſt in the War, and commit the iſſue to God, being reſolved never to conſent that *Meſſene*, which they had received from their Anceſtors, ſhould be taken from them. The condition of this peace was onely that each Citie ſhould enjoy its own; for the *Corinthians* flatly refuſed to enter into a ſociety of Arms, becauſe they would not offend thoſe that had well deſerved of them, but preſently a contention was revived betwixt the *Phliaſians* and *Argives* about *Thymia*, which was ſeized on, and held by the later, notwithſtanding all that could be objected. At the ſame time were twelve ſhips, under the Command of *Timocrates*, ſent to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Dionyſius* the younger (who now had ſucceeded his dead father) which they uſed in the ſtorming of *Sellaſia*, and then the Fleet returned back into *Sicily*. At this time *Artaxerxes* ſent once more to mediate about a peace, which was ſubmitted to by the Cities, and ſo the *Laconian*, or (as it is alſo called) the *Bœotian* War ended, after it had continued above five years.

And conſult how to become maſters of *Corinth*.

Artaxerxes procureth another peace.

53. But in the very next year ſuch ſparks were kindled, (firſt betwixt the *Æleans* and *Arcadians*) as brake out at length into another mighty flame. *Laſion* a Caſtle of *Triphylia* firſt belonged to the *Eleans*, but being in the poſ-

Xenophon, *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 104. *ann.* 1.

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The *Eleans* and *Arcadians* at odds.

poſſeſſion now of them, and another while of the *Arcadians*, continual controverſies were moved about it. The later now having it in their hands, the *Eleans*, by means of the *Arcadian* Exiles with them, ſeized upon it. This being taken in great diſdain by the *Arcadians*, they procured help from *Athens*, and recovered it by force; after which they overthrew the *Eleans*, and waſted their Territories to the Citie Gates. This put them upon craving aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and deſiring them to invade *Arcadia*, who accordingly ſent *Archidamus* the year after the firſt action at *Laſion*. He took *Cromnus*, and therein leaving a Garriſon returned; but after his departure the *Arcadians* recovered the place, and going into *Elis*, gave the management of the ſolemnities of the 104th *Olympiad* now drawing on, to the *Piſæans*, who by old and fabulous arguments pretended it once to have belonged unto them. For this purpoſe they ſeized on *Olympia* before-hand, and going on when the time was come in the management of the exerciſes, the *Eleans* with all their ſtrength fell in upon them, and with incredible boldneſſe ſo laid about them, that they put the *Arcadians* to flight, and though they could not keep the place, yet with great honour retreated to their Citie, having never before been at all accounted of for valour. This *Olympiad*, becauſe the *Piſæans* managed it by force, was not regiſtred in the Annals of the *Eleans*, neither is it certain who overcame in the courſe, *Phocides* the *Athenian* being named by *Diodorus*, but *Eubotas* the *Cyrenæan* by *Pauſanias*, in the ſecond of his *Eliacks*.

The *Piſæans* put in poſſeſſion of *Olympia* are falln upon by the *Eleans* at the time of the ſolemnities.

54. At this time *Epaminondas* labouring all manner of wayes to get the Soveraignty of *Greece* for his Countrey-men, perſwaded them as a means hereto firſt to obtain the Dominion of the Seas. He ſhewed it was an eaſie thing for thoſe who were ſtrongeſt at land, to obtain, by inſtancing in the *Lacedæmonians*, who though in the War with *Xerxes* they furniſhed out but ten ſhips for 200 of the *Athenians*, yet for their power on land were obeyed by them. By this, and other arguments, he got them to ordain that 100 Gallies ſhould be provided, and that the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Byzantians* ſhould be invited to joyn with them in theſe preparations. He himſelf going with a little Force to theſe Cities, induced them to ſide with the *Thebans*, and ſo terrified *Laches* the *Athenian*, who indeavoured to croſſe his deſign, that though he commanded a ſtrong Fleet, yet did he quit theſe parts. During his abſence, ſome of the *Theban* Exiles having a great deſire to change the Government into an *Ariſtocracy*, drew into their plot 300 horſ-men of the *Orchomenians*, who when they were about to execute their deſign, it was revealed by ſome principal contrivers to the *Bœotarchæ*. The *Thebans* had conceived a grudge againſt the *Orchomenians* of a very long date, ever ſince that Citie having paid Tribute to them formerly, was exempted from it by *Hercules*. Having now then an opportunity to vent their malice, they firſt put to death the 300 horſ-men, then taking the Town, they put to the ſword all the men, ſold the Women and Children, and ſo utterly deſtroyed *Orchomenos*. This cruelty was utterly deteſted by *Epaminondas*, who ſaid, if he had been preſent, he would have in no caſe ſuffered ſuch wickedneſſe to be committed by the *Thebans*.

Epaminondas perſwadeth the *Thebans* to look after Sea matters.

Diodorus ibid.

The *Thebans* deſtroy *Orchomenus*.

Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

55. The *Arcadians* having the *Olympian* Temple in their power, the Magiſtrates converted the money thereof to the paying of their *Eparitæ*, being the ſtrength of their Army. This the *Mantineans* firſt proteſted againſt as Sacrilege, and ſent the money which was due from them for the payment of the Soldiers, which being taken as an affront from the other, they called the *Mantinean* Magiſtrates before the Council of the 10000. who refuſing to appear, they ſent to fetch them by force, but being repulſed, at length others in the Council appeared for them, being of their opinion, that the money was not to be touched, which would brand them for ever with a note of infamy. This was decreed by the Council, which the great ones ſeeing, and apprehending in what danger they were, ſent to the *Thebans* to tell them, that except they would come in time *Arcadia* would wholy revolt to the *Lacedæmonians*. The

Xenoph. lib. 7.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 104. ann. 2.

Stirs betwixt the *Arcadians* and *Mantineans*.

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The moſt ſober men amongſt the *Arcadians* hereupon perſwaded the Council to ſend to the *Thebans*, to proteſt againſt the coming down of their Army unſent for; and by reſtoring to the *Eleans* the Temple, to make peace with them. All took the oath of the League, and amongſt the reſt the Governour of *Tegea*, who lay in Garriſon with 300 *Thebans*; but the great ones who feared to be called to account for the money, prevailed with him to lay hold upon the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadians*, who at *Tegea* were making merry for the peace. But the *Mantineans* making demand of their Citizens, promiſing if they had done amiſſe they ſhould appear before the Council, the *Theban* General was at a ſtand, knowing not what to do, and at length diſmiſſed the priſoners, purging himſelf by ſaying, he heard the *Lacedæmonians* were about to invade *Arcadia*, and that ſome of the *Arcadians* had deſigned to betray *Tegea* into their hands.

Iidem & paulo aliter Polybius lib. 9.

56. Though they believed him not, as knowing the contrary, yet they diſmiſſed him, but ſent to *Thebes* to accuſe him as worthy of death, for attempting a matter ſo contrary to the good underſtanding betwixt the States. But *Epaminondas* excuſed him, laying the blame upon the *Arcadians*, who having drawn the *Thebans* into the War, would offer to make peace without their conſent, and thereby were guilty of treachery: and he plainly declared, that the *Thebans* would march into *Arcadia*, and there aſſiſt their friends. The *Mantineans* and others underſtanding this, ſent to *Athens* and *Sparta* to deſire aid, laying open the deſign of the *Thebans* plainly to be this: *To weaken Peloponneſus, and bring it all into ſubjection to themſelves.* They jealous of this, entred into League with them, wherein it was provided, that each State ſhould have the command over the Army in their own dominions. Whilſt this was a doing, *Epaminondas* marched from *Thebes*, leading with him, beſides the *Bœotians*, ſome *Theſſalian* Horſe, and Soldiers out of *Eubœa*. When he came to *Nemea* there he ſtaied a little, having a great deſire to meet with the *Athenians*; but underſtanding that they paſſed by Sea into *Peloponneſus*, he aroſe and moved towards *Tegea*. Having notice in his way that *Ageſilaus* with the whole power of *Lacedæmon* were come into *Arcadia*, and that the City muſt needs thereupon be deſolate, he marched in all haſte thither, and had become abſolute Maſter of it, but that by meer divine Providence (as *Xenophon* himſelf acknowledgeth) a certain *Gracian* gave notice of his intention to *Ageſilaus*, who ſent word in all haſte to *Sparta*, willing them to ſtand upon their guard, with promiſe to be with them as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Epaminondas again invadeth *Peloponneſus*.

57. *Archidamus* his ſon being there left, ſet the old men and boys upon the Houſes to annoy the *Thebans* with ſtones, and diſpoſed ſo of thoſe that were fit to fight, in the ſeveral places of the City, that though *Epaminondas* had continued his march all night, yet found he that his deſign was betrayed, and ſuch was the oppoſition he found, that although he choſe the ſteepeſt deſcent into the Town, to have the upper ground, yet was he repelled, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing the moſt in their too long purſutes. Then underſtanding the *Lacedæmonian* and *Arcadian* Forces to be all coming to relieve *Sparta*, he thought it not wiſdom to hazard a battel with them all; but judging that *Mantinea* would be left naked, and at this time of the year the Inhabitants would be much abroad in the fields about their Corn and their Cattel at paſture, he thought it fit to try if he could ſurpriſe them all, and ſent before the Horſe for that purpoſe. At this time it hapned well for the *Mantineans*, that 6000 *Athenians* under the command of *Hagelochus* were come through the *Iſthmus* into the City, who upon their deſire, notwithſtanding they ſhould have to do with ſuch Horſe as exceeded theirs in the number, and the beſt eſteemed of in all *Greece*, reſolved to do their utmoſt in their behalf. In the engagement they had the better of it, and thereby preſerved all that the *Mantineans* had without their walls. *Epaminondas* after this thinking with himſelf that he muſt be gone within a few dayes, the term of his commiſſion being almoſt expired, was full of various thoughts. If he ſhould leave thoſe, for the aid of whom he was ſent, to be beſieged by the Enemy, he ſaw he ſhould

Sets upon *Sparta* and retreateth to *Mantinea*.

His Horſe put to flight.

His caſe how it ſtood in reference to his return or ſtay.

Sect. 4. should lose the honour he formerly had obtained, especially seeing he had been repulsed at *Sparta* by so few a number, and now also had miscarried at *Mantinea*: and he considered that by this Expedition of which himself was author, he had given occasion to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, to enter into a straight League of offence and defence. From these reasons he concluded he could not in honour depart without a battel, in which if he overcame, he should make amends for all, and if hee should die, such a death could not but bee glorious, which should bee undergone in an endeavour to make his Country Mistresse of all *Peloponnesus*.

58. Ere long the Armies of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Mantineans* appeared, consisting, with their allies, of 20000 Foot, and about 2000 Horse. To the *Bœotians* were assistants the *Tegeatans*, and such other *Arcadians* as were most powerful and wealthy, the *Argives*, *Eubœans*, the *Thessalian* Horse which the *Thebans* brought, the *Messentans*, *Sicyonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*; the number of all which amounted to 20000 Foot, and little fewer than 3000 Horse. This is much admired by *Xenophon*, that *Epaminondas* should so discipline his Soldiers, that neither night nor day they should shun any labour, refuse to undergo any danger, to be contented with any kind of provision, and very ready to obey all orders. When he had ranged his men in order of battel, he led them not straight on against the Enemy, but fetched a compasse towards the Mountains of *Tegea*, and made as though he would there pitch his Tents. This made the Enemy secure, which he well understanding, formed his battalia like a wedge, thereby to break them sooner, and led with speed against them, who now were all to seek, and in a confusion, some hasting to bridle their Horses, others to buckle on their harnesse, and all in a condition rather to suffer than act any thing. And lest the *Athenians* should relieve their Companions from the left wing, he placed a Party of Horse and Foot in the hills to keep them in awe, by being continually ready to fall upon their reer.

59. His expectation was not crossed, for on what part he fell he carried all before him, the Enemy not daring to stand; but rushing more violently amongst them, the *Lacedæmonians* taking notice of him, flocked to him, and laid at him amain with darts, some of which declining, and fencing himself from others, those that stuck in his body he took thence and reforted. Whilst he heroickly thus contended for the Victory, he received a mortal wound from one *Anticlates* a *Spartan*, who gave him so mortal a stroak with a dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and a piece of the tronchion in his breast. By the vehemency of the wound he sank down, and then ensued a most bitter contest about him: but the *Thebans* inflamed with wrathful indignation at this sad mischance, with great slaughter compelled their Enemies to give back, but knew not how to improve the Victory. For neither Foot nor Horse pursued them flying, but continued still in the same place, and at length went off carelesly, insomuch that many of the Foot fell into the hands of the *Athenians*. Which so falling out, another thing hapned than men generally had expected. For almost all *Greece* being here gathered together, one State against another, in two factions, every one supposed, that when they should once come to fight, they that overcame would obtain the Dominion over the rest, who should be forced to submit to their yoak: But God so poysed affaires, saith *Xenophon*, that both sides, as if they had overcome, erected a Trophy, not being hindred by each other. Both sides also as Conquerours gave up the slain, and as Conquered received their dead by composition. And whereas both sides said they had the better of it, neither obtained thereby either Countrey, City, or Dominion, other than they before enjoyed; but a greater disturbance thereupon followed in *Greece*. So much for these matters saith our Author; as for what is behind, perhaps some other will take care to commit them to writing, and so he endeth his History with this battel, though he lived almost three years after it, as we have from *Lacertius*. *Anaximenes* also of *Lampsacus*, who began his History with the beginning of the gods and mankind (and therein in twelve Books almost compre-

The battel at *Mantinea* wherein *Epaminondas* was mortally wounded.

A. M. 3642. *Ol.* 104. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 390. *Ante Adam Christi* 362.

Xenophon with it endeth his History.

As also *Anaximenes* and *Philistus*.

comprehended all the affaires of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*,) finisheth it with the Battel at *Mantinea*, and the death of *Epaminondas*. So did *Philistus* his History which he wrote of *Dionysius* the younger in two Books.

Sect. 4.

60. *Epaminondas* being caried alive into his Tent, the Physicians affirmed that as soon as the dart should be drawn out of his body he would die. He then called for *Diaphantus* to declare him General of the Army; but it being answered he was slain, he bade them send for *Iolaidas*, but it being answered that he was dead also, he advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the Office of a General. Understanding of his approaching end, he inquired of his Armour-bearer if his Shield was safe; (which to have lost was a great dishonour) It being answered it was, he asked which sidehad the Victory; answer being made the *Bœotians*, then said he, *It's time for me to die*, and comforting his friends who mourned he should die childlesse with this answer, that *he left behind him two daughters, the battel of Leuctra and Mantinea, which should propagate his fame to all posterity*) he thereupon caused the dart to be drawn out, and so expired. This was the end of the worthiest Soldier that ever *Greece* brought forth, and hardly to be parallel'd in any other Country, all the Virtues which in others were but singular having concentred and united themselves in him. In strength both of body and mind; in Eloquence, Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Magnanimity, and Sincerity, he excelled all men; and so far in Military skil, the art of a General, and in valour, that he could not adequately be called a Valiant, Politick, Wary, Bountiful, Industrious, or Prudent Captain; all these Titles and many others being due unto him. His modesty was incredible, shewing it self especially in this, that after the Victory of *Leuctra*, and many other rare atchievements, he refused not to go in the Expedition into *Thessalie*, in quality of a private Soldier. He was grave, yet affable and courteous, as a means to all those virtues, having great insight into all parts of Philosophy and Learning, being therein instructed by *Lycis* the *Tarentine*, a *Pythagorean*. But * enough will be said in his commendation, if this be added, that the City *Thebes* before the birth and after the death of *Epaminondas* was ever subject to the command of others; but as long as he had to do in the management of the affairs thereof, was the head of all *Greece*; from which may be gathered, that this man was of more consequence than the whole City.

Vide Diodorum ut supra. *Justin. lib. 6.* *Valerius Max. lib. 3. cap. 2. ext. exemp. 5.* *Ælian. var. hist. l. 12. cap. 3.* *Pausan. in Arcadicis.* *Cornel. Epist. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

Epaminondas his character.

** Corn. Nepos in vita Epamin.*

61. For with *Epaminondas* all the strength of the *Theban* Commonwealth was extinct, as if he had not onely died, but all the rest of the Citizens with him, who as before him they did nothing memorable, so now after were famous for nothing but their overthrows and disasters. After this battel of *Mantinea*, all the *Græcians* being tired out with War, entred into a League offensive and defensive together, out of which *Agesilaus* would have excluded the *Messenians*. But *Artaxerxes* stood for them, as having Territories as large and fruitful as the *Laconians*, whereupon the *Lacedæmonians* burning with an implacable grudge against them, refused to subscribe, and alone by themselves refused to be comprehended in the League, hoping still to recover *Messenia*. This reflected something upon *Agesilaus*, who out of an insatiable thirst after War, had by his utmost endeavour hindred the union of *Greece*, and the burying of publick quarrels. And he seemed to increase the infamy, by undertaking an Expedition shortly after into *Ægypt*, though it was by his service in his decrepit old age, to get some money for the supply of the now very poor and exhausted State. For it appeared a thing unseemly, for the best man in *Greece*, and one who had filled the world with his fame, to go serve a mean man, and a Traytor, and venture his life, credit and all, for a little gain, when as because of his old age, he had refused the Office of General at home, and in his own Country, though for the liberty of *Greece*. But he thought nothing too much wherein he might serve the Commonwealth, and in this respect undervalued his own honour, and having served in *Ægypt* in a condition far unworthy of him, after he had received

Justin.

Diodorus.

Corn. Nepos. Plutarch in Agesilao.

Agesilaus blamed.

SECT. 4. His death.

ceived 230 talents of Silver as a reward from *Nectanebis*, died in his return, when he had lived 84 and reigned 41 years. A most excellent Captain, in whom Nature inwardly made amends for that wherein outwardly she had been deficient, most ambitious of glory, and yet of exceeding great humility, which he shewed in his house, and in his constant conversation. Though his justice was overruled by his passion in the businesse of the *Theban* War, yet generally he held it most sacred, and as a punishment for his default therein, that great glory whereby he even reigned over *Greece* till then, was afterwards (together with the splendor of the *Lacedæmonian* greatnesse) much eclypsed by the rising Fortune of *Epaminondas*.

62. *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and *Agesilaus* of *Sparta*, died both in the same year, and the next after the death of *Epaminondas*. And the same year the peace of *Greece* was again broken by some *Arcadians*, who having been transmitted out of the neighbouring places into *Megalopolis*, took occasion at some words of the League (which gave leave to all to return home) to quit the City and return to their old habitations. The other *Megalopolitans* endeavoured to reduce them by force, and thence insued a great controversie, they calling in to their help the *Mantineans* and the rest of the *Arcadians* and *Eleans*. The *Megalopolitans* sent to the *Athenians* for aid, who sent them 3000 Foot, and 300 horse, under the command of *Pammenes*. He with this Force took some of the Towns, and terrified others into composition, and so reduced them all to *Megalopolis*. The year following *Alexander* the *Pherean* Tyrant subdued several of the *Cyclades* and took thence abundance of Captives. The *Athenian* Garrison commanded by *Leosthenes* opposed him in *Peparethus*, whereupon he set upon the *Athenian* Gallies, and took them, together with one belonging to *Peparethus*, and 600 prisoners. The *Athenians* inraged hereat, condemned *Leosthenes*, and sent *Chares* with a Fleet into those parts, who spending his time in scaring the Enemies, but oppressing the Confederates, thereby contracted an ill name. For going to *Corcyra* he there caused such a Sedition, as could not be ended but in the ruine of many, and committed other things which much tended to the disgrace of those that sent him. With this year *Diodorus* concludeth his fifteenth Book, having, according to his promise, related such things as hapned before the reign of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, and such, as together with other affairs of the *Greeks* related by others, shew that peace, security, and order, are things little akin to Antimonarchical Government.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 104. *an.* 3.

Stirs amongst the *Megalopolitans.*

63. Of Learned Men Contemporary with this period, in the first place is to be remembred *Hippocrates* native of the Island *Cous*, Prince of all Physicians. He was the son of *Heraclides* and *Phænarete*, the twentieth in descent from *Hercules*, and the nineteenth from *Æsculapius*. Some have written that he was born in the first year of the 80th *Olympiad*. But a certain passage mentioned in his life of his curing *Perdiccas* of an *Erotick* Feaver, argueth him at this time to have been famous. This *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia* (who having reigned 28 years according to *Eusebius*, or according to others 53, died about the third of the 93 *Olympiad*) fell in love with *Phila* his Father *Alexander*'s Concubine, but modesty forced him to conceal his grief, till he fell into a Consumption and languished. *Hippocrates* by the motion of his eyes found out the cause of the distemper, and told *Phyla* it was in her power to save the King's life, whereupon she was willing though with the impairment of her own credit to redeem it. The like story is told of *Erasistratus* the Physician, who discovered that *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus* was in love with his Fathers Concubine, which *Galen* * mentioneth, adding, that he had made the same discovery in a certain woman.

Learned Men during this period.

Hippocrates.

Soranus.

Lib. περὶ τῶ προρρήσεως.

64. *Hippocrates* grew so famous in his Art, that *Artaxerxes Longimanus* hearing of him, sent for him, with large offers to come and cure his Army, then seized on by the plague. But he said it was not fit for him to touch any *Persian* Gold, or cure the *Barbarians* who were Enemies to the *Greeks*. The letters of entercourse betwixt the *Persians* and him, are amongst others yet extant. Having lived as some said 85 years, but as others 90, or 104, or

SECT. 4.

or 109, he died amongst the *Larissæans*, in the first of the 94 *Olympiad*. He left two sons, *Thessalus* and *Draco*; but the fruit of his brain hath been far more effectual for the propagating of his name to all posterity, wherein he hath not onely been a benefactor to the mystery of Medicine by his writings, but also by his religious care of the integrity of those who should professe it. For he framed an Oath to be taken by all that entred into his School, which for his honour, and the shame of those who have more reason to be convinced of their duty, together with the information of the ignorant, it is convenient to exemplifie.

His oath.

65. *I swear by Apollo the Physician, and Æsculapius, and Hygia; and call all the gods and goddesses to witnesse, that to the utmost of my strength and judgement I shall observe what now I swear and covenant by writing. Namely, that I will esteem as my Parents my Master who taught me this Art, and thankfully communicate to, and supply him with all things necessary both for sustenance and convenience, as also account of his issue as mine own brethren, and if they desire to learn the Art, teach them without any wages or contract. That I will communicate the precepts, and what I have heard, and the whole discipline to mine own children, to his who taught me, and my Scholars who have given their names and faith in this Oath, and none else whatsoever. That I shall also to my utmost power and judgement prescribe an wholesom course to the sick, and defend them from all harm and injury. Neither through the procurement of any will I give, or cause to be given, any deadly medicament. Neither in like manner will I procure any Woman to miscarry of her burthen; but preserve my life and age alwaies chast and pure from all wickednesse. Neither will I cut any of the Stone, but leave this work to be done by those Chirurgeons who are skilful in it. If I come into any house I will do it for the health of the sick, shunning all suspicion of injurie, or corruption, especially as to the filthinesse of Venery both towards women and men, free persons and slaves. Whatsoever things I shall see or hear, either in administring Physick or otherwise in common entercourse, which I think ought not to be told abroad, I will conceal them. Now if I shall religiously observe this Oath, and in no case break it, let me live in great esteem alwaies an happy life amongst all men, and reap ample fruit from mine Art. But if I break it and forswear my self, may the contrary happen to me.* Much skill in Physick therefore corrupteth not the conversation; for though a little Philosophy may occasion Atheism, yet a great deal is an antidote against it, not suffering a man to rest in second causes; but discovering a necessity of looking higher. But more concerning this, as also to the praise of this excellent person, may be said in a particular account of the original, cause, professors, succession, progresse and matter of the Art of Medicine.

66. Besides *Hippocrates*, there lived at this time (*a*) *Democritus* of *Abdera* the Philosopher, who died in the same year, and was well known to him, having alwaies laughed at the folly of men. Four years after, (*b*) *Socrates* the *Athenian*, the Father of *Ethicks*, was made drink poyson for speaking against plurality of Gods and the superstition of his Country-men; *Anytus* having first procured *Aristophanes* the Poet, and then *Melitus* to accuse him. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of what they had done, in a way of mourning forbade all publick Exercises, and then animadverting upon his accusers, condemned *Melitus* to death, and the rest to exile. (*c*) *Plato* at this time being 28 years old, and having heard *Socrates* 8 years, went to *Megara* to learn the Mathematicks of *Euclide*, who now also flourished. The year after, (*d*) *Sophocles* died, six years after, *Euripides* the Prince of Tragick Poets. At this time also flourished (*e*) *Ctesias* the Physician often mentioned before, who concluded his history in the third year of the 96 *Olympiad*. (*f*) *Aristotle* Father of *Peripatetick* Philosophy was born at *Stagira* a City of *Macedonia*, in the first year of the 99 *Olympiad*. In the third year after, (*g*) *Demosthenes* the famous Orator. (*h*) *Eudoxus* of *Cnidus*, a famous Astrologer and Geometrician, flourished about the 103 *Olympiad*, who (*i*) found out the supposed motion

(*a*) *Anonymus.*

(*b*) *Diodorus, Laertius.*

(*c*) *Laertius.*

(*d*) *Suidas.*

(*e*) *Diodorus.*

(*f*) *Laertius.*

(*g*) *Anonymus.*

(*h*) *Laertius.*

(*i*) *Seneca natural. quæst. l. 7. c. 3.*

SECT. 5. motion of the Stars from West to East, unknown to the *Greeks* in the time of *Democritus*. *Zeno* the *Citiean*, father of the Stoicks, was born in the third year of the 104th *Olympiad*. And we must not forget *Thucydides*, nor *Xenophon* the Scholar of *Socrates*, and equal to *Plato*, with whom he exercised some emulation. He was a great Philosopher; the greatest master of eloquence in his time, insomuch that for the sweetness of his stile he got the name of *Attick Muse*; and so great a Soldier, that his retreat with the *Greeks* out of *Persia* after the death of *Cyrus*, to one who duely weigheth all circumstances, will appear to have surpassed the exploits of *Alexander* the Great.

SECT. V.

From the beginning of the reign of Philip *King of* Macedonia, *to the Monarchy of* Alexander *his Son, containing the space of* 31 *years.*

1. MAcedonia having been formerly called *Emathonia* from *Emathon* a certain King, and afterwards *Macedonia* from *Macedon* the Son of *Ojrus*, or as others say of *Jupiter* and *Æthra* was bounded on the North and Northwest by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*, on the South and Southwest by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and on the East with the *Ægean* Sea.

2. The people were first called *Pelasgi*, saith *Justin*, and the Countrey *Bœotia*. In *Pæonia*, which afterward became part of *Macedonia*, *Telegonus* reigned, the father of *Astriopæus* an eminent Warrier and friend to *Priamus* in the siege of *Troy*. On another side *Europus* reigned. But *Caranus* an *Argive*, the sixteenth in descent from *Hercules*, some five years after the fall of *Sardanapalus*, by the command of an Oracle led a Colony into these parts, and having setled himself by force reigned 28 years. *Canus* succeeded him and reigned 12. then *Tyrimas* 28. *Perdiccas* a Prince much renowned 51. after him *Argæus* 28. *Philip* the first as many, *Europus* 26. in whose infancy the *Illyrians* invading his Kingdom, his subjects carried him in his Cradle into the field, thinking he being present could not but be victorious, or that his people durst not forsake him, who was unable to defend himself. *Alcetas* after him reigned 29 years, *Amyntas* the first 50 years, to whom *Darius Hystaspis* sent for earth and water as tokens of subjection. *Alexander* his son who slew the Ambassadors sent to his father, reigned 43 years, and by marrying his sister *Gygæa* to *Dubares* the *Persian*, grew into such grace with *Xerxes*, that he obtained all the Region between *Olympus* and *Hermus* to be united to his Kingdom, and yet during the War held secret intelligence with the *Græcians*, discovering to them all his intents and purposes. He left three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*, the eldest of which succeeded him, whose story is sometimes by pieces related by *Thucydides*. *Perdiccas* left behind him *Perdiccas* and *Archelaus* his base son. *Perdiccas* was drowned in a Well by *Archelaus* his Guardian at seven years of age, the murtherer to excuse himself alleging to his mother that he fell in by chance as he hastily followed a Goose that way.

3. *Archelaus* having dispatched his brother out of the way, did the same by *Alcetas* his Uncle, and *Alexander* his Cousin, son to *Alcetas*; and yet though he came in this way, is said to have done many things to the advantage of the Nation, which is usual with Usurpers. He sought by all means to draw *Socrates* to him, and greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* & *Orestes*. *Archelaus* succeeded him, and reigned seven years, some confounding father and son together, and making this, who reigned but seven years, to have succeeded *Perdiccas*. *Archelaus* at the end of seven years was slain in hunting, either by chance or on purpose by *Cratevus*,

Euripus. *Alcetas.* *Amyntas.* *Alexander.* *Perdiccas.* *Archelaus.*

Euseb. in Chron. *Nico. Justin. l. 7.* *Velleius lib. 1.* *Solinus cap. 15.*

Aristott. Politic. lib. 5. *Vide Ralcium lib. 4. cap. 1.*

rus, called by *Ælian Cratenas*, who relateth the cause to have been for that having married his daughter to him, he took her away and give her to another. *Cratenas* had enjoyed the Kingdom scarce two or three dayes when he was also slain by others. *Orestes* then a Child succeeded, who was served by his Guardian as his father had served his Pupill, being killed by *Æropus* one of the bloud Royal, who held the Kingdom six years: the same who at first denied passage to *Agesilaus* when he returned out of *Asia*. He left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* when he had reigned one year was slain by *Perdiccas* the son of *Thaicleus* or of *Philip*, who being son of *Perdiccas*, and Grand-son to *Alexander* the Rich, was preserved when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Acetas*, and *Alexander* his Cousin German.

SECT. 5. *Vell. Pat. lib. 8. cap. 9.* *Cratenas.* *Orestes.* *Diodorus ad Olymp. 56. ann. 3.*

4. (*a*) *Amyntas* was by the *Illyrians* driven out of his Kingdom, but restored by the *Thessalians*, held it (though very unquietly) 24 years. Some wrote how after his expulsion *Argæus* obtained the Kingdom for two years, till again he recovered it. (*b*) When he was overcome by the *Illyrians*, having little hope to recover his Kingdom, he gave the *Olynthians* a great part of the grounds adjacent; but after his restitution required it again. They refused to restore what was freely given them. He hereupon gathered an Army, and sent to the *Lacedæmonians* for aid, who sent *Phabidas* to him with 10000 men at such time as he surprised *Cadmea*, the Citadel of *Thebes*, having sent before his brother; but the *Olynthians* had taken much of his Kingdom, and made themselves Masters of *Pella* the Metropolis of *Macedon*. He had issue by his wife *Eurydice*, three sons; *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; besides one daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gygæa* three sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterwards slain by their brother *Philip*. *Alexander* reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias* the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, who declared his fidelity in this as well as other things, towards the Children of *Amyntas*, that *Eurydice* flying to him with her two Children, *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, he defended, and sustained her. Against him *Ptolomy Alorites* made War, and both called *Pelopidas* the *Theban* to judge betwixt them, who having decided the controversie (as *Plutarch* saith) took *Philip* the Kings brother, and 30 other of the sons of the chief Nobility, as Hostages to *Thebes*. But within a year after *Ptolomy* murdred him, not being his base brother as some suppose, saith *Scaliger*. *Justin* telleth us he was slain at the procurement of his mother *Eurydice*, which having agreed to marry her son-in-law (which must be this *Ptolomy Alorites*, and thence cometh he to be called the brother of *Alexander*) Consulted in her husbands life time how she might kill him, and transfer the Kingdom to the Adulterer, which being betrayed by their daughter, *Amyntas* for his Childrens sake would not use any severity towards her, little thinking she would really accomplish her wicked design upon any of them at length.

(*a*) *Idem ad ann. 4.* (*b*) *Ad Olymp. 99. ann. 2. Xenoph.* *Amyntas.* *Alexander.* *Ptolomy Alorites.* *Philip educated at Thebes.*

5. *Ptolomy Alorites* held the Kingdom of *Macedonia* for three years, and then was slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*, who succeeded him and reigned five. He was then slain in battel against the *Illyrians* according to *Diodorus*; but *Justin* saith he perished by the wicked practices of his mother, as *Alexander* did. *Perdiccas* left behind him a young son, of whom *Philip* his brother was constituted Guardian in the second year of *Ochus* King of *Persia*, in the first year of the 105th *Olympiad*, *Callimedes* being *Archon*. *Plutarch* maketh him to have been carried as an Hostage to *Thebes* by *Pelopidas*. *Diodorus* writeth that his father gave him as an Hostage to the *Illyrians*, and that they committed him to the *Thebans* to be kept, who delivered him to the custody of *Polymnis* the father of *Epaminondas*, with whom he was brought up, though *Plutarch* saith he lived with *Pammenes*, and thence became an emulator of *Epaminondas*. *Justin* saith he was twice given as an Hostage by his brother; once to the *Illyrians*, and another time to the *Thebans*, which mightily conduced to his education; for being three years at *Thebes*, he laid the foun-

Diod. ad Olymp. 103. ann. 4. *First Guardian of his Nephew.*

Sect. 5. foundation thereof in a Citie full of ancient severity, and in the house of *Epaminondas* a great Scholar and General. If he there continued but three years, he seemeth to have returned home at the beginning of the reign of his brother *Perdiccas*, but *Diodorus* saith, it was after his death that he made an escape from *Thebes*. At first, as it seemeth from *Justin*, he bore but the Office of Tutor, or Guardian to his Nephew; but afterwards great Wars happning, in which the expectation of the Child could nothing avail, he was constrained to take upon him the Dignity of *King* by the people.

Then King.

6. For, the *Macedonians* having lately received an overthrow from the *Illyrians*, were much dejected thereat. The *Paones* their neighbours made excursions, and the *Illyrians* prepared for another terrible invasion. The King of *Thrace* was minded to set up *Pausanias*, and the *Athenians Argæus* (both sons of the late Usurper *Æropus*) having sent *Mantias* with 3000 men, and a Fleet readily furnished for that purpose. But *Philip* seeming nothing to be discouraged at these things, by his good language (wherein he was very able) and his courteous deportment, bare up the spirits of his people.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 105. ann. 1. A.M. 3645. Olymp. 105. ann. 1. V.C. 394. Ochi, 2.

He Conquereth all difficulties.

He amended military Discipline, and instituted the *Macedonian Phalange*. Understanding the *Athenians* to have a great desire to recover *Amphipolis*, and to have *Argæus* established King, he left that Citie to its own liberty. The *Paonians* and the King of *Thrace* he bought off with money, and overthrew *Argæus* at *Methone* assisted by *Mantias* the *Athenian*, by which victory he mightily incouraged his men.

7. The year after he made peace with the *Athenians*, who readily accepted of it, because he was content to quit *Amphipolis*, giving him great commendations also for his clemency, in that he had suffered the Reliques of their Army at *Methone* to depart with their lives and liberty into *Attica* when he had them at his mercy. Being thus freed from the *Athenian* War, hearing that *Agis* King of the *Paonians* was dead, he invaded, and brought them into subjection to himself. Then entred he the Countrey of the *Illyrians* with about 10000 foot, and 600 horse, whose King *Bardylis* sent to treat with him, offering that each should retain such places as they already held; but he returned answer, that though he was also desirous of peace, yet would he admit of no terms, except the *Illyrians* would quit all the Cities which belonged to his Kingdom. *Bardylis* then met with him with a strong Army, and a great and bloudy battel was with great animosity on both sides fought, wherein at length *Philip* had the victory, and the *Illyrians* having lost above 7000 men, were forced to relinquish all places belonging to *Macedonia*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 105. ann. 2.

8. After he had brought under all the *Illyrians* as far as the Lake *Lychnitis*, and made an honourable peace with them, he returned into *Macedonia* with great fame. The year after, for that the Inhabitants of *Amphipolis* had several wayes provoked him, and ministred occasion of quarrels; he went against them with a great force, and having cast down the Wall with his battering Rams, entred the Citie, whence banishing all his Enemies he granted indemnity to the rest. This place being very conveniently sited for his occasions in *Thrace*, much conduced to the progresse of his affairs. For hereupon he presently took *Pydna*, and to ingratiate himself with the *Olynthians* (the friendship of whom was very necessary for such as would grow great) having taken *Potidæa*, he gave up *Pydna* with the grounds belonging to it into their hands. Then going to *Crenidæ*, he inlarged this Town with an accession of new Inhabitants, and called it after himself *Philippi*. Here were rich Mines of Gold, which having been formerly neglected he now so far advanced as to bring him in yearly a Revenue of 1000 Talents, which mightily tended to the advancement of his affairs, and the Majesty of his Kingdom, for now stamped he that piece of Golden Coyn, called the *Philipick*, raised great forces, and afterwards with bribes drew many *Græcians* to betray their Countrey. But he proceeded in his affairs with more confidence and freedom, for that now the *Athenians* were busied in the

Idem ad ann. 3.

Crenidæ changed into *Philippi*.

the Social War begin this year, and thereupon could not take such care as was necessary, about the preservation of *Amphipolis*. Sect. 5.

9. The *Social* War, which continued three years, had it's original from the revolt of the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantians*, from the State of *Athens*. The *Athenians* sent against them two Generals, *Chares* and *Chabrias*, who when they came to *Chius*, found their the succours sent from other Cities, and from *Mausolus* the Prince of *Caria*. They fell upon the City; *Chares* on the Land, and *Chabrias* by Sea, but the later whilst too boldly he ventured by himself into the Haven, was slain, and then the rest recreated without any thing done. One* in his life telleth us, that in this Expedition he was a private man, but excelling the Commanders in Military skill and fame, was more regarded by the Soldiers; which thing proved his destruction. For endeavouring first of all to enter the Haven, when he had broken in none followed him, so that being compassed with Enemies his Gally was sunck, out of which casting himself, he might easily, as the rest did, have swom to his friends and escaped; but preferring an honourable death before an ignominious life, fighting alone was slain, in all fights having been daring, though otherwise he was accounted slow and heavy.

The *Social* War.

* *Corn. Nepos.*

10. The year following, for any thing we understand, was spent altogether, or for the most part, in preparations on both sides to decide the controversie in a Sea fight. The *Athenians* having sent before under the command of *Chares* a Fleet of 60 ships, sent other 60 after, which they commited to the trust of *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, two of the most noble in the City, who were to joyn with *Chares*, and in equal authority to manage the War. On the other part the Confederates with 100 Gallies wasted the Islands *Imbrus* and *Lemnus*, and coming into *Samus*, after they had harassed the Country, besieged the City both by Sea and Land, and making depredations upon many other Islands under the jurisdiction of *Athens*, got much money thereby. But the *Athenian* Generals uniting their Forces resolved to besiege *Byzantium*, which the Confederates understanding, raised the siege at *Samus* to come and relieve it. They were about to joyn in battel, when sodainly arose a mighty Tempest, which made *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* decline the fight, but *Chares* would not acquiesce in their opinion, but sent to *Athens* and accused them to the People, as wilfully having neglected a good opportunity of doing their Country Service, which so incensed the heady multitude, that they condemned them in many Talents. *Corn. Nepos* relateth, that *Menesthem* the son of *Iphicrates*, and son Law to *Timotheus*, was sent as General, and they two as his Advisers. That the action was about *Samus* wherein *Chares* miscarried, and whereupon he accused them to the People. That *Iphicrates* being quitted, *Timotheus* was fined ten Talents, which he being unable to pay departed to *Chelus*, where dying, the multitude repented of their rash judgment, and remitting nine parts of the fine, caused his son *Conon* to pay the other, towards repairing of the Wall. So that the Walls which *Conon* the Grandfather built with spoils, *Conon* the Grand-son was forced to repair at his own cost and disgrace of his Family. This was the last Age of the famous *Athenian* Captains, which concluded with the lives of *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, those that followed being not at all worthy the reckoning.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. an. 1.

In vitis Timothei & Iphicratis.

11. *Chares* having got all the power into his own hands, assisted *Pharnabazus* the *Persian Satrapa*, who had revolted from his Prince, and was so rewarded for his service after the Victory, that he was enabled to pay his Army. This was very acceptable to the *Athenians* at first; but when the King had once sent to expostulate the matter with them, and a rumour was abroad that he intended with 300 ships to assist the Enemies in the *Social* War, they were far otherwise affected, insomuch as they resolved to make peace with the revolters, which was easily done, they being no lesse desirous of it. *Philip* having the year before married *Olympias* the daughter of *Neoptolemus* late King of the *Molossians*, and Niece (not Sister as *Plutarch* hath it) to *Arymbas* or *Aribbas* the present, was much envied for his good successe by the three Kings of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Paonians*. Since they had been overthrown and

Diodorus.

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and subdued by him, they had no ſtrength ſeverally to encourage them to a revolt; Yet joyning their Forces together they were confident of good ſucceſſe. But before they had compleated their Army, and whilſt they were as yet incompoſed, he ſet upon them ſodainly, and eaſily reduced them to obedience.

12. The ſame year being the firſt of the 106 *Olympiad*, the ſixth of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Elpinices* being *Archon*, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* and *Olympias* was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, in the *Attick* moneth *Boedromion*, if that be true which *Ariſtobulus* relateth in *Arrianus*, that being 32 years and eight moneths old at his death, he died on the laſt day, but one, of the moneth *Thargelion*. If this be true, (and *Ariſtobulus*, if any, might have occaſion to know it) then could it not be on the ſixth day of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, as *Plutarch* relateth, whoſe error (into which others alſo fell) aroſe from thence, becauſe anciently the *Macedonian* moneth *Lous* fell in with the *Attick Hecatombæon*. The ſame Author telleth us in the life of *Alexander*, that *Philip* received at the ſame time three ſeveral meſſages: One, that the *Illyrians* had received a great overthrow from *Parmenio* his General. Another, that he had got the prize at *Olympia* with his ſwift-footed Horſe. And the third concerning the birth of *Alexander*: and this was a little after he had taken *Potidæa*. But *Potidæa* was taken two years before, as appeareth not onely from *Diodorus*, but alſo from *Demoſthenes*; and ſtrange it is, that *Philip* ſhould not know of his Sons birth a good while b'fore he could have intelligence of the *Olympian* Solemnities, concerning which judgement was given on the ſixteenth day of the moneth: So that the relation of *Trogus* is more true, that he received two meſſages at the ſame time: *viz.* one of his Victory over the *Illyrians*, and another of his prize at *Olympia*. The ſame day that *Alexander* was born, was the (*a*) Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* ſet on fire by (*b*) one who deſired by ſuch an act to be rendred famous to all poſterity, as he confeſſed upon the Rack. But the Council of *Aſia* decreed that none ſhould dare to name him; and for any thing we certainly know, his name is buried in oblivion, or at leaſt, their is incertainty in it; for though *Theopompus* in his Hiſtory recorded it, and ſome (*c*) tell us it was *Heroſtratus*, yet by another he is called *Lygdamis*. (*d*) This being deſtroyed by this means a more excellent Structure was raiſed, the women contributing their ornaments, and the men their goods; to this purpoſe money being alſo made of the old pillars. *Timæus* as (*e*) one, or *Hegeſias* the *Magneſian* as (*f*) another, ſaid the reaſon of the burning to have been, becauſe *Diana* that night being buſied in Midwives work at the travel of *Olympias*, had no leiſure to look to her Temple, which Jeſt *Plutarch* counteth ſo frigid, as to have been able to have quenched the flame. Perhaps both conceits put together might have done it.

Alexander the Great is born.

A. M. 3640. *Ol.* 106. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 348. *Ochi*, 6. *Philippi*, 5.

Vide uſſerium in Annal. Vet. Teſtam. p. 271.

Juſtin lib. 12. *cap.* 16.
(*a*) *Plutarch in Alexandro.*
(*b*) *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 14. *ext. exemp.* 5.
Gell. l. 2. *c.* 6.
(*c*) *Val. ibid. Strabo l.* 14. *p.* 640.
Solin. cap. 40.
(*d*) *Strabo idem.*
(*e*) *Cicero. l.* 1. *de Divinat. &* 2. *de natura Deorum.*
(*f*) *Plutarch.*

13. The year after wherein *Calliſtratus* was *Archon*, began the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War (as it was called) in *Greece*, which aroſe upon this occaſion. The *Lacedæmonians* after their overthrow in the battel of *Leuctra*, had been fined much money by the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, to the uſe of the *Thebans*, for ſeizing upon *Cadmea* their Citadel, which was exacted of them. The *Phocians* alſo having plowed up a great piece of the ground belonging to the Temple at *Delphos* and called *Cyrrhæa*, were alſo fined by the ſame Common-council of *Greece*, many Talents. This Decree being confirmed by all the *Gracians*, and about to be executed by ſeizing on their grounds, *Philomelus* a man of principal note amongſt them told them the Decree was unjuſt, and perſwaded them by force to reſcind it, for that they had advantage enough ſo to do, becauſe the Oracle it ſelf was once in their poſſeſſion, and tuition, citing to that purpoſe two Verſes out of the ſecond Book of the *Iliads* of *Homer*. He perſwaded them therefore to get it again into their hands, promiſing, if they would give him power, to do it, and all other things for their profit and honour. They made him General, with full power according to his deſire, who ſtraight went to *Sparta*, where he preſſed alſo the injuſtice of the *Amphyctiones* towards that State about their fine, and ſhewing how it alſo

The *Phocian* or *Sacred* war.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. *an.* 2.

A. M. 3650. *Ol.* 106. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 399. *Ochi*, 7. *Philippi*, 6.

alſo concernd them to have the ſentence of the Council nulled, he perſwaded *Archidamus* the King to joyn with him. He ſupplied him with money, wherewith raiſing Soldiers he invaded the Temple, and beating back the *Locrians* that came to oppoſe him, with great ſlaughter, pulled the Decrees of the Council from the pillars, and brake in pieces the tables wherein were regiſtred the names of the condemned. He cauſed it to be told abroad, that he neither intended to rob the Temple, nor to have any other diſhoneſt intention; but the *Bœotians* not believing him, in their General Council decreed, that the Temple was to be recovered, and gave order for levies for the ſame purpoſe. *Philomelus* in the mean time fortified the place, and made all poſſible proviſion for defence. He invaded the *Locrians*, who killing ſome of his men, refuſed to reſtore the bodies, alleging the Law, that all ſacrilegious perſons ought to be caſt out unburied: but he on purpoſe ingaged with them in another Skirmiſh, and with ſome of theirs redeemed them formerly denied. Then forced he the Propheteſſe to aſcend the *Tripos* to give him advice concerning the Warre. She out of fear, told him he might do whatſoever he pleaſed.

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14. The Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, and the Oracle at *Delphos*, one of the two chief Cities of *Phocis* (*Elatea* being reckoned with it) till made a Commonwealth of it ſelf by the *Lacedæmonians*, was of antient Original, as appeareth by the (*a*) Poets making *Agamemnon* before his Expedition to *Troy*, to have received anſwer from it. The place thereof was accounted the middle of all *Greece*, and alſo the navil of the whole World, a Fable being invented (related by *Pindar*) that two Eagles (ſome ſay Crows) being ſent out, the one from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt by *Jupiter*, met here. The (*b*) Original of the Oracle is to be fetched from Goats, which feeding about that cave or hole (where afterwards the Temple was built) were ſeen to skip and utter voices unuſual to others and themſelves at other times, which the Herdſman perceiving, went thither himſelf, and was affected in like manner, withall foretelling things to come. This being blazed abroad, and many who flocked thither experiencing the ſame thing themſelves, it came to be judged an Oracle. For a time one gave anſwer to another indifferently; but many were tranſported with the fury, and leaping down into the hole were utterly loſt, ſo that it was judged beſt, to ſet apart one woman, who ſhould attend conſtantly, and a certain Engine to be made, wherein ſtanding ſafely over the place, ſhe might give out the Oracle. This Engine having three feet, came thence to be called *Tripos*; the woman was named *Pythia*, from asking, ſaith *Strabo*, and the firſt of all others was called *Phemonoe*. Virgins at firſt were onely deſtinated to this work, till one of them being raviſhed by *Echecrates* the *Theſſalian*, women of about 50 years, but in the habit of Virgins were onely allowed of. The Temple in more antient times was very famous for the Oracle; for the ſitting of the *Amphyctiones*, the *Pythian* Games, and the riches thereof; but in the time of *Strabo* it was decaied in reputation, being nothing ſo much accounted of, which we may gather from it's poverty, ſeeing by gifts it was not able to recover the wealth taken out of it in after times, as it did that which it enjoyed in the time of *Homer*, having been rifled before it was recruited again by the preſent of *Cræſus*, his Father *Alyattes*, the *Italians*, *Sicilians*, and others.

(*a*) *Odiſſ.* 9. 75. *vide Strabo. lib.* 9. *p.* 417. *D.*
(*b*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 106. *an.* 2.

The original of the oracle at *Delphos*.

15. *Philomelus* ſent to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and the other eminent Cities of *Greece*, to excuſe himſelf, profeſſing he onely intended the recovery of the Temple into the poſſeſſion of his Country-men; and not with any deſire or deſign to pillage the treaſures, adding, that he ſhould be alwayes ready to account for the money or gifts belonging thereto. He deſired that if any out of ill will to the *Phocians* bare Arms againſt them, that they would enter into League with them, or at leaſt to forbear all Hoſtility. The meſſengers effectually ſolliciting according to their inſtructions, brought the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to enter into ſociety, and to promiſe aid; but the *Bœotians*, with the *Locrians* and ſome others, thought the contrary, and reſolved that the Temple was to be reſcued. *Philomelus* ſeeing what kind of a brunt he

Idem ad an. 3.

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he must undergo, laboured all wayes to strengthen himself, for which purpose abstaining yet from the Treasures of the Temple, he took a great summe of money from the Citizens of *Delphi*, wherewith he hired Soldiers. Having got together a considerable force, he took the field, and overthrew the *Locrians* who made head against him. They then sent to *Thebes* requiring aid for *Apollo* and themselves, and the *Bœotians* thinking their demand to be just, desirous to shew their Devotion, and conceiving it to concern them that the Decrees of the *Amphyctiones* should not be nulled, sent to the *Thessalians*, and the rest of the *Amphyctiones* to joyn with them in this War against the *Phocians*. The Council meeting together, then Decreed, that War was to be made upon them, which caused great motions and factions throughout all *Greece*.

The Council of *Amphyctiones* decreeth War against the *Phocians*.

16. Some thought Religion bound them to relieve the God, and punish the *Phocians* as sacrilegious persons; but others inclined to defend them, according to their particular interests. The *Bœotians*, *Locrians*, *Perrhæbeans*, *Dorians*, *Dolopians*, *Athamanians*, *Achæans*, they of *Pthiotis*, the *Magnetes*, *Ænianes*, and some others were for rescuing the Temple. With the *Phocians* stood the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and some others of *Peloponnesus*, whereof the *Lacedæmonians* were now more than before concerned, for not having paid their Fine imposed on them by the *Amphyctiones* within the time limited, at the last sitting they were Fined 1000 Talents more. This made them desire that the Decrees of the Council should be invalid, as well as the *Phocians*, and being unwilling to contract the Odium of making War in their own name upon that account, they were glad to do it as it were in the name of the other, endeavouring withall to get the Temple into their own hands. *Philomelus*, when there came certain intelligence that the *Thebans* would invade them with a strong Army, to furnish himself with mercenaries, seized upon the Treasury of the Temple: then offering half as much more wages as formerly, he had multitudes offered themselves to the service. With 10000 he invaded the *Locrians*, who being assisted with the *Bœotians* opposed him, and having the worst of it, afterwards taking some of his men as they were gathering forage, put them to death as sacrilegious persons condemned by the *Amphyctiones*. This the *Phocians* complaining of, procured of their General, that to stop such proceedings for the time to come, he should punish such prisoners as he took in the same kind. After this the Armies removed into other parts of the Countrey, where ingaging in Woody and difficult places of passage, the *Phocians* were overmatched with the number of their Enemies, and being put to flight, *Philomelus*, after he had omitted nothing worthy of a Captain, for fear he should come into the power of his Enemies, leaped down a Rock, and perished with the fall. With *Diodorus* consenteth (*a*) *Pausanias* as to the kind of his death, though (*b*) *Justin* writeth him to have been slain in the beginning of the fight.

Philomelus slain.

(*a*) *In Phocicis.* (*b*) *Lib.* 8.

17. *Onomarchus* his Collegue taking upon him the Office of General after his death, gathering up the reliques of the Army, therewith retreated home, and the *Bœotians* rejoycing they had wrought the destruction of so infamous a man, returned into their own Countrey, hoping his hap would deter others from the like Enterprize. But the *Phocians* (being perswaded by *Onomarchus*, who himself had also been Fined by the *Amphyctiones*, and therefore for his own ends stirred them up to continue the War) resolved to perfect if possible what was begun, and to that purpose created him General. He as his Predecessor had done, with large pay allured many unto him, corrupted the *Thessalians* to quit the society of the *Bœotians*, and invading the Territories of the Enemy took *Thronium*, forced the *Amphissians* to submit, and wasted the grounds of the *Dorians*; he took *Orchomenus* in *Bœotia*; but besieging *Chæronea* was worsted by the *Thebans*, and forced to retreat. At this time the *Thebans*, though deserted by the *Thessalians*, sent over forces into *Asia* to *Artabazus*, who had revolted from the King, and now began to decline after: *Chares* the *Athenian* had left him. The War was renewed betwixt the *Argives* and the *Lacedæmonians* who had the better in a battel fought

Onomarchus succeedeth him.

Diodorus ad ann. 4.

fought at *Ornea*. *Chares* going into the *Hellespont* took *Sestus*, and *Kersebleptes* the son of *Cotys* King of the *Thracians*, bearing ill will to *Philip* of *Macedonia*, drew all the Cities of the *Chersonesus* to the party of the *Athenians*, except *Cardia*, into which the people were about to send Colonies. *Philip* considering that the *Methymnæans* suffered his Enemies to use their Citie seated in *Magnesia* for a refuge, and as a place convenient for carrying on the War, besieged it. They held out against him for some time, and in the siege he lost one of his eyes with a stroak of an Arrow; but at length they desired to be dismissed with one sute of Apparel apiece, and this being granted, he destroyed the Citie, and divided the grounds amongst the *Macedonians*.

SECT. 5.

Philip besiegeth *Methymnæus*, a Town situate in *Magnesia*.

18. After this he was called into *Thessaly* by the Inhabitants against *Lycophron* Tyrant of the *Pheræans*, who in like manner desiring aid of the *Thessalians*, *Phayllus* the brother of *Onomarchus* was sent to assist him with 7000 men. Him *Philip* worsted, and expelled out of *Thessaly*. *Onomarchus* then, who had already attained the Dominion of all that Countrey in his mind, with all his strength marched to the aid of *Lycophron*, and overmatching *Philip*, and the *Thessalians*, in number of men, overthrew them twice with great slaughter, and sorely distressed *Philip*, insomuch that hardly containing his Soldiers in obedience, he presently retreated into *Macedonia*. *Onomarchus* improving the credit this victory had got him, overthrew the *Bœotians*, and got *Chæronea*. *Philip* recruited himself, and returned into *Thessaly* against the Tyrant, who being straighten'd sent again to *Onomarchus*, promising if his affairs succeeded, to do his work in the Cities of *Thessaly*. *Onomarchus* with 20000 foot, and 500 horse was ready at his call, but ingaging in battel with *Philip*, and the *Thessalians*, was utterly defeated by the power and courage of the *Thessalian* horse, and fled amain with such as could get away towards the Sea. It hapned that *Chares* the *Athenian* hovering then about the Coasts with a Fleet, saved many that took the Sea, and swom to his ships. But of the *Phocians* and their assistants 6000 were slain, and as many taken, amongst whom was *Onomarchus*, whom *Philip* caused to be hanged, and the rest to be drowned in the Sea as sacrilegious persons. This battel hapned in the year wherein *Mausolus* the famous Prince of *Caria* died, and *Clearchus* the Tyrant of *Heraclea* a Citie in *Pontus*, was slain, to whom succeeded his son *Timotheus*, and reigned fifteen years. *Clearchus* having obtained the Tyranny, and his designs prospering imitated in all things *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, and inslaved his fellow Citizens very magnificently twelve years.

Is twice defeated by *Onomarchus*.

Who getteth *Chæronea*, but is again utterly defeated by *Philip*, and is hanged.

Vide Justin. lib. 16.

19. The year after, being the first of the 107th *Olympiad*, wherein *Smicrinus* of *Tarentum* was Victor, and *Aristodemus Archon*, *Phayllus* was made General in the room of *Onomarchus* his brother. He having plenty of money, therewith allured not onely obscure men, but the principal Cities of *Greece* to joyn with him in the War. The *Lacedæmonians* sent him 1000 foot, the *Achæans* 2000, and the *Athenians* 5000, besides 400 horse. *Lycrophon* and *Pitholaus* the *Pherean* Tyrants, after the death of *Onomarchus* being destitute of succour, were forced to quit their power by *Philip*, and gathering together 2000 men, lead them to the service of *Phayllus*. With such forces and those of his own he invaded *Bœotia*, but was worsted several times, first at *Orchomenus* where he lost many men, then at the River *Cephisus*, and again at *Chæronea*. After this he invaded the *Locrians*, called *Epicnemidii*, several of whose Towns he took, and received some losse from the *Bœotians*, who invading *Phocis* he came suddenly upon them and revenged himself. But having conflicted long with a Consumption, not long after in great pain, as his impiety (saith *Diodorus*) had deserved, he ended his life. He left for his Successor *Phalæcus* the son of *Onomarchus*, who being but young, he joyned as Counsellour to him, one *Mnaseas* his familiar friend. The *Bœotians* falling by night upon them, slew 200 of the *Phocians* with their Captain *Mnaseas*, and within awhile in a fight at *Chæronea*, *Phalæus* himself was also worsted, and many of his followers were slain. *Philip* of *Macedon* having

Diodorus ad Olymp. 107. *ann.* 1.

Phayllus succeedeth *Onomarchus*.

And dieth of a Consumption.

SECT. 5. having reſtored the *Theſſalians* to liberty by taking away the yoak of the *Pheræan* Tyrants (which bound them ever after very faſt to him and his ſon) went towards the *Pylæ*, or Streights, to make War upon the *Phocians*; but the *Athenians* hindring his paſſage, thence he returned with great honour into his own Kingdom.

20. Whileſt theſe things were adoing, the *Lacedæmonians* being at Enmity with the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, ſent *Archidamus* their King to invade them, who being too weak for them of themſelves, deſired aid of their friends. The *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Meſſenians* helped them with their whole ſtrength, and the *Thebans* ſent them 4000 foot and 500 horſe. The *Lacedæmonians* had 3000 foot from the *Phocians*, and 150 horſe from *Lycophron* and *Pitholaus*, by the aſſiſtance of which forces they took *Orneæ*, a Citie of *Argolis*, before their Enemies could come to relieve it. The *Thebans* afterwards coming down, a battel was fought with equal ſucceſſe, after which the *Argives* departed to their ſeveral homes, and the *Lacedæmonians* invading *Arcadia*, took, and plundred *Eliſſus*, and returned unto *Sparta*. After ſome time the *Thebans* had the better of it at *Telphuſſa*, and after that in two battels more, wherein they killed many of their Enemies; but then again the *Lacedæmonians* by a notable victory recovered their credit, and the Armies returning home, a Truce was made betwixt them and the *Megalopolitans*. This was done whileſt *Phalæcus* in *Bœotia* took *Cheroieda*, and preſently loſt it again to the *Thebans*, who then with a numerous Army entred, and waſted *Phocis*, and then having taken ſome inconſiderable places with much booty they returned into *Bœotia*.

Stirs betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Megalopolitans*.

21. The next year the *Thebans* being ſpent with the *Phocian* War, ſent to *Ochus* the *Perſian* King to deſire a ſupply of money from him; who without any difficulty, or delay, beſtowed on them 300 Talents. No memorable thing paſſed betwixt the *Phocians* and them this year, which was ſpent in skirmiſhes and mutual depredations. Two years after (*a*) *Philip* caſt out again *Pitholaus* the Tyrant, who had ſeized upon *Pheræ*, and ſetting upon the Cities of *Thrace* which belonged to *Chalcis*, took by ſtorm the Caſtle *Zeira*, which he demoliſhed, & forced other Towns to ſubmit to his yoak, (*b*) though, upon deſire of the *Chalcidians*, *Charidemus* had been ſent from the *Athenians* to help them, then lying in the *Helleſpont*. The (*c*) year following wherein was ſolemnized the 108th *Olympiad*, whereof *Polycles* the *Cyrenean* was Victor, having great deſigns in his mind, he haſted to get into his hands the Cities of the *Helleſpont*, and without any ſtroaks got *Micylerne* and *Torone* by treachery to be delivered up to him. Now he quarrelled with the *Olynthians* (becauſe his affairs were improved by ſucceſſe) whom before he courted as fearing their power, which had been ever too much for his predeceſſors. 'Tis ſaid he pretended a quarrel becauſe they received his two half brothers, whom after he had taken in the Town he murdred; all things being lawfull to him now that might any way ſerve his turn, all his affections and paſſions being ſwallowed up in his ambition, which made him not ſtick to break faith himſelf, and by his Gold to tempt others to do it. He thought it to no purpoſe to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had firſt incloſed all their power within the Walls, and therefore he firſt overthrew them in two battels, and then beſieged the Citie, which attempting with many aſſaults and great loſſe of men, at length it was betrayed into his hands by *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes* the chief Magiſtrates, whom he had corrupted with money. He ſackt it, and ſold the Inhabitants with the reſt of the plunder, whereby he much enriched himſelf, and was enabled to buy in Cities which he dayly did, having been adviſed by the Oracle at the beginning of his undertaking, to *make his aſſaults with ſilver ſpears*; inſomuch that he boaſted that his Kingdom was more increaſed by Gold than Arms.

Idem ad ann. 2.

(*a*) *Idem ad ann.* 4.

(*b*) *Anagraphe Olympiadum.*

(*c*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 108. *ann.* 1. *Juſtin. lib.* 8.

Philip getteth *Olynthus*.

22. The *Athenians* being ſenſible of his incroachments, jealous of his growing power, and warily providing for the liberty of *Greece*, ſupplied, as they might, ſuch as he fell upon with war, and now ſent up & down to the Cities to deſire them to value their liberty, & puniſh capitally ſuch as were treacherous amongſt

Diodorus ibid.

The *Athenians* began to look to themſelves.

amongſt the n, promiſing them their alliance and utmoſt aſſiſtance, in this work. And now at length by the ſpecial advice of *Demoſthenes* (the greateſt Wit and Orator of *Greece*) they openly declared themſelves his Enemies, and undertook the quarrel. But ſo far were the ſpirits of the *Greeks* degenerated, that this endeavour of theirs could not counterwork the efficacy of his Gold, ſo that having a mind to take a Town that was ſtrongly fortified, and one of the place telling him it could not be done, he asked him if he thought it not poſſible for his Gold to get over the walls. He had in all the Cities up and down his inſtruments and ſecret workers, who ſought for a little gain to undermine the fortune of their own Country. After the taking of *Olynthus*, he celebrated the *Olympick* Games, and feaſted all Comers; and entertaining them with great magnificence, by this cunning ingaged many to betray their Faith. SECT. 5.

23. The following year the *Bœotians* and *Phocians* mutually preyed upon each other, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes hapned betwixt them, which produced no great loſſe on either ſide. But *Phalæcus* the *Phocian* General, being accuſed to have ſtolen the ſacred money, was put out of his place, and three Generals ſubſtituted in his room, *Diomocrates*, *Callias*, and *Sophanes*, who were to make inquiſition about the money which was ſtolen, and call the Truſtees who had the management thereof to account. The chief of the Truſtees was *Philo*, who being not able to give an account, was racked, and confeſſed many of his fellow thieves. They had taken out of the Temple 4000 talents of gold after the rate of ſilver, and above 6000 talents of Silver of ſuch preſents as *Craſſus* and others had ſent: and there wanted not ſome who affirmed as much to have been rifled out of this Temple, as *Alexander* afterwards found in the treaſures of the *Perſians*. *Phalæcus* was about to ſearch in the pavement for treaſure, hinted at by *Homer*; but when the Soldiers came to dig near to the *Tripos*, ſuch Earthquakes hapned, as deterred them from proceeding any further. The *Phocians* aſſiſted with theſe riches caried on the War, and by this time had got into their hand three ſtrong places in *Bœotia*; *Orchomenus*, *Cheronea*, and *Corſias*. The *Bœotians* being much preſſed herewith, having loſt very many men, and wanting money, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Macedonia* for aid. *Philip* was very glad to find them in ſo weak a condition, deſiring to abate that Spirit which they had got at the battel at *Leuctra*, yet he ſent them a conſiderable number of men, becauſe he would not ſeem to be wanting to ſo religious a cauſe, as vindicating the right of the Oracle. At this time the *Phocians* building a Caſtle near *Abæ*, were fallen upon by the *Bœotians*, and ſhifting for themſelves into the neighbouring Towns, 500 of them ſtepped by into a Chapel of *Apollo* near *Abæ*. Fire being left in their tents, ſeized upon ſome ſtraw there, whence a great flame ariſing, caught hold at length of the Chapel, and therein burnt alive thoſe that had fled thither, for an example (as *Diodorus* accounteth it) to all ſacrilegious perſons.

Idem ad ann. 2.

The *Bœotians* crave aid of *Philip*.

A remarkable accident.

24. *Philip* being now imployed in the War of *Thrace*, which was to the great damage of the *Athenians*, to lull them aſleep, promiſed he would enter into a ſtraight league and alliance with them, and pretending fair things, ſo corrupted ſome of the chief Orators, (*a*) (*Æſcines* accuſeth *Demoſthenes*, and (*b*) *Demoſthenes* layeth the load upon *Æſchines*) that a peace was made up which continued ſeven years. (*c*) *Demoſthenes* adviſed them to ſend away their Ambaſſadors to *Philip* with all ſpeed, to ratifie the League, leſt he delaying the matter according to his cuſtom, ſhould ſtill proceed to incommodate their affaires. Accordingly five Ambaſſadors were diſpatched away, whereof one was *Æſchines*; but coming into *Macedonia*, they were there forced to ſtay till *Philip* had ſetled all things in *Thrace*, according to his own pleaſure, and paſſed through the *Pylæ* or Straights into *Phocis*. The *Athenians* hearing of his coming, notwithſtanding the place, were in great fear, and cauſed all their goods to be brought into the City. The *Theſſalians* and *Bœotians* earneſtly now deſired of him that he would undertake the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Phocians*; and on the other ſide the Ambaſſadors

(*a*) *Orat. contra Cleſiphont.*

(*b*) *Orat. περὶ Συνθήκης.*

(*c*) *Idem ibid. Juſtin lib.* 8.

Philip lulleth the *Athenians* aſleep.

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baſſadors of the *Phocians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, earneſtly deſired him from the War. He hearing both ſides, being accuſtomed to double dealing, promiſed them he would do as all had deſired, and ſo making them ſecure hereby, ſeized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*.

25. The *Phocians* having ſent to *Lacedæmon* for aid, procured 1000 Footmen of heavy Armour, which were commanded by *Archidamus*. *Philip* in conjunction with the *Theſſalians* with a ſtrong Army went down into *Locris*, where finding *Phalæcus* reſtored to his Generalſhip, he haſted to decide the controverſie by action, but the other lying at *Nice*, and perceiving himſelf too weak to fight, ſent to treat with him, and they agreed that he ſhould have freedom to depart with his men whither he pleaſed. Faith being given and received, he departed with his Mercenaries to the number of 8000 into *Peloponneſus*, and the *Phocians* being thus deſerted, were forced to yield. So the War was ended by *Philip* without a ſtroak, in the tenth year after the beginning thereof, in the third year of the 108 *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus*, when *Archias* was *Archon*; but as * *Pauſanias* writeth, in the firſt of this *Olympiad*, and in the government of *Theophilus*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 108. an. 3.

He endeth the *Phocian* War.

*In Phocicis

26. *Philip* calling a Council of the *Bœotians* and *Theſſalians*, it was reſolved to remit the matter of the *Phocians* wholly to the judgment and ſentence of the *Amphyctiones*. They decreed *that Philip as a reward for his good ſervice ſhould be inrolled in the number of themſelves, and have the double voice which the Phocians formerly had. That the Phocians ſhould be debarred from the Temple. That they ſhould neither have Horſe nor Arms till ſuch time as they had repayed the money which they had ſtolen from Apollo. All their Exiles and as many as were guilty of Sacrilege in their own perſons ſhould be accounted piacular, and it might be lawful to take them out of any place. All their Cities were to be levelled with the ground, and they reduced into Villages, not exceeding the number of Fifty little Families apiece, and diſtant a furlong one from another. They were to pay to the Temple a yearly tribute of Sixty talents, till the money ſtolen was made up.* But from this puniſhment, *Pauſanias* telleth us the *Abæans* were excepted, who alone had not contaminated themſelves. The Council then took order for reſtoring of the Oracle, and for the eſtabliſhment of peace in *Greece*; and *Philip* having confirmed their Decrees, imbracing them all with ſingular kindneſſe, returned into his own Kingdom, flouriſhing with great glory both upon the account of Piety and Martial matters. This Expedition made not a little for the enlargment of his Empire, and the improvement of his deſign already laid, to procure himſef to be choſen Captain General of *Greece*, and to make War upon the *Perſians*.

Diodorus ibid.

Pauſan. ut prius.

The *Phocians* how puniſhed by the *Amphyctiones*.

27. Two years after, and in the 17 of his reign, he invaded the *Illyrians* his old Enemies with a potent Army, took therein many Towns, waſted the Country, and with rich booty returned into *Macedonia*. Then went he into *Theſſalie*, where caſting out the Tyrants out of the Cities, he much won upon the People, having a deſign hereby to make uſe of their favour, as a decoy to bring in the affections of the reſt. And it failed not; for their neighbours led by their example, very readily entred into League with him. The year after he proſecuted this deſign to a further advantage, for *Kerſobleptes* the King of the *Thracians* much diſtreſſing the *Greek* Cities in *Thrace*, he exhorted them to joyn together, and with a ſtrong force going againſt him overthrew the *Thracians* in ſeveral battels, and forced them to pay the tenths of their Lands to the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. He built Forts in ſuch places as were convenient for the bridling of their power, whereby the Cities being delivered now from their fear, moſt gladly imbraced his alliance and ſociety. The year after this, *Arymbas* King of the *Moloſſians* died, who left a Son named *Æacides*, the Father of *Pyrrhus*, but *Philip* deprived him of the Kingdom, and give it to *Alexander* the brother of his wife *Olympias*. * Another ſaith, that he deprived *Arymbas* yet alive, and expelling him the Kingdom ſetled *Alexander* therein.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 109. an. 1.

Idem ad an. 2.

Philip overthroweth the *Thracians*.

Idem ad an. 3.

Juſtin l. 7. & 8.

28. The next Expedition *Philip* undertook, was againſt *Perinthus* a ſtrong City,

Diodorus ad an. 4.

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City, ſituate upon the ſhore of the *Propontis*, the Inhabitants whereof in favour of the *Athenians* croſſed his deſigns. With his utmoſt might, he ſelf upon it, continuing the ſtorm without intermiſſion, by freſh men ſent in the place of the dead or wounded: he built Turrets higher than theirs, and with battering rams and mines brake down a part of the wall. But the defendants being relieved from *Byzantium*, manfully reſiſted, and built a ſtronger wall in the room of that which was thrown down. By this means the Siege being drawn on in length, and great talk being in *Aſia* of the power of the *Macedonian*, *Ochus* the *Perſian* King being now jealous of his power, thought it wiſdom to ballance him, and for that purpſe gave order to his *Satrapaes* upon the Sea Coaſts to aſſiſt the *Perinthians*. They uniting their Forces together, give them their utmoſt aſſiſtance, which with the natural ſtrength of the place inabled them to ſtand it out. For it was ſeated upon the cliff of a Peninſula about a furlong in length, the houſes were thick and high, riſing one rank above another, according to the aſcent of the hill, ſo that the whole Town repreſented the form of a Theatre. Hereby, though the wall was batterd down, yet ſtopping the ends of the ſtreets, their defence was little diminiſhed, which *Philip* perceiving, and how all things neceſſary for the War were abundantly ſupplied from *Byzantium*, he left a ſtrong party under expert Captains to carry on the Siege, and with the reſt of the Army haſted againſt that City, the inhabitants whereof having ſent their men and arms to the *Perinthians*, were thereby much ſtraightned.

Beſiegeth *Perinthus*.

Marcheth thence to *Byzantium*.

29. By this time the grudges betwixt *Philip* and the *Athenians* were ſo heightned, that now the peace was held as broken on both ſides. *Phocion* the *Athenian* was ſent againſt *Clitarchus* the Tyrant of *Eretria*, who was made by *Philip*, and caſt him out, being by (*a*) *Plutarch* called *Plutarch*, (*b*) They ſent aid alſo to the *Byzantians*, at the perſwaſion of (*c*) *Demoſthenes*, contained in the fourth Oration of his *Philipicks*. With them joyned the *Chians*, *Coans*, *Rhodians*, and other *Greeks*, which ſo terrified *Philip*, as he was glad for the preſent to yield to neceſſity, and made a peace with them. For *Demoſthenes* having perſwaded his Citizens forgetting all committed in the Social War, to ſend relief to the *Byzantians* and *Perinthians*, and he himſelf being ſent Ambaſſador to the Cities, wrought ſo effectually with them, that beſides their ordinary Militia, they raiſed 15000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, and liberally contributed money for their pay; at which time the Aſſociates deſiring that the ſum of the taxe might be ſet, *Crobulus* the Orator ſaid, that War had no ſet rate of allowance. At this time (*d*) *Atias* King of *Scythia* being invaded by the *Iſtrians*, ſent to *Philip* for aid, promiſing him ſucceſſion in his Kingdom; which being ſent whenas the *Iſtrians* retreated, he alſo ſent back the *Macedonians*, and recalled his promiſe concerning the ſucceſſion. *Philip* hereupon demanded money to pay the men, but he alſo refuſing it upon pretence of poverty, raiſed his Siege from *Byzantium* to go againſt him, and ſent meſſengers before to let the *Scythians* know he had vowed to ſet up to *Hercules* a Statue upon the bank of *Iſter*, and to deſire peaceable acceſſe and receſſe for that purpoſe. He anſwered, that if he pleaſed to ſend the Statue it ſhould be erected, but refuſed to give leave for him to enter his borders with an Army, ſaying, that if he ſet it up by force, he would pull it down after his departure, and turn the Braſſe thereof into heads of Arrows. *Philip* entering *Scythia*, a battel was fought, wherein he overcame them by craft, who in courage exceeded, and took 20000 women and children, with multitudes of cattel, but neither Gold nor Silver. Twenty thouſand Mares of the choiceſt were ſent into *Macedonia* to breed. As *Philip* returned, the *Triballi* oppoſed themſelves, refuſing to give him paſſage except he would part with ſome of his booty. He diſdaining the thing, forced his paſſage, but received ſuch a wound in his thigh, that through it his Horſe was killed under him, and being taken up for dead, ſo little care was had of the prey, that it was left. *Iſocrates* the Orator taking occaſion at this diſaſter, ſought by his ſecond Epiſtle to draw his mind to a peaceable inclination; but to no purpoſe.

(*a*) *In Phocion.* (*b*) *Diodorus ad Olymp. 110. an. 1.* (*c*) *Plutarch in Demoſthen.*

(*d*) *Juſtin l. 9.*

He invadeth the *Scythians*.

At his return wounded and diſtreſſed by the *Triballi*.

30. Two

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30. Two years after, having drawn most of the *Græcians* into society with him, he longed after the Empire of all *Greece*, in his way to which the *Athenians* onely seemed the main obstacle. He resolved now to daunt them, and obtain his purpose, and for that end seized first upon *Elatea* a Citie of *Phocis*, and calling his forces thither resolved speedily to make War upon them, hoping his work would be the lesse, because he should take them altogether unprepared, and secure upon the account of the peace. The *Athenians* exceedingly struck hereat for some time stood mute, after they were met together, being come of their own accord, for that the Magistrates caused an Allarm to be sounded all the night after they received the news. At length all their eyes were turned upon *Demosthenes*, who perswaded them to send to the *Bœotians* to desire their assistance in the vindication of the liberty of *Greece*, and being sent himself by his Oratory perswaded them to it, though they held themselves upon the account of the *Phocian* War obliged to *Philip*. The *Athenians* were incouraged by this accession of the *Bœotians*, which doubled their force, and dispatched their Army under the conduct of *Chares* and *Lysicles* towards *Charonea* in *Bœotia*, all of flourishing age willingly giving their names to the expedition, and the *Bœotians* admiring their readinesse hasted also themselves, and joyning to them expected the coming of the Enemy. He sent his Ambassadors to the Council, one whereof was *Python* an eloquent man, to withdraw them from the *Athenians*, but prevailing not, he notwithstanding resolved to fight them both, and with an Army of 30000 foot, and 2000 horse invaded *Bœotia*. He overmatched his Enemies as well in skill as numbers, all the *Athenian* Captains of note being now dead, and *Chares* Chief, who was nothing better for conduct than an ordinary Soldier. A cruel and bloody fight was fought with great animosity on both sides, and with equal successe, till *Alexander*, *Philip*'s son, first made his Enemies give ground in his Wing, and then his father had the same successe in the other, and obtained the victory. Of the *Athenians* above 1000 fell, 2000 were taken, and of the *Bœotians* a great number. *Demosthenes* being in the battel made his actions far disagreeable to his words, and cowardly with the first casting away his Arms (though Good fortune was ingraven upon his shield) ran away.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 110. *ann.* 3. *Plutarch. in Demosthen.*

He obtaineth a victory over the *Athenians*, &c. at *Charonea*.

A.M. 3667. *Ol.* 110. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 416. *Artis* 1. *Philippi* 23.

31. Together with this battel was lost the liberty of *Greece*, and in effect the antient glory thereof here had its period, being never able to recover its power, and first enslaved by one, and then another for ever after. (*a*) *Isocrates* the *Athenian* Orator was so sensible of the advantage *Philip* had got, that being ignorant how he would improve the opportunity, and resolved not to see *Athens* besieged the fourth time, killed himself by abstaining from all sustenance four dayes, aged 98 years. (*b*) Presently after the victory, *Philip* carouzed for joy, and walking amongst the Captives upbraided the badnesse of their condition, when *Demades* the *Athenian* Orator took him short, asking him, if he who had obtained the fortune of *Agamemnon* shamed not to act the part of *Thersites*? with the wit of which castigation he was so struck, that he cast off the former countenance, imbraced the author of it with singular kindnesse, with him gave liberty to all the *Athenian* prisoners, and forgetting his pride, made a League and Alliance with that Commonwealth. (*c*) He is also reported to have appointed a Boy every morning to beat this into his Ear, that *He was a man*. He was a great Master of his affections indeed. He was never passionate to his disadvantage, and upon this account, to procure that with more ease which he had long designed, he might thus gratifie the *Athenians*, whose interest in the other Estates being the same with the Common of all *Greece*, he might be unwilling to force them to the utmost. But he placed a Garrison of his own in *Thebes*; and *Justin* writeth, how he sold for slaves all the prisoners of that Citie, and the bodies of such as had been slain to their friends for burial: that of the chiefest of the Citizens some he put to death, and confiscated the goods of the rest, being sufficiently sensible of their ingratitude. After the fight, when the *Athenians* fortified their Citie as expecting a siege, (*d*) *Demosthenes* at his own charge re-

(*a*) *Plutarch in vitis Rhetorum & Dionysius in Isocrate.*

(*b*) *Diodorus.*

(*c*) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib.* 8. *cap.* 15.

(*d*) *Plutarch. in Demosthene.*

edified

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edified part of the Wall, for which service *Ctesiphon* thought he was to be honoured with a Garland at the publick meeting of *Greece*; but *Æschines* contended it was against the Law: and so his Oration against *Ctesiphon* concerning the Crown, or Garland, was written this year, *Charonides* (or *Charondas*) being *Archon*, the third of the 110th *Olympiad*, and the first of the reign of *Arses* the *Persian* King.

32. (*a*) *Philip* by his successe having utterly broken the courage of the principal Cities of *Greece*, now gave out that he would undertake a War against the *Persian* for the general commodity all the estates, and thereby, and with his great courtesie, gained much upon some sorts of people. At length he called them together at *Corinth*, and largely discoursing of the War, shewed the certain hope of successe, and earnestly exhorted them to undertake it; to which all either out of love or fear assented. He was chosen Captain General for the expedition, allowance of men and money were appointed to the several Cities, the (*b*) *Lacedæmonians* alone scorning both him, and the conditions of his peace, accounting that slavery, and not peace, which was imposed by the Conquerour. The Auxiliaries of *Greece* amounted to 200000 foot, and 15000 horse, over and above the forces of *Macedonia*, and the barbarous Nations thereto adjoyning. Whilest he thus prospered in his affairs abroad, (*c*) great differences arose in his own house by his putting away *Olympias* upon pretence of incontinency, and marrying *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Attalus*. *Olympias* a woman of an high spirit, and melancholick nature, took it exceedingly to heart, & incensed all she could her son *Alexander*, who at the Wedding hearing *Attalus* in his Cups to exhort the *Macedonians* to pray for a lawfull Heir of the Kingdom from *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, calling him naughty fellow, asked him if he counted him a Bastard, and therewith threw a Cup at him. *Philip* hereupon with his drawn Sword made at *Alexander*, but to the good of both, being light headed with Wine, and mad with anger, stumbled and fell. After this *Alexander* carried his mother into *Epirus*, and went himself into *Illyricum*, whence his father shortly recalled him by the procurement of *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*. Not long after *Pexodarus* the Governour of *Caria* sent to offer his eldest daughter in marriage to *Aridæus* the base son of *Philip*, whence great talk being raised that *Philip* did it on purpose to devolve the Crown upon *Aridæus*, *Alexander* sent one *Thessalus* a player to *Pexodarus*, to perswade him to neglect a Bastard and a Fool, and transfer his affinity upon himself, which was very well liked by *Pexodarus*. *Philip* smelling out the matter, checked *Alexander* grievously, as degenerate, and unworthy of the hope of a Kingdom, being ambitious to become son-in-law to a *Carian*, who was no better than a slave to a barbarian King.

(*a*) *Diodorus ad ann.* 4.

Obtaineth to be named General at Sea for all *Greece* against the *Persian*.

(*b*) *Justin lib.* 9.

(*c*) *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

Differences in his house by a new marriage.

33. The next Spring having enquired of the Oracle concerning the successe of the *Persian* War (which gave him answer as ambiguous, and to the same purpose as formerly to *Crœsus*) he sent three Captains over into *Asia* under pretence of setting the *Greek* Cities at liberty; *Attalus*, *Parmenio*, and *Amyntas*. He himself, whilest the forces were gathering together, made a magnificent sacrifize to the gods, and celebrated the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra* with her Uncle *Alexander* of *Epirus*, to which he invited all that would, and gave large entertainment, being willing to shew to the *Græcians* how thankfully he took their making him General of all *Greece*. Feasting and Musick there was in abundance, and the Feast being done for that day (but all the solemnity to be renewed on the next) whilest it was yet night all the people ran together into the Theatre. Thither were carried twelve Images of his gods in solemn procession, and his own next after in a Divine habit, as arrogating to himself a place in the Council of the gods. Then followed he himself apparelled in a white Roab in the midst of the two *Alexanders*, his son, and son-in-law. As he thus proceeded in the ruff of his pride, the people sending up loud acclamations to the skies, and Eccho-ing his felicity, one *Pausanias* met him in the straightest place of his passage, and stabbed him into the side, the wound being so mortal that he fell

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 1. *Pausan. in Arcadicis. Justin.*

He is stabbed.

SECT. 5. A.M. 3668. *Ol.* 110. *ann.* 4. *V.C.* 417. *Arſis* 2. *Philippi* 24.

down dead. This *Pauſanias* having been invited to a Feaſt by *Attalus*, had been carnally abuſed by him after he was drunk, and then proſtituted to the filthy luſt of baſe fellows, for which having complained to the King, partly becauſe of their affinity, and becauſe *Philip* intended to uſe him in the War, he could have no ſatisfaction, and for this cauſe took this revenge upon his unjuſt judge; yet *Alexander* objected to *Darius* that his father was made away by his procurement.

34. The murderer having mounted on horſ-back had got away whileſt the tumult was about the body, but that his ſhooe catching hold on a Vine he was thereby pulled down, and then ſlain by *Perdiccas* and others. This end had *Philip* after he had reigned 24 years, and lived 46. to which *Olympias* is reported by ſome to have contributed, by incouraging *Pauſanias* to commit the fact, and neither knew they how to clear *Alexander* of the matter. She put a Golden Crown upon *Pauſanias* his head as he hung on the Croſſe, and a few dayes after burnt his body upon the Reliques of her husband, and built him a Monument in the ſame place, and cauſed a yearly parentation to be made to him. After this having killed *Cleopatra*'s young ſon in her boſom, ſhe then hanged her, or as one ſaith, fried them both to death in a brazen Veſſel, and conſecrated the ſword wherewith *Philip* was ſlain to *Apollo*, under the name of *Myrtalis*, by which ſhe was called when young. The foundation of a great Empire was laid by *Philip*, and a great pattern left unto his ſon, which to make, was far more hard than what with greater glory was atchieved by *Alexander*. The recovery of *Macedon* when there were two Competitors that had ſuch aſſiſtants, was a work of much prudence and dexterity. The regaining of ſuch places as were loſt to the *Illyrians* and *Olynthians*, with the overthrow of the neighbouring Kings, and the State of *Olynthus*, were ſuch things as would have ſeemed too difficult for many ages to his predeceſſors. The matters atchieved by him required both *Mars* and *Mercury* for aſſiſtants, and therein he bred ſo many choiſe Commanders, as for their skill and valour being worthy to wear Crowns; He ſeemeth moſt to deſerve that glory which his ſon by the influence of his abilities afterwards attained.

His great atchievements.

35. *Alexander* his ſon ſucceeded him, aged about twenty years, in the firſt of the 111th *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleomantes* was Victor, *Pithodorus* being *Archon*, in the firſt of the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, and the year of the World 3669. being by the father's ſide deſcended of *Hercules*, and the mother's from *Achilles*, neither of which lines he diſgraced by the courſe of his fortunes. Of a great and lofty ſpirit he was from a Child, eaſie to be perſwaded, but hard to be compelled. His father apprehending his wit, procured *Ariſtotle* to be his School-maſter, offering him very large rewards, whoſe Native Citie *Stageira* being before by him demoliſhed, he re-edified for his ſake. By ſuch a Maſter he was not onely inſtructed in morality, but had ſome inſight into the more abſtruſe Sciences, and ſeemed to have ſome skill in Phyſick, being wont to give directions to his friends about their health. Being ſixteen years old, *Philip* undertaking an expedition againſt the *Byzantians*, left him his Deputy in *Macedonia*, where improving his time, he ſubdued the *Medeans* who had revolted, and taking that Citie, planted it with new Inhabitants, and called it after himſelf *Alexandropolis*. At the battel of *Chæronea* he behaved himſelf very ſtoutly, which with other his good parts drew great love upon him from his father (inſomuch as he willingly ſuffered the *Macedonians* to call him King, and himſelf General) but *Philips* mind towards his later end being withdrawn from his mother and faſtned upon *Cleopatra*, thereupon enſued great diſſatisfaction on both ſides, whileſt his mother ſtirred him to great indignation, inſomuch as he eſcaped not ſuſpition of being privy to her deſigns againſt his father's life.

Diodorus ibid.

Alexander ſucceedeth him.

Plutarch. in Alexandro.

36. Yet began he his reign with juſtice againſt ſuch as had an hand in the murther, killing them upon his Grave, and blamed his mother that in his abſence ſhe had dealt ſo cruelly with *Cleopatra*. Then celebrating the funeral of his father with royal Rites and Ceremonies, he began to take care of his

Idem ibid. Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 2.

He beginneth his publick affaires, and being contemned for his youth and little experience, above all expectation explicated himſelf out of all difficulties, by imitating his Fathers courteſie, and overcoming many by the invincibleneſſe of his ſpirit, which through the courſe of his life bore down all oppoſition. He renewed the diſcipline of War, and gained the affections of the Army; knowing alſo that *Attalus* upon the account of his Niece *Cleopatra*, lay at all advantages to do him miſchief, he ſent *Hecataus* with a band of men with order to attack him and ſend him over alive if poſſible, or elſe to kill him one way or other, which was at length effected. In the mean time *Demoſthenes* having had ſecret intelligence of *Philip*'s death, went to the people, and prerending to have dreamt it, ſtirred up the *Athenians* all wayes poſſible to contemn the youth of *Alexander*, and not to ſuffer him to obtain the Principality of *Greece*, and to this purpoſe they ſent unto *Attalus*, and entred into conſpiracy with him, how they might beſt effect it. The *Ætolians* intended to reſtore the Exiles of the *Acarnanians* baniſhed by *Philip*. The *Ambraciots* expelled the Garriſon there, and the *Thebans* decreed to do the ſame by that in *Cadmea*. As the *Arcadians* had refuſed to conſent that the Father ſhould be General of *Greece*, ſo were they now nothing better inclined towards the Son, and the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, as the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians* were ready to do any thing for the aſſerting of their own liberty and power. The Nations about *Macedonia* began to ſtir, being altogether inclining to renounce their obedience.

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His difficulties in *Greece*,

37. *Alexander* as an earneſt of his future ſucceſſe eaſily removed thoſe obſtacles, reducing ſome by entreaty and good words, others by awe, and ſome by force of Arms. He firſt obtained of the *Theſſalians* by a publick Decree to be owned as his Fathers Succeſſor in the Generalſhip, and then eaſily bringing the neighbouring People to do the ſame, paſſing the *Pylæ*, called the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, and procured by their ſuffrages to be elected the Captain General of all *Greece*. Having done this, to bring over the reſt by fear, he led down his Army into *Bœotia*, where pitching his tents by *Cadmea* he affrighted the *Thebans* and the *Athenians* alſo ſo much, that theſe getting in all their goods to the City, and fortifying it as well as they might, they ſent to beg his pardon, that they had owned him no ſooner. One of the Ambaſſadors was *Demoſthenes*, who came not with the reſt to *Alexander*, but returned back when he was come on his way, either for that he ſtood in fear of him for the Orations made againſt his Father, or becauſe he would not crack his credit with the *Perſian* King, from whom *Æſchines* accuſed him to have received much money. He anſwered the Ambaſſadors to their ſatisfaction, and then ſent for the Deputies of the Eſtates to meet him at *Corinth*, where ſpeaking very courteouſly to them, he was again declared General againſt the *Perſian*, and aid decreed to him for carrying on the War; after which he returned into *Macedonia*. Whilſt he here was in the *Iſthmus*, many Philoſophers came to ſalute him; * onely *Diogenes* the *Sinopian* made no reckoning of him. The King underſtanding this, went to viſit him then at *Athens*, and finding him ſunning himſelf in his tub, ſaluted him kindly, and deſired him, to ask any thing of him what ſoever he pleaſed. He onely deſired him to ſtand out of the Sun, which greatneſſe of mind *Alexander* ſo much admired, that when his followers laughed and jeered at the man, he anſwered, that *If he were not Alexander, he would be Diogenes.*

Which he overcometh.

Diogenes Laertius & Plutarch, alii.

38. In the beginning of the Spring he made an Expedition into *Thrace*, where he ſubdued ſeveral People, and afterwards proſpered in the ſame manner in *Pæonia* and *Illyria*. In the mean time came intelligence, that many of the *Greeks* had a deſign to revolt, and not a few Cities, amongſt which *Thebes* was moſt eminent, and had renounced his authority. Hereupon he returned into *Macedonia*; the *Thebans* in the mean while beſieging his Garriſon in *Cadmea*, which, being ſupplied with Arms by *Demoſthenes*, they fell upon and ſlew many. They implored the aſſiſtance of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Arcadians*, and *Athenians*. The *Athenians* were perſwaded by *Demoſthenes*

Diodorus & Plutarch.

But the *Thebans* fall upon his Garriſon in *Cadmea*.

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mosthenes to send them aid, who reigning in the Assemblies by the power of his tongue, wrote also to the Kings Captains in *Asia*, thence to oppose *Alexander*, whom he called a *boy* and a *fool*. But *Alexander* marching with speed into *Bœotia*, the valour of the *Athenians* well abated, and *Demosthenes* himself grew very cool. The *Thebans* uncertain what their allies would do, and surprised with the Kings coming, called a Council of Officers to consult what should be done, where it was resolved to fight for their liberty, and this was confirmed by the People, which with great alacrity prepared for resistance, though they might have had good terms of *Alexander*. Who delayed also to do any thing, that they might have time to advise; for his mind being fully intent upon the *Persian* War, he would gladly have been rid of all trouble on this side of the Seas. But when he saw their wilfulnesse, he fully resolved to make this City a terror to the rest. Yet he first offered indemnity to all such as would come over to him, which they to crosse, out of emulation, caused to be proclaimed from an high Tower, that if there were any who had a desire to joyn with the great King and the *Thebans* in vindicating the liberty of *Greece*, and suppressing the Tyrant thereof, they should repair unto them.

Whereupon he besiegeth *Thebes*.

39. Then fell he with all his might and skill upon the City, which they as stoutly defended, knowing else what would follow, and encouraging themselves with their former successe at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, they made resistance to the wonder and discouragement of their Enemies; till at length *Alexander* perceiving a little dore to be left unguarded, sent *Perdiccas* thither with a party, who breaking into the City made way for the rest of the *Macedonians*. Now were the *Thebans* on one side by them, and the other by the Garrison in *Cadmea* (which like a tempest fell upon them) cut in pieces, the Law of War not being allowed them, because of that Proclamation they had made from the Tower. The *Græcians* also that served under *Alexander*, as the *Phocians*, *Thespians*, *Plateans*, *Orchomenians*, and others, bearing them malice, spared them no more, so that great slaughter was made, they fighting it out to the last, having no other regard to their lives than this, to sell them at as dear a rate as possible. There were slain 6000 (*Ælian* * by some mistake hath 90000) and 30000 were taken captives. *Alexander* having buried all his slain (to the number of 500) assembled a Council of the *Græcians*, to which he referred what should be done with the *Thebans*. There their Enemies urged against them, that they had conspired with the *Barbarians* against the *Græcians*, in the time of *Xerxes*, had fought among other allies of *Persia* against *Greece*, and since that been acknowleged and rewarded by his Successors as well deserving of them. By these things they so incenced the Council, as to decree the City to be levelled with the ground, the Captives to be kild, and such as had fled to be fought for and brought to punishment. The King acquiescing in this severe sentence, executed it accordingly, selling all he had taken, except the Priests and those that had entertained his Father when he was young, and their kindred, with the posterity of *Pindar* the Poet, whose house alone he left standing. This famous City then was demolished the last day of the Month *Hecatombæon*, Solemnities then celebrated by the *Athenians*, the twentieth day of the Month *Boedromion*, after it had continued in a setled condition almost 800 years.

He taketh

And demolisheth it.

40. *Alexander* publishing an Edict, whereby all *Græcians* were forbidden to receive the *Theban* Exiles, the *Athenians* alone refused to obey it, setting open their gates to them, being then celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres*. Hereat he was inraged, and when they had sent to deprecate his indignation the second time, forgave them onely on this condition: to give up to him ten (*Plutarch* nameth but eight) Orators who had stirred them up against him, and the principal whereof were *Demosthenes* and *Lycurgus*. The People hereupon not knowing how to demean themselves, *Phocion* the *Good*, who went ever crosse to *Demosthenes* in managing State affaires, made a Speech, wherein he would have perswaded the Orators to kill themselves like good Citizens, rather than to bring their Country into danger; but the People ill

The *Athenians* receive the *Theban* exiles which maketh a quartel betwixt him and them.

* *Var. hist. lib. 13. cap. 7.*

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ill resenting this, expelled him in a tumult. At length *Demades* the Orator being hired by *Demosthenes* with five talents, perswaded the People to mercy, and so framed an answer to the King, that it should signifie their readinesse to punish them if they should find them worthy thereof. They sent him then to *Alexander*, with order, not onely to take up this matter, but also to entercede for the *Theban* Exiles, and obtain leave for them to receive them. This he did by the power of his perswasions, saith *Diodorus*, although *Plutarch* saith it was done by *Phocion*, who after *Alexander* had cast away from him the former Decree, and rejected the messengers, was kindly received by him, after the King had understood that his Father respected him. He not onely admitted of his request but his counsel also: that if he loved an idle life he should lay aside all thoughts of War, but if he thirsted after glory he should transfer his Armies from the *Greeks* to the *Barbarians*. *Justin* writeth, that he gave them leave to keep their Orators, but forced them to banish their Captains, who going over to *Darius* much incommodated his affaires beyond the Seas. *Arrianus* onely mentioneth *Charidemus* to have fled to the *Persians*.

In Phocione.

41. *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia* with his Army, where consulting about the *Persian* War, *Antipater* and *Parmenio* his choicest Warriours advised him first to marry, and beget children, and then to undertake the Expedition after he was provided of Heirs. But he being of a most quick and active spirit, and impatient of delay, would not hear of any such thing, seeing as he said, he was now created General of *Greece*, and had such Forces leasm him by his Father. After then he had by proposing the commodities of such an undertaking, inflamed the minds of his Soldiers with a desire thereof, he sacrificed to his gods, and solemnized the playes to *Jupiter*, formerly instituted by *Archelaus* his Predecessor. The solemnity continued nine dayes, one being allotted to each of the Muses, during which in his Royal Pavilion which had twenty beds to eat on, he feasted the officers of his Army, and the Ambassadors of the Cities. In the Spring, all things being now ready, he marched with his Forces towards the *Hellespont*. They who account the least, saith *Plutarch*, reckon 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, and who the most 34000 of them and 4000 of these. For the maintenance of such an Army *Aristobulus* wrote that he had no more than 70 talents. *Darius* said he had provision but for thirty dayes, and *Onesicritus* delivered, that he ought besides this 200 talents. And though he was thus slenderly furnished, yet before his journy making inspection into the estates of his friends, to one he assigned a Village, to another a piece of ground, to this a certain rent, and to that the Customs of such a port. When he had almost distributed all he had, *Perdiccas* asked him what he left for himself, and he answered *Hope*; then replyed the other, That shall be common to us with thee, and refused to receive any thing, which was followed by many; but such as would be willingly gratified, and thereby passed away most of the revenues of *Macedonia*. He passed over his men in 60 ships to *Troas*, and first of all cast his Spear upon the shore, and skipping out, as it were, took possession of *Asia*, in the second year of his reign, and the second of *Darius Codomannus*, the third of the 111 *Olympiad*, *Evenetus* being *Archon*, and in the third moneth before his leaving of the Office, and the succession of *Cresicles*, under whose Government *Diodorus* placeth this Expedition, A. M. 3670.

He passeth over into *Asia*.

A. M. 3671. *Ol.* 111. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 420. *Darii Codomani.* 3. *Alexand.* 3.

42. To *Antipater* he commited the Government of his affairs in *Europe*, with whom he left 12000 Foot and 1500 Horse, as *Diodorus* hath it, if * 1500 be not rather to be read. The *Lacedæmonians* after his departure grudged his successe, and lay watching for an advantage how to begin a War, and if possible divert the course of his good fortune, which after the battel of *Arbela* they supposed to be fully prevented. For the issue of that battel being reported in *Greece*, many of the Cities who were jealous of his power resolved to contend for their antient liberty, before the strength of the *Persians* should be utterly spent, which they might have to their assistance. They were incouraged to revolt from tumults now raised in *Thrace*, For *Memnon* being

* μύριοι being crept in. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 112. *an.* 3.

SECT. 5. being ſent General thither, having Soldiers at his devotion, ſtirred up the Barbarians to rebel, and got together a great Army. *Antipater* hereupon was forced to march againſt him and leave *Macedonia*; the abſence of whom the *Lacedæmonians* thinking a ſufficient occaſion of working ſome notable feat, excited the *Gracians* to agree together with united force to recover their liberty. The *Athenians* conceiving themſelves ingaged to *Alexander*, who had reſpected them above all others, refuſed to ſtir, but moſt of the *Peloponneſians*, and ſome others, gave their names willingly, and raiſed amongſt them 20000 foot and 2000 horſe, which were commanded by *Agis* the *Spartan* King. *Antipater* hearing this compoſed the matters of *Thrace* as he might, and with an Army of 40000 men raiſed out of the Confederates of *Greece* marched againſt them, and joyning battel, after much oppoſition ſlew 5300 with the loſſe of 3500 of his own men. *Agis* himſelf fighting moſt valiantly, after he had received many wounds was to be carried out of the fight and ſo to be conveyed home. But being incompaſſed with Enemies, and ſeeing there was no hope to eſcape, he bade his men ſhift for themſelves, and reſerve their lives for the further ſervice of their Countrey: he on his knees received his Enemies as well as he could, till having firſt killed ſome of them, at length he was ſlain after he had been King nine years.

The *Lacedæmonians* make ſtirs in his abſence,

But are vanquiſhed by *Antipater* his Lieutenant,

43. *Antipater* having obtained this victory, was willing to put an end to the War out of fear of envy, by ſeeming to proceed further than the modeſty of a ſubject ſhould require. For he knew the high ſpirit of *Alexander*, who rejoyced in the victory, but not in him being Victor, which he not obſcurely grudged at, thinking ſo much to be detracted from his own glory as was added to that of another. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore being conſtrained to ſend to him, he remitted them for anſwer to the Council of *Greece*, which having heard what could be ſaid on both ſides, referred the whole matter to the Cogniſance of *Alexander*. They then gave up to *Antipater* fifty Hoſtages, and ſent into *Aſia* to *Alexander* to beg pardon. Moſt of ſuch learned men as were Eminent during this period have already, upon occaſion, been ſpoken of.

And ſend to him into *Aſia* to beg pardon.

CHAP. III.

The affairs of *Sicilie* during this Empire.

SECT. I.

The firſt Names and Inhabitants of this Iſland, with a relation of ſuch things as preceded the Perſian *Empire.*

1. SICILIE is an Iſland of the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying over againſt *Italy* at five miles diſtance; from which it is thought to have been ſevered by ſome Earth-quake, or the violence of the Sea, being joyned formerly by an *Iſthmus*, or neck of Land, to the Continent.

2. It was firſt, from the Triangular Figure, called *Trinacria*, then *Sicania*, and afterwards obtained the name of *Sicilie*. The moſt antient Inhabitants were *Cyclopes*, or *Gyants* with one onely eye in their foreheads (as the Poets fancied) and the *Laſtrygones* of the ſame Original. After them ſucceeded the *Sicani*, by ſome ſaid to be *indigenæ*, or naturals of the place; but by others a people of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, and ſo named from *Sicanus*, a River in that Countrey, whence they were expelled by the *Ligyes*, and coming into the Iſland

The old Inhabitants of *Sicilie.*

Iſland *Trinacria* changed its name into *Sicania*. After theſe, the *Siculi* a people of *Italie* (ſo named ſaith *Thucydides* from *Italus* a King of *Arcadia*) being expelled by the *Opici*, paſſed into this Iſland, and overthrowing the *Sicani* ſeized upon the beſt parts of it, and gave it the name of *Sicilie*, almoſt 300 years before the *Greeks* found it out. When *Ilium* was taken, ſome *Troians* fled by ſhip from the *Achæans* into this Countrey, and fixing themſelves near to the *Sicani*, were all called *Elymi*, whoſe principal ſeats were *Eryx* and *Egeſta*. To theſe were added ſome of the *Phocenſians*, of thoſe who in their return from *Troy* being driven by Tempeſt into *Libya*, or *Africk*, thence paſſed into *Sicilie*. The *Phœnicians* alſo inhabited all over the Iſland in the Maritime parts, and the little Iſlands near adjoyning, for the benefit of Traffick with the *Siculi*; But after that many *Greeks* arrived, they removed, and joyned themſelves to the *Elymi*, and inhabited *Motya*, *Solunus*, and *Panormus*, becauſe thence was but a little paſſage unto *Carthage*. So many *Barbarians*, and after this manner, inhabited *Sicilie* ſaith *Thucydides*, with whom in the main of their relations, conſent *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Dionyſius* of *Halycarnaſſus*, *Pauſanias*, *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenneta* and others.

SECT. 1.

A.M. 2821.

Lib. 6. ad initium.

3. The firſt *Greeks* that came into *Sicilie* (as *Thucydides* proceedeth) were ſome from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, who under conduct of *Theocles* planted *Naxus*. The year following *Archias* the *Corinthian*, deſcended from *Hercules*, drove the *Siculi* from that place where ſtood the Citie afterward called *Syracuſe*. About the ſame time *Lamis* brought a Colony from *Megara*, which he firſt placed upon the River *Pantacius*, in a place called *Trotilus*. In the 45 year after *Syracuſe* began to be inhabited, *Antiphernus* from *Rhodes*, and *Eutimus* out of *Crete*, with their ſeveral Colonies planted *Gela*, ſo named from the River by which it ſtood, the Inhabitants whereof 108 years after erected the great and Magnificent Citie *Agrigentum*, or *Agragas*, ſo called alſo from a River of the ſame name. *Zancla* was firſt inhabited by ſome Pyrates of *Cuma*, a Citie belonging to *Chalcis*; but afterwards by a multitude that came promiſcuouſly from *Chalcis* and other parts of *Eubœa*, under the conduct of *Perieres* of *Cuma*, and *Cratæmenes* of *Chalcis*, and were hence caſt out again by the *Samians* and other *Ionians*, who fled from the *Medes* into *Sicilie*. *Zancle* was ſo named by the *Siculi*, from a *Sicle*, in their language *Zancla*, which it reſembled. Not long after *Anaxilas* Tyrant of *Rhegium* baniſhing the *Samians* filled it with a mixed multitude, and called it *Meſſana*, after the name of his own Countrey. *Himera* was planted by the *Zanclæans*, and many *Chalcidians* amongſt them, with whom alſo joyned certain *Syracuſians* being expelled by the contrary faction, and called *Myletidæ*. Their language was mixed betwixt the *Chalcidian* and *Dorick* tongues. Theſe were the Colonies which from ſeveral parts of *Greece* planted *Sicilie*. As for other Towns that were Colonies of theſe Colonies, they ſhall be told whoſe they were upon occaſion.

A.M. 3278. *V. C.* 20. *Achazi* 10.

Greek Colonies.

4. That *Gyants* inhabited *Sicilie* (although to ſome it hath ſeemed no other than the invention of Poets, who uſually ſpeak monſtrouſly of antient things) the diſcovery of the laſt age hath made moſt manifeſt; at what time were in ſeveral places of the Iſland found the bones of ſuch kind of men, and the perfect proportion of one or more within the earth, which upon touch mouldred all into duſt. *Cluverius* in his Deſcription of *Sicilie*, and *Fazellus*, herein give abundant ſatisfaction, which might be further ſtrengthned from what the diſcoverers of *America* relate concerning men of ſuch ſtature; but that the Teſtimony of Scripture alone ſufficeth to make evident the being of Gyants. That they were *indigenæ*, or firſt Inhabitants of *Sicilie*, is probable, and the very ſame with the *Laſtrygones*. As for the *Sicani*, no credit is to be given to the Teſtimony of *Thucydides* in this point that they came out of *Spain*, for that *Diodorus* being this Countrey-man, and certainly rather more concerned in the delivery of the Antiquities of it, than other Nations, averreth the moſt accurate Hiſtorians to have affirmed them *indigenæ*, which *Timæus*, who lived under *Agathocles* the Tyrant, did fully demon-

Gyants in *Sicilie.*

SECT. I.

demonſtrate. *Thucydides*, who firſt obtruded this fable upon the *Greeks*, confeſſeth that they themſelves were of a contrary opinion, and though they in a matter concerning their honour might not be heard, yet this may ſatisfie, that in *Spain* there is no ſuch River to be found as ever had the name of *Sicanus*, which ſome of thoſe who follow the opinion of *Thucydides* change into *Sicoris* (at this day *Segre*) and others ſpeak of a Citie called *Sicania*, and one *Sicanus* Captain of the Colony, all which are as true as any. Neither could theſe *Sicani* be driven from their ſeats by the *Ligures*, whoſe habitation was not in *Spain* beyond the *Pyrenæan* Hills, but in *Gaul* near the River *Rhodanus* and the *Alps*. Laſtly, that difficult journey which thoſe obſcure people muſt have taken by Land (for the uſe of ſhipping was much later in *Spain*) through the Countreys of the *Tyrrhenians*, *Umbri*, *Ligures*, *Auſonæ*, *Opici*, *Oenotrians*, and other fierce and warlike Nations, after the paſſage of the *Pyrenæans*, *Alps*, and *Gaul*, may juſtly induce as to give credit rather to the opinion of *Diodorus*, and of *Demetrius Calatianus* a moſt antient Writer; who, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Theocritus* telleth us, derived the *Sicani* from the *Cyclopes* or *Gyants*.

The *Sicani* came not out of *Spain*.

Neither the *Siculi* out of *Italie*.

5. That the *Siculi* came out of *Italy* ſeveral grave Authors relate, as amongſt others *Diodorus* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* from the credit of *Hellanicus* the *Lesbian*, *Philiſtus*, and *Antiochus*, both of *Syracuſe*; but they ſo diverſly relate the ſtory, that it appeareth to be no other than dubious, and ſo intricate as nothing certainly can be pitched on. In *Thucydides* the *Opici*, in *Antiochus* the *Oenotrians* and *Opici* drove out the *Siculi*: But in *Hellanicus* inſtead of *Siculi* the *Elymi* and *Auſonæ* were expelled, with *Siculus* their King, by the *Oenotrians* and *Japyges*. Again, according to the mind of *Philiſtus*, neither any *Siculi*, *Auſonæ*, nor *Elymi* tranſported themſelves out of *Italy*; but the *Ligures* under conduct of *Siculus*. *Solinus* and *Martianus* make this *Siculus* the ſon of *Neptune*, *Iſidorus* the brother of *Italus*, *Servius* Captain of the *Sicani*, and *Antiochus* will have him a *Roman* Exile, whom *Morges* the Succeſſor of *Italus* entertained. Further, *Dionyſius* writeth, that the *Siculi* were Native Inhabitants of *Latium*, and thence beaten by the *Aborigines*, which is plainly out of the road of hiſtory, the *Siculi* never having been maſters of *Rome*. It would be too tedious to recite the ſeveral opinions concerning the time when theſe *Siculi* ſhould make their paſſage out of *Italy* into this Iſland. And what *Thucydides* bringeth for a confirmation of his opinion, *viz.* that in his time ſome of the *Siculi* remained in *Italy*, cannot but be falſe, no foot-ſteps of them being to be found out in that Countrey by the diſcovery of any Geography; ſo that others, on the contrary, grant that the whole Nation paſſed over. Theſe arguments drawn from the uncertainty of reports conſtrain us rather to acquieſce in the opinion of *Bochartus*, who concludeth that no other ſtranger came from other parts to inhabit *Sicily*, but all were *Indigenæ*, except the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, the *Siculi* and *Sicani* not being diſtinguiſhed in Nation but onely in place. From the *Phœnicians* (who eſpecially lived about the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, though they were diſperſed throughout the Maritime Coaſts) he ſheweth the Iſland it ſelf, and every notable Town and River to have been named, in the firſt book of that admirable work intituled *Canaan*.

6. *Sicily*, ſaith *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, was from the beginning the Countrey of the *Cyclopes*, which being extinct *Cocalus* made himſelf King of the Iſland. To him fled *Dædalus* for protection, from the preſence of *Minos* King of *Crete*. This *Dædalus* was an *Athenian*, of the family of the *Erechthidæ*, and a famous Artiſt in all manner of Graven and Carved works. It hapned that he had a Scholar, his own Nephew by his ſiſter, named *Talos*, who going beyond him in skill, he privately murdred him, and the matter coming out, was forced to fly for his life, and went into *Crete*. There being courteouſly entertained by *Minos*, he wrought many rare pieces of Architecture, but at length ſo diſpleaſed the King in ſome thing which concerned *Paſiphae* his wife, that he alſo fled thence into *Sicily*, where he was entertained by *Cocalus* King of the *Sicani*, then reigning at *Inycus*, called alſo *Camicus*. Some thought

Lib. 4.

A. M. 2773.

Cocalus.

Dædalus.

thought that by the means of *Paſiphae* he eſcaped by boat, his Son *Icarus* accompanying him in another, and that having invented ſails, (whereas before oars onely were in uſe) *Icarus* not managing his with skill enough, his Veſſel ſunk, and thereupon aroſe the Fable that they eſcaped with wings made of feathers waxed together, and of the young man's ſoaring ſo high, till the Sun melting the wax, he thereupon fell headlong into that part of the Sea which afterwards bare his name. Others thought *Icarus* was drowned as he took water. But *Minos* getting notice whither *Dædalus* was fled, purſued him with an Army, and required *Cocalus* to give him up. *Cocalus* returned him a ſatisfactory anſwer, and invited him unto his houſe, where he ſtifled him in a bath, or elſe his daughters, for the love they bore to *Dædalus*, when they came to waſh him (which was the cuſtom for women and maids to do unto gueſts, according to *Athenæus*) inſtead of warm water, poured on him ſcalding pitch. He gave up his body to his men, pretending he had ſlipped by chance into hot water, and perſwaded them to ſtay and plant in the Iſland, where they built *Minoa* and *Engyum*, now *Gange*, the two firſt *Greek* Cities founded in *Sicily*, as ſome note. The *Cretans* afterwards in revenge for their King's death, came and beſieged *Camicus* five years to no purpoſe, and were ſhipwrackt in their return upon the Coaſt of *Italy*, where then reſolving to ſtay and hide their diſgrace, they built *Hyria*, betwixt *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, and from them deſcended the *Iapyges* and *Meſſapii*. This paſſage concerning *Minos* the younger, happened in the dayes of *Hercules* the *Gracian*, an Age before the *Trojan* War.

SECT. I.

7. *After* Cocalus *the ſeveral Cities (becauſe they wanted rightful and ſucceſſive Kings, as it ſeemeth, and lived under looſe Democracy) became the prey of Tyranni, whereof no Country was ever more fertil than this Iſland*, ſaith *Juſtin*. Of theſe, *Anaxilaus* his Juſtice vied with the Cruelty of the reſt, and was not unrewarded. For at his death leaving his children young, whom he committed to the truſt of *Micythus* his faithful ſlave, his Subjects ſo prized his memory, as they choſe rather to obey him, and ſuffer the Majeſty of a Kingdom to be managed by a ſlave, than deſert his ſons. But if by theſe *Tyranni* be to be meant, ſuch as after the ſetlement of the *Greek* Colonies, made themſelves Maſters of the Cities (as we have no other ground than to believe; the name of *Anaxilaus* ſufficiently declaring it's original) then *Cocalus* living an Age before the *Trojan* War, and the firſt *Greek* Colony mentioned by *Thucydides* being planted in the * 11 *Olympiad*, this *after Cocalus* is with great liberty uſed by *Trogus* or *Juſtin*; ſeveral hundreds of years, (*viz.* five or ſix) intervening betwixt *Cocalus* and thoſe *Tyrants*. For the Cities were many years after their founding governed by the People, according to the cuſtom of *Greece*, till *Phalaris* uſurped in the State of *Agrigentum*, which *Suidas* writeth to have happened in the 52 *Olympiad*, and *Euſebius* in the 54. This difference betwixt them may well be reconciled, if, with *Cappellus*, we believe that *Phalaris* coming to *Agrigentum*, there was kindly entertained for eight years, at the end whereof took occaſion from a gueſt, and perhaps a Judge of Controverſies, to make himſelf *Tyrant*, and the People ſlaves.

ut ſupra.

* A. M. 2723.

A. M. 3441. *Olymp.* 54. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 190. *Eutilmeroda-chi*, 2.

Phalaris the Tyrant.

8. *Phalaris* was born at *Aſtypalea* a City in *Crete*; his Fathers name was *Laodamus*, who died whilſt this his ſon was an infant. He married *Erythia*, and on her begat *Paurolas*, a little before whoſe birth being baniſhed, and deprived of the greated part of his eſtate, he continued long in a deſolate condition, not knowing what to do, till at length a Sedition being raiſed in the State of *Agrigentum*, he was ſent for by the weaker faction, and in concluſion got all the power into his hands. He kept the *Tyranny* by the ſame arts he firſt obtained it, viz. *fraud* and *cruelty*, for which cauſe he was grievouſly hated by many, and his life laid at by thoſe of whom he had well deſerved. *Erythia* continued all her life with her ſon *Paurolas* at *Aſtypalea*, where though ſhe was much importuned by many Suters, yet ſhe remained ſtedfaſt in fidelity to her husband. The Citizens of *Aſtypalea* when they ſaw *Phalaris* had ſo advanced himſelf, either for that now their hatred was allai-

SECT. I. ed, or out of fear of revenge, sent to him to intimate that they had revoked what had been formerly done against him, as unjust. He despised not this late repentance, but sent them his hearty thanks, and rewarded them. Having obtained a victory over the *Leontines*, his son *Paurolas* sent him a Crown of Gold, which he returned back unto his wife *Erythia*. She was at length poysoned by *Python* one of her Suters, inraged at a repulse; which thing *Phalaris* took most impatiently.

Perillus and his brazen Bull.

9. It hapned that one *Perillus* an *Athenian*, and an excellent Statuary, came to *Agrigentum*, where shewing his rare skill, he was kindly entertained by *Phalaris*. He taking notice of *Phalaris* his cruelty, framed a brazen Bull, which being heated and a man put in his belly, would by the roaring of him that was thus tormented, imitate the voice of a natural one. Presenting him with this exquisite piece, as incomparable for the torturing of men, he admired his skill, but detesting his wickedness, caused him first to make a tryal of it, and excused himself to the *Athenians*, who took it ill, as having done nothing but what was just and meet. If *Perillus* had onely made experiments, *Phalaris* had satisfied all reasonable men; but threatning his Enemies with this Engine, and making good his word upon them as often as he could have occasion, he thereby incurred, and slighted the hatred of mankind. At the same time flourished one *Stesichorus* a Poet of *Himera*, who died eight years before *Phalaris*. He wrote verses against the *Tyrant*, and raised an Army, animating the Inhabitants of *Himera* against him, with whom joyned *Conon* a most leud and naughty man, and divers others, all which, together with the Poet, at length fell into his hands. *Conon* was presently condemned to the Bull. He doubted at first what to do with *Stesichorus*, but at length beholding his worth, he not onely dismissed him unpunished, but with large gifts; and ever after mightily reverenced him both alive and dead; insomuch as he desired the *Himerians* to build him a Temple, and Altars (offering for that purpose men, money, and all necessaries) and most lovingly comforted his daughters.

10. He was so great a contemner of Popularity, and so conscious of his wickedness and publick infamie, that he refused the honours offered him by them of *Melita*, not for any pride, but with a friendly admonition, that it would be to them infamous, and to him not at all advantagious. So when *Stesichorus*, *Cleaneta*, *Theano*, and others, thought of writing in his praise, he seriously desired they would forbear, wishing rather that his name might be buried in oblivion, than celebrated in the Writings of Learned men, and, to no purpose, adorned with false commendations. Being grievously provoked by the affronts of the *Messenians*, *Catanians*, *Leontines*, *Zanclæans*, and *Tauromenites*, he prosecuted them to the utmost, often saying, that he most certainly knew they would fall into his hands, which accordingly came to passe. He confesseth that he had tortured in the brazen Engine 37 men, seriously wishing they might be the last; but he foresaw that *Lamachus* and *Epistetes*, though absent, would increase the number. These things are related in the Epistles that go under his name, which some Learned Men think written by *Lucian*. But whoever so drew to the life another's disposition as he there doth his own, insomuch as *Suidas* accounteth them * very admirable. If one consider their style, accuteness, and invention, there are no Epistles of any *Tyrant*, no not of any *Orator* or *Philosopher* to be compared with them. But if one look at the disposition of the man, he was a portentous thing, born for the chastisement of the naughtiness of men, of cruel hatred and unparalleld cruelty; yet of a most propense and munificent mind towards his Friends, and withall reverencing Virtue so much in his very Enemies, that for it's sake he would pardon injuries, and relinquish hatred.

* Θαυμαστὸν ὅσον.

Phalaris his disposition.

11. That is scarce credible which *Clearchus* relateth in (*a*) *Athenæus*, that he was transported with so great cruelty, as to have served up to his table sucking and new born Infants. (*b*) *Ælian* hath a more likely story concerning *Chariton* and *Melanippus*. *Charilon* loved *Melanippus* with an extravagant

(*a*) Lib. 9.

(*b*) Lib. 2. c. 4.

SECT. 2. travagant and immodest Love, as appeareth from the historian. *Melanippus* having a contest with one of *Phalaris* his friends, was commanded, and at length forced to desist, which taking very ill, he complained of it to his Lover, and desiring his assistance for killing the Tyrant, thought of taking in other young men into the conspiracy. *Charilon* desired of him to trust him alone with the matter to take an opportunity to revenge him, unwilling that both of them should miscarry in it if it were discovered; and on a time made at *Phalaris* with his dagger, but was prevented by his Guard, which he had continually about him. Being examined concerning his Complices, he endured great tortures, so long, that *Melanippus* more sensible of them than he himself, went to the *Tyrant*, and revealed the whole matter. He admiring the courage and love of both, dismissed them, with this condition, that they should depart the same day out of *Sicilie*. This love which appeareth to have been no better than an unnatural lust, was afterwards by *Apollo* called *divine*, whence, as in other respects, these impure Spirits, the gods of Heathens, betrayed themselves what they were. And hence it is no wonder that the Philosophers of old, such as *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æschines*, *Cebes*, and the rest, might approve of this affection towards Males, which the (*c*) *Romans* yet abhorred in some Ages, the (*d*) *Lacedæmonians* held as Capital, and the Lake wherein *Sodom* and *Gommorah* were swallowed up, evinceth to have been contrary to the Law of God and Nature. But as for *Phalaris*, after he had tyrannized sixteen years, he perished by the fury of all the multitude of *Agrigentum*, which, as (*e*) *Cicero* writeth, fell upon him. Some thought that his subjects conspired against him, being principled thereto by the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, of which opinion is also (*f*) *Jamblichus* in the life of this Philosopher. But the whole relation concerning *Pythagoras* his entercourse with *Phalaris* is therefore deservedly suspected, because the Philosopher being yet young had scarce passed into *Italy*. The death of *Phalaris* hapned about the first year of the 58 *Olympiad*, and the twelfth year of *Cyrus* his Reign, reckoned from his first obtaining the Kingdom of *Media*.

Charilon and *Melanippus*.

(*c*) *Val. Max. l. 6. c. 1. Plut. in Marcello.*

(*d*) *Ælian l. 3. c. 12.*

(*e*) *Offic. l. 2.*

(*f*) *Cap. 32.*

SECT. II.

Of such thing as were Contemporary with the Persian *Empire.*

A. M. 3525. Ol. 75. an. 1. V. C. 274. Xerxis 6.

1. After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens of *Agrigentum* recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it till *Thero* again brought them under. He was the son of *Æneſidamus*, and boasted that he was descended from *Oedipus*. He got the prize at the race with the Chariot in the *Olympick* games, and is celebrated by (*a*) *Pindar* the Poet, whose *Scholiast* teacheth us, that he was Father in Law to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, by his daughter *Damarete*, and married also his brother's daughter: At this time *Panatius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*, and *Cleander* of *Gela*. *Cleander*, after seven years, was succeeded by his brother *Hippocrates*, who sore afflicted the people of *Naxus*, of *Zancle*, or *Messana*, and *Leontium*, whom he forced to acknowledge him for their Lord. After seven years, he was also slain in a battel against the *Siculi*, having before this made war with the *Syracusians*, and by composition got from them the City of *Camerina*. After his death *Gelon* the son of *Dinomenes* (descended of the race of the *Rhodians*, who with the *Cretans* and other *Greeks* had seated themselves in *Sicilie*) that had commanded his Forces with great success, and to whom he committed the trust of his Children, breaking all obligations made himself Lord of *Gela*. After he was in possession of this Town, a Sedition happening in *Syracuse*, betwixt the Magistrates and People, he being called in to the assistance of the Governours that were driven out by the multitude, made himself Prince. Such being the danger and infirmity of all Governments, except rightfully successive Monarchy. This fell out in the second year of the 72 *Olympiad*, when

Thero Tyrannus of *Agrigentum*.

(*a*) *Olymp. Herod. l. 7. c. 153, &c. Pausan. l. 6. Sive Eliac. 1. posteriore.*

Gelon of *Syracuse*.

SECT. 2. when *Hybrilides* was *Archon* at *Athens*, the 31th of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and the ſame, as ſome reckon, wherein the battel at *Marathon* was fought. Now the comportment of *Sicilian* affairs conſtraining us to ſpeak moſt concerning *Syracuſe*, ſo conſiderable a place, both as to its ſelf, as a Citie, and as the ſcene of ſo great tranſactions, requireth a more accurate deſcription.

The Original of *Syracuſe.*

2. *Syracuſe* was firſt inhabited by ſome *Greeks* of *Ætolia*, and had the name of *Ortygia*. Theſe were expelled by the *Siculi*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, and at length were outed alſo by a Colony led hither out of *Peloponneſus* by *Archias* the *Corinthian*, in the eleventh *Olympiad*, *Romulus* then reigning at *Rome*, and the *Meſſenian* War being very hot in *Peloponneſus*. This new Colony, becauſe of *Archias*, and for that many followed him from *Corinth*, owned that Citie for its Metropolis, which at that time was moſt powerfull at Sea. But many afterwards flocked out of other parts of *Peloponneſus*, and by little and little the Citie of *Syracuſe* ſo increaſed, as it became not onely the greateſt, and moſt beautifull of all in *Sicily*, but of *Greek* Cities whatſoever, as *Cicero* affirmeth. It contained, as he writeth, four great Cities; the *Iſland*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. Its compaſſe was 180 furlongs, having, beſides Suburbs, two Ports very commodious for ſhipping, being ſeparated by the Iſland, and grounds about it very fertile, in ſome places riſing into little Hills, but compaſſed about with Fennes. The firſt Inhabitants dwelt in the Iſland anciently called *Ortygia*; then as the Citie increaſed the other parts were added, whereof the lateſt was *Neapolis*. As for the ſtate of the Citie, after it received a new beginning from *Archias*, the form of the Commonwealth was without doubt the ſame that then was in the Metropolis under the Government of the *Bachiadæ*, viz. *Oligarchical*, bordering upon *Ariſtocracie*. Afterwards the common people waxing heady outed the better ſort of the poſſeſſion of the grounds, and ſeizing on the Government, made bad to be worſe, as the ſad changes and deſolations will ſhew. The Exiles (by *Herodotus* called *Gamori*) betook themſelves to *Gelon* the *Tyrannus* of *Gela*, who coming to reſtore them with an Army, the people reſiſted not, but received him into the Citie, whereby obtaining the whole power, he reſtored it not to the Nobility, but made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. This hapned at the time aforeſaid, and about 244 years after the Plantation of *Archias*.

The acts and power of *Gelon.*

3. *Gelon* ſo uſed his power as he was loved by all, and feared by none. He every way much inlarged, adorned, and inriched the Citie: out of all Conquered Towns he took the Nobleſt, and worſt diſpoſed Citizens, and brought them to *Syracuſe*. He procured the affections of almoſt all that dwelt in *Sicily*, and ſo greatly ſtrengthen'd himſelf, that he was able with a Navy of 200 Triremes, and as great an Army as all *Greece* could ſet forth againſt *Xerxes*, to help the *Gracians* in the *Median* War; and had gone to their aſſiſtance, if they would either have granted him the Command of the Land Army or the Fleet. When he could obtain neither of thoſe, he imployed his forces againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had been called into *Sicily* by the *Egeſtans*, and on the ſame day wherein the *Greeks* obtained their victory at *Salamine*, got ſo great an one over them at *Himera* a Maritime Town, that his glory is thought to have equalled, if not exceeded, the other of *Themiſtocles*. At this time the *Carthaginians* were very powerfull, and become Eminent; whoſe affairs being by neceſſity to be joyned with ſuch matters as relate to this Iſland of *Sicily*, a more convenient place cannot be had, to ſpeak ſomething (as this work requireth) of the Original, and progreſſe of their Commonwealth.

His ſucceſſe againſt the *Carthaginians.*

The Original of *Carthage.*

4. *Carthage* was a Colony of *Tyre*, and *Tyre* of *Sidon* the moſt antient Metropolis of *Phœnicia*, mentioned by *Homer* with commendation for ingenious induſtry (who hath not one word concerning *Tyre*) and built by *Sidon* the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*. *Tyre* was built about the 2747 year of the World, and 240 years before *Solomons* Temple, as (*a*) *Joſephus* hath obſerved. The *Greeks* thought it received its name from *Tyrus* the Founder: and

(*a*) *Antiquit. l.8. c.2.*

and (*b*) ſome invented a fable of a Nymph, called *Tyros*, beloved by *Hercules*. But *Tſor* in the *Phœnician* language ſignifying a *Rock*, the ſituation it ſelf ſufficiently declareth the Original of the name, which upon this account was communicated to three other places, beſides this eminent Citie, *viz.* (*c*) two in the Continent, and another in the ſame Iſland. Near the Iſland of this famous City ſtood *Palætyrus*, or *Old Tyre*, mentioned by *Joſhua*, and called a ſtrong Citie even at the diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, which hapned about 200 years before the building of that whereof we ſpeak. Now (*d*) *Joſephus* maketh the Temple of *Jeruſalem* to have been founded in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, who was ſon to *Abebaal*, by *Joſephus* called *Abibalus*, and by *Euſebius*, *Abelbalus*. *Hiram*, or *Huram* according to the *Hebrews*, (by the *Greeks* called *Irom* and *Syron* (for *Horom*) by *Eupolemus*) was a great friend to *David*, and ſupplied *Salomon* his ſon with materials, and work-men for building the Temple. He alſo propoſed hard queſtions to *Solomon* to be unfolded, as *Menander* teſtified, who tranſlated the *Tyrian* Annals into the *Greek* language: He ſtrengthned, and inlarged the Citie of *Tyre*, as *Dius* alſo wrote, and reigned 34 years. After him his ſon *Beleaſtartus* reigned 7. and *Abdaſtartus* 9. who being ſlain by the four ſons of his Nurſe, the eldeſt of them reigned twelve years. Then *Aſtartus* the ſon of *Baleaſtartus* 12. his brother *Aſtarimus* 9. who was ſlain by his brother *Phelles*. *Phelles* reigned but eight moneths, being killed by *Ithobalus* the Prieſt of *Aſtarta*, who reigned 32 years; after him *Badezorus* his ſon 6. then *Mettinus* his ſon 9. and laſtly, *Pygmalion* 40. in the ſeventh of whoſe reign his ſiſter *Dido* built the Citie of *Carthage* in *Africk*. Therefore from the beginning of *Hirams* reign to the building of *Carthage* intervened 155 years and eight moneths; and whereas the Temple was founded at *Jeruſalem* in the twelfth of his reign, from the building of the Temple to that of *Carthage* paſſed 143 years and eight moneths, as *Joſephus* collecteth from the Teſtimony of *Menander* the *Epheſian*, in his firſt book againſt *Apion*.

(*b*) *Stephanus Byzantius. Pollux. lib.1.*
(*c*) *Scylax in deſcriptione Phœnices vide Bocharti Canaan lib.2. cap.17.*
(*d*) *Antiquit. lib.8. cap. 2. & Contra Apionem lib.1.*

The ſeveral opinions concerning the building of *Carthage.*

5. But *Appian* in his Hiſtory of the *Punick* Wars, writeth that *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*, 50 years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, which precedeth the former date 360 years. He nameth as founders *Zorus* and *Carchedon*, according to the opinion of the *Greeks*, who thought them the Captains of the Colony; whereas *Tſor*, or *Zor*, was the name of the Metropolis, and *Carchedon* of the new Citie, *Carthada* ſignifying a *New Citie* in the *Phœnician* language, as *Solinus* witneſſeth. *Strabo* again will have the *Phœnicians* to have led out Colonies as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and planted ſome, a little after the *Trojan* War, upon the Maritime Coaſts of *Africk*, with which *Virgil* cloſing, feigneth *Dido* to have reigned at *Carthage* at that time; whereas ſhe was 300 years later, according to the Teſtimony of the *Phœnician* Annals; ſo as *Servius* upon the Poet affirmeth the whole ſtory of *Æneas* and *Dido* to be a fiction, and utterly againſt the courſe of Hiſtory. Further, *Euſebius* noteth that ſome accounted *Carthage* built 143 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, about the 2966 year of the World, and the 23 of the reign of *David*, 164 years or more before the time aſſigned to *Dido* by *Menander*. For the reconcilement of theſe ſeveral aſſertions it muſt be conſidered that *Carthage* conſiſted of three parts, viz. *Cothon*, *Megara*, and *Byrſa*, whereof the firſt was the *Port*, and the laſt the *Citadel* compaſſed about by the ſecond, called *Magalia* and *Magaria*, but more truely *Megara*, ſignifying properly in the *Punick* language, *dwellings in a ſtrange Country*. 'Tis conceived that theſe might be built at ſeveral times; as that part about the Haven before the War of *Troy*; the other ſome time within 144 years after the deſtruction of it, which might rightly, in reſpect of the other, be called *Carthada*, or *New Town*; and laſtly, the *Byrſa* by *Dido* 165 years after. For the *Phœnicians* being maſters at Sea, might according to their pleaſure, as they had occaſion, ſend out Colonies, which they began to do from the time that *Joſhua* expelled them out of the Land of *Canaan*. The *Greeks* themſelves believed that *Cadmus* made an expedition into *Africk*, and there

Lib.1. p.48.

It conſiſted of three parts.

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there built many Cities, as appeareth out of *Nonius*; and he built the Citadel at *Thebes* about the time of *Joshua*. In *Procopius* his age, who lived under *Justinian* the Emperour, about the 540 year of Christ, the two Pillars were yet standing, which those *Canaanites* erected that fled from the face of *Joshua*, in that part of *Africk*, called *Tingitana*, as the inscription testified, which we formerly mentioned, and *Eusebius* writeth that these same *Canaanites* led Colonies into *Tripoli* in *Africk*. Lastly, amongst several other Cities built by the *Phœnicians*, the most considerable, after *Carthage*, was *Utica*, some ten miles distant from it, which *Aristotle*, from the *Phœnician* Histories reporteth to be 287 years antienter than *Carthage*, and *Velleius Paterculus* to have been built by the *Tyrians* a few years after *Gades*, about the time of *Codrus*, who being Contemporary with *Saul*, this Citie obtained the name of *Utica* or *Iyca*, that is (saith *Bochartus*) in the *Phœnician* language, *Old* or *Antient*.

Utica.

The story of *Dido*.

6. *Dido* was sister to *Pygmalion* King of *Tyre*, & wife to *Sichæus*, or *Sicharbas* their Uncle the Priest of *Hercules*. *Sichæus* being murdred by *Pygmalion* for his Wealth, she out of hatred to, or for fear of her brother fled into *Africk*, with all she could take, & thereby disappointed the murderer of his prey. The story goeth, that coming into *Africk*, she & her Companions were repelled by *Hiarbas* the King of that place, till they craftily desired to buy of him so much ground as an Ox's hide would compasse. The *Africans* laughed at their folly, and out of desire to see what use they could make of so little ground, swore to make good the bargain. The *Phœnicians* then cut the Hide all into one small thong, with which they encompassed twenty furlong, and thereon built a Castle, thence, (said the *Greeks*) called *Byrsa*. But learned men explode this story of the Hide as a meer invention, and a fable raised from a false explication of the word, which in the *Hebrew* tongue is *Bosra*, and signifying a *fortified place*, or *Castel*, is changed into *Byrsa* for the better sound, because the Genius of the *Greek* language suffereth not *S* & *R* to be joyned together. *Justin* out of *Trogus* relateth that *Hiarbas* King of *Mauritania* sent for ten of the principal *Carthaginians*, and required *Dido* in marriage, threatning else to make War upon them. At their return they told her he desired some one who might teach his people breeding and manners, but none could be found that was content to leave his Countrey, and joyn himself with the *Barbarians*, whose lives were like to those of wild beasts. She blaming them all exceedingly, that they preferred their private commodity before the good of their Countrey, to which if need required they ought their very lives, they opened to her the whole matter, saying, that what she would impose upon others, she ought not her self to refuse. Being caught with this wile, she long called on the name of *Sichæus*; her husband, with many tears and great lamentation, then taking three moneths time for the doing of what there was necessity for, she made a pile of wood, as though to make a Parentation to *Sichæus*, and appease his Ghost before her second marriage. Having killed many beasts, she ascended the Pile with a Sword in her hand, and turning to the people said, that now she was going to her husband, and therewithall killed her self. Before the name of *Dido* (which some make to signifie *Loved* or *Amiable*, and others more probably *Wandring* or *Erratick*) she had that of *Elissa*, betokening a *Divine Woman*, or *Virago*. The *Latin* word *Virago*, in *Greek* written *Ouirago*, is in *Eusebius* corrupted into *Origo*, and being applied as a name to the Citie, and not to the woman, by a misunderstanding hath much perplexed *Joseph Scaliger* and others.

Menander Ephesius apud Josephum ut prius. Justin lib. 18. Appian. lib. de bellis Punicis. Servius in Æneiad. lib. 1.

Vide Bochart. Canaan. lib. 1. c. 24. & Simson. ad A.M. 3132.

7. *Carthage* then being re-edified, or inlarged by *Dido*, and the Colony she brought thither, about the 3132 year of the World, in the dayes of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and *Jehu* of *Israel*, 310 years after the destruction of *Troy*, 97 before the first *Olympiad*, and 120 before the building of *Rome*, was at first under Monarchical Government; but afterwards rejecting it, indured many hazards and hardships, which followed loose liberty, whereof most are briefly recited by *Justin* in his eighteenth book, and those that follow. The (*a*) Philosopher compareth this Commonwealth with those of the

The form of Government at *Carthage*.

(*a*) *Polit. lib. 2. cap. 9.*

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the *Cretans* and *Lacedæmonians*, saying that it was mixed of *Aristocracy* and *Policy*, as he calleth it. (*b*) *Polybius* saith it was composed of *Kingly*, *Aristocratical*, and *Democratical* Governments, and (*c*) *Isocrates* maketh it *Oligarchical* at home, and in War *Monarchical*. As two Kings at *Lacedæmon* had the first rank of Magistracie with equal power, so at *Carthage* two persons, by them called *Suffetes*, and by *Aristotle*, and *Polybius*, and *Corn. Nepos*, termed *Kings*, yet onely nominally. As the former were for life, so these were but *Annual* (in which respect (*d*) *Livie* compareth them with the *Consuls* of *Rome*) and their dignity being hereditary, those were yearly elected out of any noble Families. Such were especially preferred as were accounted most eminent for Virtue, and able to defray the charges of their place. *Aristotle* commendeth this above the *Lacedæmonian* custom, all but that concerning their wealth, imputing it as an error to the Legislator; who ought another way to have provided for Magistrates, that they might attend publick businesse without any detriment to themselves, and so be preferred meerly for their Virtue.

(*b*) *Lib. 16.*
(*c*) *In Nycocle pag. 61. tolius operis editi Genevæ 1636.*
(*d*) *Lib. 10.*

The *Suffetes*.

8. These *Suffetes* were more rightly in their own Language called *Sophetim*, the Hebrew name of those chief *Judges* amongst the *Israelites*, who from *Joshua* to *Saul* governed their Commonwealth, and the *History* of whose actions by us called *Judges*, hath the same title of *Sophetim*, for that interpretation which renders it *Sophim* (i. e. *Overseers*) at the first sight appeareth Iesse probable. Their Office was to * assemble the *Senate*, in which doubtlesse they presided and proposed. They decided causes Criminal, but their power was confined to home, nothing appearing of their medling with warlike matters, or having command of the Armies. To these *Suffetes* was added a *Senate*, which because *Aristotle* compareth it with that of *Lacedæmon*, may be supposed elective out of the best sort and most antient men, and the Senators it's likely, injoyed the dignity all their lives. How many they were in number doth not appear; but that herein this Senate exceeded the other of *Lacedæmon*, is to be gathered from * *Justin*, who speaketh of 100 persons that out of it were chosen for Judges, to take account of the actions of all Generals at their return from the Wars. This Senate, as that at *Rome*, was the chief member, and as the Soul of the State, wherein the *Suffetes* propounding, as the *Consuls* there, all things of moment were brought to it; especially what concerned those great things of Empire: viz. *Peace*, *War*, and *Leagues*. The *Suffetes* deliberating with the *Senate*, if it was unanimous, and they resolved the same thing, their Decree was Law to the whole State; but if the *Senate* and *Suffetes* disagreed, then was the matter referred to the People.

* *Livius ibid. Lege Ubbonum Emmium in Descr. Resp. Carthaginensium.*

Senate.

* *Lib. 19.*

Concio or Assembly.

9. In the *Concio* or *Assembly* of the People, any one of the rabble might speak his mind freely, and without danger contradict the Magistrates. The People's Decree concerning any thing referred, was taken for the ultimate determination of the whole and State, and being once passed was so binding, that it was not lawful to offer any thing against it, which *Aristotle* reprehendeth (and well may he) as too Popular, and too much declining from the best form of a Commonwealth, affirming this Constitution to have no place in the best modelled States. But * *Polybius* dissenting from the Philosopher, where he compareth the *Carthaginian* with the *Laconick* and *Roman* Commonwealths, sheweth that it was poised of the three kinds of Government, that the *Suffetes* were as *Kings*, the *Senate* held the place of *Optimates* or *Nobility*, and the *People* a convenient power. Yet he addeth, that when *Hannibal* made War upon the *Romans*, (which happened ten years after the death of *Aristotle*,) the State of *Carthage* declined from it's antient and best condition, the People having assumed more than formerly, when the *Roman* Senate's authority was yet whole. This he thinketh to have much incommodated their affaires, and brought great advantage to the *Romans*. But what authority the People had during the best and most ancient State, he no where in those Books and fragments that are remaining, declareth. *Emmius* thinketh that it consisted in electing Magistrates, making Laws, Leagues, Peace,

* *quo supra.*

Consule Polybium.

Sect. 2. Peace, and War; in appointing and ordering Negotiations, Customs, Tributes, and such like things, which concerned the generality, and respected the profit of the multitude. But some of these things seem rather to have fallen under the consideration of the Kings and Senate; however the disorders that followed, as in all other such Governments, will satisfie the Reader in his opinion of the excellency of Monarchy.

Council of 104. 10. Besides the *Senate* there was a *Council* of 104 men, whereof *Aristotle* onely informeth us, and which, according to the round number, from him we may call the *Centumvirate*. They had power to chuse five men out of their body, who had very large and great authority; Both these sorts of Magistrates retained their power longer than any other, enjoying it both before and after they came to be of the five, which thing was plainly *Oligarchical*. But in that they were not chosen by lot, but by the Suffrages of the People, and served without wages; in that they alone took cognisance of, and judged controversies, and publick actions, none being remitted to others, as the custom was at *Lacedæmon*, this he taketh notice to be *Aristocratical*. He compareth the power of the *Centumvirate* with that of the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, whereby he teacheth us, that the power of judging lay in it. And as the *Ephori* were (acording to him) Conservators of Popular liberty at *Sparta*, protecting the Plebeians against the power of the great ones, so it is likely, from these words of *Aristotle*, that those 100 men at *Carthage* were the Keepers of the *Popularity*. Herein he prefereth them before the *Ephori*, that they were not chosen out of the rabble, but the better sort of Citizens, wherein lay also a piece of *Aristocracy*; for *mean persons being preferred to greatest places, do much hurt a Commonwealth*, saith he, *and have already endamaged that of the Lacedæmonians*. Amonst civil Officers there were some that made inspection into the manners of the Citizens, as *Corn. Nepos* telleth us in the life of *Amilcar*, the Father of famous *Hanniba'*, from whom they removed a beautiful young man called *Asdrubal*, because he was reported to be more familiar with him, than modesty required. There was also a *Pretorship* which had authority to look to the Customs and Tributes, and also to prefer Laws, as appeareth by *Hannibal*, who being chosen into this office, not onely reformed the Customers, but also taking notice of the corruption of Judges, procured a Law for them to be chosen every year. But whether there were more than one of these Officers, is not to be discovered from antient Writers.

Censors.

Pretorship.

11. Besides the faults before mentioned, *Aristotle* reprehendeth the Custom of chusing the *Suffetes* for their riches, which openeth a dore to avarice and indirect practices thence arising. He also noteth it as a fault, that one and the same man had several Offices, which yet they esteemed as a great honour. One detestable practice they used of old, to sacrifize to their gods humane Sacrifices, when any affliction or disaster fell upon them, and even their own Sons, as *Plato* witnesseth, which custom they seem to have brought with them out of *Palæstine*, every year sending thither such kind of presents unto *Hercules*, as we find in *Pliny*. Another absurd Law they had, which forbad any Citizens to learn the *Greek* Langage, lest they should hold intelligence with the Enemy, because one *Suniator* had so done with *Dionysius* the elder, as *Justin* writeth. This indeed was laudable, that this City abhominated Drunkennesse, and severely prohibited Wine as much as to be tasted in in the Camp, as *Plato* recordeth in his Laws. This also *Aristotle* commendeth, that, for an incouragement to warfare, they had a Law which gave liberty to a Soldier to wear so many Rings as he had served times in the field. The People were by their natural constitution, morose and surly, obedient to their Magistrates, tyrannical towards their Subjects, most dejected in time of fear, and cruel in anger, resolute in their designs, notwithstanding all force of flattery, and so infamous for their breach of faith, that the *Punick faith* or *trust* became a Proverb. As for their greatnesse and Dominion, the description thereof is to be left to it's proper place. Now must their affaires abroad in *Sicily* and other parts, be defined with the matters of that Island. 12. At

Lib. 30. *cap.* 5.

Faults in the Commonwealth.

Good Laws.

The disposition of the people agreeable with their government.

12. At what time, or upon what occasion the *Carthaginians* first came into *Sicilie* is uncertain, (*a*) *Livie* will have them first called in by the Sedition of the Islanders. in the year that *T. Quintius* (Sirnamed *Cincinnatus*, as also *Penno*) and *Cn. Julius Mento* were Consuls, which was in the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, the 323 year of the City, 50 years after the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and consequently as many from the Victory which *Gelon* got over them; a grosse mistake. (*b*) *Justin* out of *Trogus*, having first related their impious custom of pleasing their gods by humane Sacrifices, addeth, that the divine powers being therewith displeased or averse to them, when they had long unhappily made War in *Sicilie*, they translated it into *Sardinia*, and there losing the greatest part of their Army, received a grievous overthrow, whereupon they banished *Mazæus* their General, (by whom they had conquered a great part of *Sicilie*, and done great matters against the *Africans*) with that part of the Army which remained. The Army taking this in great disdain, sent to the City to desire a repealing of the Act of banishment, and threatned by force to rescind it, in case they were thereto constrained by a denyal of their sute. Their message being despised, they besieged the City, and after a few dayes took it. *Mazæus* calling the People together, complained of the injury, excused the necessity of the War, and inveighed against the contempt of his Victories. He said he would pardon all, but such as had been authors of the injurious Exile of their fellow Citizens; and accordingly putting ten of the Senators to death, he restored the City to it's Laws. Not long after being accused of an intention to make himself absolute, he was punished both for his paricide committed against his Country, and his own Son (as *Justin* termeth it) whom being a Priest, he had crucified, for refusing to come to him before he had finished his superstitious rites, and when he came appeared in his purple and other ornaments, which *Mazæus* thought unsuitable with the condition of him his Father. Him succeeded *Mago*, by whose industy the wealth, dominion, and reputation of the *Carthaginians*, for matters of War, increased.

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(*a*) *Decad.* 1. *lib.* 4.

(*b*) *Lib.* 18.

Mazæus.

Mago.

13. *Mago* being the first, who by ordaining military discipline, had laid the foundation of Empire, and added to the strength of the City, as well by introducing Virtue as the Art of War, left two Sons behind him, *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, who by treading in his paths, succeeded as well to the greatnesse as the Patrimony of their Father. Under their conduct the State made War in *Sardinia*, and fought against the *Africans*, who demanded Tribute for the ground on which *Carthage* stood, which also at length they constrained the *Carthaginians* to pay. *Asdrubal* died of his wounds in *Sardinia*, whose death was ennobled by publick mourning, eleven Dictatorships, as *Justin* calleth them (by which seemeth to be understood no other than so many times sending out, or commissionating as General, with full power in the field, yet so as to be under the commands of the State) and four Triumphs: and the Enemies of *Carthage* took heart, as if with the Captain it's force and power was also dead. The Inhabitants of *Sicilie* then vexed with the continual injuries of the *Carthaginians*, betook themselves to *Leonidas* the brother of the King of *Sparta*, and a great War insued, wherein both parties long strugled with various Fortune. At this time came Ambassadors from *Darius* (the Son of *Hystaspes*) King of *Persia*, commanding the *Carthaginians* to forbear offering humane Sacrifices, and eating mans flesh, requiring them to burn their dead rather than bury them, and demanding assistance against the *Greeks*, with whom he was about to ingage in War. They denied to afford any succours because of their continual Wars with their neighbours; but obeyed him in the rest, lest they should seem too stubborn, saith *Justin*; yet that they stood not to their word, the testimonies of *Plato*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, do certifie. Whilst these things passed, *Amilcar* was slain in the War of *Sicilie*, leaving three Sons: *Amilco*, *Hanno*, and *Gisgo*. *Asdrubal* also left so many: viz. *Annibal*, *Asdrubal*, and *Sappho*. Of these, *Annibal* is mistaken for *Annibal* the great, by one who hath made some short Notes upon * *Justin*, and *Amilcar* his Uncle, for *Amilcar Barchas*

Justin lib. 19

Darius his message to the *Carthaginians.*

* *Margine ad l.* 19. *excus. Londini, pro Felice Kingstonio.* 1651.

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chus Father to the famous *Annibal*, and *Mago* also for another of this name, that lived * many years after in the dayes of *Dionysius* the younger, and *Timoleon*. The Annotator wondreth what came into *Justin's* mind to make *Annibal* (the great) the son of *Asdrubal*, and well he might, if any such thing had been intended: he also referreth the Reader to the life of *Timoleon*, to find that *Mago* killed himself, and was after his death nailed to a crosse, because he fought unprosperously in *Sicilie*, which *Plutarch* intendeth of another person. Of this grosse mistake of one (whosoever he was) that took upon him to inform beginners, Students in History are to take notice and beware.

* *Vide infra paragr.* 53.

14. For this *Amilcar* seemeth no other than the very same that was slain in the battel fought with *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, in the sixth year of *Xerxes*, Son to *Darius* King of *Persia*, from which was made a digression into the affaires of *Carthage*. With *Amilcar* perished 150000 *Carthaginians*; the Captives that remained of his Army, filled all the Cities of the Island, and the State of *Carthage* was constrained to beg peace, having, as some say, made this War at the instance of *Xerxes*, that thereby the *Greeks* in *Sicilie* might be diverted from helping their Friends. After this, *Gelon* was offered the Kingdom of *Sicilie*; but he generously refused it, whereby he obtained the greater glory and love. At length, having setled all things well, he died full of honour at *Syracuse*, after he had held the Principality about thirteen years. In the third year of the 75 *Olympiad* his elder brother *Hieron* succeeded him. He rebuilded *Catana*, and changed it's name into *Ætna*, the Mountain of which name about this time brake out into flames, as fifty years after it did also. In the beginning of his reign he was much unlike to his brother *Gelon*, being suspicious, cruel, covetous, and turbulent: then caught with a lingering disease, he was much amended by the conversation of most Learned men. After this he fought prosperously against the *Carthaginians*, who now again returned into *Sicilie*, overthrew *Thrasydæus* of *Agrigentum* in a great battel, and drove him to desperation: at length he incurred the hatred of the *Syracusians*, uncertain for what cause, and shortly after withdrawing himself to *Catana*, there died in the second year of the 78 *Olympiad*, when he had held the Principality from the death of *Gelon* eleven years and eight moneths.

The great defeat of *Amilcar*.

Herod. l. 7. *c.* 153. *Ælian var. hist. lib.* 13. *c.* 37. A. M. 3527. *Ol.* 75. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 276. *Xerxis* 8.

Hieron of *Syracuse*.

15. After him his brother *Thrasybulus* seized upon the power, whose practices stirred up the Citizens to recover their liberty with the hastening of his ruine. For being set upon by them, he was overthrown, and reduced to such a straight, that he fled into *Locri* on the Coast of *Italy*, and there killed himself, having held the Soveraignty ten moneths from the death of *Hieron*. The *Syracusians* now gladly resumed their liberty; yet not therewith content, that they might the more secure it, they freed also many other Cities of *Sicilie*, from *Tyranni* and forein Garrisons. But not long after they fell into a most pernicious Sedition. For excluding those from honours whom *Gelon* had brought into *Syracuse* for the establishment of his own interest, they themselves bearing all Offices of Magistracy, and governing the Commonwealth, though they took not away from the other the freedom of the City, the lately made Denizons not enduring it, conspired together, being in number 7000 of 10000 which *Gelon* had brought in. Three years after liberty recovered, they sodainly fell upon two parts of the City: the *Island* and *Acradina*. The natural Inhabitants overpowering them in numbers, besieged them close, and overthrowing them in a Sea fight, at length constrained them to acquiesce in the present state of things, or else quit the City, after the Sedition and tumult had endured two years. In the mean time by the conduct of *Ducetius* a *Sicilian*, those planters that *Hiero* had placed in *Catana*, were thence ejected, and the old Inhabitants restored to the place, whom he had cast out: now also the whole Island was restored to it's antient condition, the Exiles being repossessed, and new comers driven out, who setled themselves at *Messana*, the utmost part of the Island.

Thrasybulus.

A. M. 3538. *Ol.* 78. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 287.

The *Syracusians* recover their liberty.

Arist. Polit. l. 5. *c.* 3.

16. That

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The form of the *Syracusian* Commonwealth.

16. That form of a Commonwealth was now established at *Syracuse*, which *Aristotle* properly calleth *Policie*, mixed of *Oligarchie* and *Democracie*; which, how dangerous it was, appeared shortly. For, after some years, the State continuing in this form, and the number of Citizens increasing, one *Tyndarides*, an Eminent man, and very rich, egged on by his ambition, brought it into great danger. For binding to him the indigent rabble by his gifts, and using them as a Guard, he manifestly pressed towards the soverainty, but by the Union of those who were in greatest grace with the people, he was repressed, and when the beggerly sort would needs undertake his protection, killed in a tumult. When others not at all deterred by this example aspired after such power as threatned liberty, the people for to humble those that carried their heads highest, in imitation of the *Athenians* brought in the use of the *Petalism*. As they by their *Ostracism* removed such Citizens for ten years, who for their reputation and interest were dangerous to the freedom of the Citie, so the *Syracusians* by the *Petalism* removed such like for five years. This kind of banishment, without losse of honour, or fortune, was called in Greek *Petalismos*, because his name whom any one would have banished was written in a leaf of an Olive, according to * *Diodorus*, both which in the same language were signified by the word *Petalos*. But this constitution, as the other at *Athens*, could not long continue. For those Eminent persons who were most fit for State Affairs, for fear thereof by little and little withdrew themselves from publick businesse to a private life. Hereby the Commonwealth fell into the hands of bold, rash, unskilfull, and the naughtiest sort of men, whence grievous incommodities and dangers followed. By these things the people were moved to abrogate the Law of *Petalism*, and the better sort returned to the care of the Commonwealth, after which it remained in quietnesse for some time, but again relapsed, as necessarily it must, from the informity of Antimonarchical Governme*t.

The *Petalism*.

* *Quæ mss lege ad Olymp.* 81. *ann.* 2.

Quickly abrogated for weighty reasons.

The Wars of the *Syracusians*.

17. Abroad the *Syracusians* had War with the *Tuscans* in *Italy*; with *Ducetius* Captain of the *Siculi*, as also the *Agrigentines*, *Trinacrians*, *Leontines*, and *Egestans* in *Sicily*, wherein most commonly they had the better, and either fully brought under, or bound to them by Leagues, most of the Cities in the Island. *Leontium* a most flourishing Town was utterly destroyed when it now gaped after the Empire of *Sicily*, the principal Citizens being removed to *Syracuse*, and the multitude driven into Exile. Out of these motions they fell into the *Athenian* War in the first year of the 91th *Olympiad*, concerning which we have already sufficiently spoken. *Syracuse* was so exhausted therein with expences and slaughters, that upon the brink of ruin it was meerly preserved by the wisdom and valour of *Gylippus*, a stranger of *Sparta*; and not onely preserved, but made victorious to admiration, and inabled to return to the *Athenians* so great overthrows by Land and Sea. This War which begun in the 50th year after the recovery of their liberty (by means of the *Egestans*, who craved aid of *Athens* against them and the *Selinuntians*) lasted not fully three years, leaving a sufficient warning to all, of the vicissitude of humane affairs, and shewing, that they who gape after Dominion, and are busie to inlarge their bounds, being carried out by the force of ambition rather than reason, often fall into a necessity of defending their own Estate, and sometimes lose all.

18. The multitude grown exceeding high upon this successe, would not rest satisfied with its former privileges, but so ordered the matter, that the temper of this Commonwealth more and more degenerated. *Diocles* a man of principal note, who had perswaded them to put to death *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Generals, being of a most severe and rigid disposition, eloquent tongue, and great reputation for wisdom, perswaded the people to change the Commonwealth, and elect Magistrates by lot, whereas formerly they were left to the suffrages of the people. The former way inclined to *Oligarchy*; but, by this, admission was given to the meanest and unfittest person to Govern, which ill agreeth with the fame of *Diocles* his wisdom. Some think that the multitude having got a promise from the great ones in

Lib. 2. *cap.* 4. *Diod.*

A.M. 3593. *Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 1. *V.C.* 342. *Davis Notis.* 12.

The State new modelled by *Diocles*.

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the late danger, in case they would well demean themselves, now wrested this Law from them, that *Diocles* perswaded the Nobility, and the better sort to give way to the time for avoiding some greater mischief, and then he with his Collegues having power from the whole State, as *Diodorus* adderh, form'd this new Commonwealth with convenient Laws, whereby this liberty was bounded, and other things defined as they thought, but falsly, made for publick good. This *Diocles* was in punishment of vice rigid, and inexorable, and yet most just in what was deserved by any man. His Laws were so well thought of by the vulgar, that many Cities of *Sicily* received them on their own accord, the whole praise of the invention being given to him, though he had others joyned with him in the work, that were excellent for wisdom and prudence. In after-times one *Cephalus* under *Timoleon*, and *Polydorus* under *Hieron*, were deputed to the making of Laws, but neither of them were accounted Legislators, but both Commentators upon him, who in the form of his speech was something short and obscure.

19. *Diocles* amongst other Laws ordained, that it should be Capital for any man to come into the Forum, or place where the people was wont to meet, with his Arms, and that neither the plea of ignorance nor any other excuse should stand him in stead that so offended. Afterwards it hapned that he himself having issued out against the Enemy who made incursions, as he returned with his sword, heard of a tumult in the Forum, and so went directly thither, not thinking what he had about him. Being for this reprehended by a private man as breaking his own Laws, he cried out he would do no such matter, but establish them with his blood, and therewithall killed himself. In the Commonwealth thus new modelled by him, 'tis uncertain what order there was, or what method was observed in acting. There was a *Senate* consisting of 600 men, as we understand from *Diodorus*; but the fame of it was very obscure, and the power, as may be gathered, exceeding small, which maketh it be so seldom mentioned. The multitude was sole Lord of all, and dayly meering together created the chief Magistrates, disposed of the Militia, placing, and displacing Officers therein, decreed War, made peace, contracted Leagues and Alliances, exercised power as to life or death, granted Indemnity, banished, and recalled at their pleasure. Other things of lesser moment were left to Magistrates, which were various, as in other popular Commonwealths. They were annual, as the Generals abroad, 2. 3. 4. or more, as the people pleased, the General at home who was over the Militia of the Citie in time of peace, and had great authority. Others were chosen by lot, as Judges, Treasurers, Censors, and such like, amongst which were also those that oversaw the matters at Sea, the Citie having an excellent site for trading. But things could not thus long stand, the Government being such, and wherein the wisest sort could do least, and the foolish unexperienced rabble was most powerfull, though having no skill in State affairs they little minded what they did, and onely aimed at their private advantage. Hereby they were easily led aside by one, who cunningly, though underhand, wrought his own designs. For scarce were 8 years passed over from the overthrow of the *Athenians*, when *Dionysius* the son of *Hermocrates*, a man of a subtile head, and deep dissimulation, so fooled the multitude, as obtaining from it a Guard for his person, he invaded the Tyranny in the fourth year of the 93th *Olympiad*, the very same that the Citie of *Athens* was yielded up to *Lysander*. How this was effected must more particularly be related, to let the reader behold the danger of Antimonarchical Government, and the happinesse of a people under that of hereditary Kings.

Diod. ad Olymp. 91. *ann.* 4.

Dionysius inslaveth *Syracuse.*

How this was effected by degrees.

20. The Citizens of *Ægesta* (who had entred into League with *Athens* against the *Syracusians*, and been cause of the *Athenian* War, by reason of the controversie betwixt the *Selinuntians* and them about some grounds) were in great fear after the overthrow of their friends to be called to account, quitted those grounds for which they had contested. But their adversaries not resting satisfied with the restitution of these Territories, but seizing also upon part of the adjoyning Region, they sent to *Carthage* for help, giving up themselves into their protection. The *Carthaginians* were very desirous to be masters of this Citie, so fit for their purpose of Conquering *Sicily*, but on the other hand they stood in fear of the *Syracusians*, who had so lately grapled with, and worsted the power of *Athens*. Yet their ambition prevailing, they promised them aid, which they committed to the care of *Hannibal*, then one of their principal Magistrates, giving him Commission to make War if the case should so require. After the death of *Amilcar* the affairs of *Carthage* had been managed by his, and his brothers sons, being six in number, under whose conduct War was made upon the *Moors* and *Numidians*, and the *Africans* were also constrained to remit the Tribute which had been formerly paid them for the site of the Citie. Now it was, that this great & numerous family being dangerous to the liberty of the Citie, by doing, and judging all things, 100 Judges were chosen from amongst the *Senators*, who received an account from the Generals at their return from the War, that by this awe they might so manage affairs abroad, as having an eye upon Justice, and the Laws at home. To *Amilcar* in *Sicily* succeeded his son *Amilco*, who having good successe in the War, both by Land and Sea, on a sudden lost his Army by the force of Pestilence, for which disaster there was a sad mourning at *Carthage* (as it is largely described by *Justin*) and he at his return killed himself. *Hannibal* was his brothers son, being the Grandson of *Amilcar* by his son *Gesco*, or *Gisgo*, as * *Diodorus* informeth us.

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Justin, lib. 19.

* *Ad Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 3.

21. *Hannibal* having an inbred hatred against all *Greeks*, and an earnest desire by his own acts to redeem the credit of his family, was glad of an opportunity to gratifie his Countrey, and near upon seventy years after the overthrow, and death of his Grand-father, undertook the employment. He first sent to the *Syracusians*, referring the matter betwixt the two Cities unto them, that the *Selinuntians* refusing to stand to any award, as he knew they would, a more specious pretence might be obtained for the War. They accordingly opposing it, the *Syracusians* decreed to hold them as Allies and Confederates, and also to be at peace with the *Carthaginians*; but the two concerned Cities falling upon each other, both *Syracuse* and *Carthage* was thereby drawn into the quarrel. *Hannibal* then having both in *Spain* and *Africk* made great preparations, the next year landed at *Lilybæum* the most Southern Cape of *Sicily* towards *Africk*, and setting upon the *Selinuntians* at unawares with a vast Army, took their Citie in the 10th day of the siege, wherein he made Captive 7000 persons, 16000 being slain, and 2600 escaped to *Agrigentum*. He permitted *Empedion* and his kindred to people it anew, under condition of paying Tribute to *Carthage*. This was the condition of *Selinuns*, after it had stood 242 years from its first founding by the *Megarians*, who being descended from *Megara* in *Greece* first came into *Sicily* under conduct of *Lamis*, and built a Town upon the River *Pantacius*, called *Trotilus*. Thence *Lamis* departing with some of his Colony went to the *Leontines* and *Chalcidians*, with whom having lived some time he was driven out by them, and planting some Inhabitants in *Thapsus*, after his death they left the place, and under conduct of *Hyblon* the *Sicilian* King, who betrayed the Countrey, inhabited *Megara*, and were called *Hyblæans*. After 245 years they were driven hence by *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, but 145 years before this, they sent out a Colony with *Pammilus*, which built *Selinuns*.

A.M. 3595. *Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 3. *V.C.* 344. *Davil Notbi* 14.

Ad ann. 4.

Selinuns taken by the *Carthaginians.*

22. *Hannibal* from *Selinus* marched to *Himera*, having a particular grudge against that place for his Grand-father's death. Falling on it with all his might, he was repulsed for a little time by the resolute valour of the Inhabitants, but the Wall being beaten down with his Engines, he shortly took it. Many Women and Children had withdrawn themselves out of the Citie; of those men which he took he carried up 3000 to the Hill where his Grandfather had been slain, and there killed them, being before used with all kinds of indignities; then rased he the Citie which had been inhabited 240 years, and dismissing his Mercenaries and Subjects of *Sicily* departed home, where he was received with greatest expressions of honour and affection for having

And Himera.

Sect. 2. having done in three moneths what other Captains would have required far larger time to effect. After his departure, *Hermocrates* the *Syracusian* (who having been sent as General to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, was condemned to banishment in his absence, through the malice of his Enemies) returned with a considerable Force into *Sicilie*, and to ingratiate himself with his Country-men, repeopled *Selinus*, and fell upon the tributaries of *Carthage*. The more still to indear himself, he took up the bones of those *Syracusians* that fell at *Himera*, and in a cariage sent them to the City, well knowing, that this would procure as love to him, so envy and hatred to *Diocles* his main adversary, who having been the Captain of the slain, had taken no care for their burial. *Diocles* much opposed their publick Sepulture, but the People resolutely decreed it, then banished him, and yet they recalled not *Hermocrates*, being jealous left he should improve his power and abilities to the making of himself absolute. He then being in despair of returning by fair means, attempted to do it by force, and getting in to the City, was amongst his complices killed by the multitude. *Diodorus ad Olymp. 93. an. 1.*

23. In the second year of the 93 *Olympiad*, the *Syracusians* sent to *Carthage* to complain of the late War, and to desire that for the time to come they would forbear all hostility, to which they returned an ambiguous answer, and made all possible provision for an Army, wherewith to subdue the whole Island. Before they transported any Forces they sent a Colony thither, which at the hot waters built a City, and called it *Therma*. The year following they ordered *Hannibal* to go over as General, who excusing himself by reason of his Age, they joyned with him *Imilco* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same Family. These two Generals then made Levies throughout *Africk*, hired Soldiers out of *Spain*, the Islands *Baleares*, and *Italy*; and got together an Army of 120000 men according to *Timæus*, but after *Ephorus* his reckoning 300000. As they were passing over, the *Syracusians* met them, and sunk fifteen of their Vessels, but with the rest *Hannibal* passed safe over, and fell upon the rich and starely City of *Agrigentum*, which contained 200000 persons. The *Agrigentines* wanted not assistance from their friends, all the *Greek* Cities being deeply concerned in their welfare, and the *Syracusians* gave the besiegers a considerable defeat, who demolishing the Tombs and Monuments the better to get to the walls, had thereby pulled down a Pestilence upon themselves, saith *Diodorus*, wherein *Hannibal* died. But *Imilco* (or *Imilcar*) thereby not discouraged, continued the Siege, expiating the offence, as he thought, by sacrifizing a Boy to *Saturn*, and drowning a company of Priests in the Sea as an offering to *Neptune*. His Soldiers mutinying for provisions, he supplied, by taking of the ships which loaded with necessaries were sent from *Syracuse* to the besieged. Hereby he starved them within, and constrained them to quit the City, being guarded to *Gela* by armed men. *Imilcar* found extrordinary rich plunder in it, whereof some rarities he sent to *Carthage*, amongst which was *Phalaris* his Bull, though *Timæus* the Historian carping at all others, by denying that there was ever any such thing, is justly censured by *Diodorus*. For *Scipio Africanus* the younger, 260 years after, having destroyed *Carthage*, restored this Engine to the *Agrigentines*, with whom it was yet remaining when *Diodorus* wrote his History. A. M. 3598. *Ol. 93. an. 3.* *V. C. 347.* *Idem ad an. 2.* *Ad an. 3.* And *Agrigentum.*

24. *Imilcar* having, after a Siege of eight moneths, thus mastered *Agrigentum*, a little before the Winter solstice, destroyed it not presently, that therein he might quarter his Soldiers that Winter. All the Island was struck with great fear upon report of what had happened; some of the *Sicilians* departed to *Syracuse*, and others transported their wives and children with their wealth into *Italy*. The *Agrigentines* being got safe to *Syracuse*, accused their Captains, as having betrayed their Country, and the *Syracusians* were also blamed by the rest for having chosen such Generals, as by their dishonesty had brought *Sicilie* into extreme danger. A meeting being had at *Syracuse*, and great fear of a War possessing all men's minds, none dared to speak one word, or give any advice. All sticking at the matter, at length stood up *Dionysius*

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Dionysius his tricks for making himself absolute.

nysius the Son of *Hermocrates*, and accusing the Captains of having betrayed *Agrigentum*, earnestly moved the People to punish them forthwith, and not stay the time prefixed by Law. For this unlawful and seditious motion, the Magistrates fined him; but one *Philistus* a wealthy man, who afterwards wrote his History, bade him proceed, promising to pay his fine, though it were a whole day together. Animated hereby he proceeded, urging that the Captains had been corrupted to betray the interest of *Sicilie*, and accusing others of the better sort of Citizens as affecting *Oligarchy*. He therefore moved that new Officers might be created, such as were not eminent for power, but good will towards the People, for that the other usurping dominion despised the common sort, and made their own markets out of the publick; whereas those being of lower fortunes, by a consciousnesse of their own weaknesse could not attempt such a matter.

25. Having discoursed these things fitly to the humour of the multitude, and his own design, he made no small impression in the minds of the Vulgar, who having had the fidelity of the Captains in question before, gave credence to these slanders, and deposing them, made new, amongst which was *Dionysius*, having got much credit for his valour against the *Carthaginians*. The foundation thus laid, he beat his head all manner of waies how to accomplish his device, and resolved if possible to get his Colleagues removed. For this purpose he never would meet in council with them, giving out they hatched clandestine designs against the State, and seeing the Citizens much affrighted at an approaching War, procured the Exiles to be called home, hoping that they being obnoxious to him, and desirous of innovation, would be fit for his purpose, taking great delight in seeing their Enemies killed, and their goods sold, their own Estates being restored to them. At this time it happened that a Sedition falling out in *Gela*, he had an opportunity to lead thither 2000 Foot, and 400 Horse, where procuring their principal men to be put to death, and their Estates confiscated, he thereby much ingratiated himself with the multitude and Soldiers. At his return he found the People just departing from the shows of the Theatre, which asking him news, he said he knew none, but that their Governours were greater Enemies to the State than the *Carthaginians*, by whose flatteries they now kept holy day, and who fleecing the Commonwealth, cheated the Soldiers of their wages. Now was an innumerable Army hovering upon the borders, and ready to invade, which they not at all regarded. This he understood a little before, but now fully, having received a message from *Imilco* that desired his connivance. Wherefore for his part he would lay down his Office, not induring that others making merchandise of the Commonwealth, he alone should, together with the Citizens, bear the burthen, and undergo the danger; and yet also be accounted as treacherous as the rest. For this night every man in great fear went home to his house. The next day he called them together, and loading his Colleagues with great invectives, so stirred the multitude, that some beginning to cry out he was to be made Dictator, for that they had formerly had experience how convenient the conduct of a single Person was, by the example of *Gelon* his Victory over *Amilcar*; the multitude out of hand created him General with full power. Then to bind fast the Soldiers to him, he procured a Decree for double pay, alleging it would make them more valiant in that time of danger, and bidding the People take no thought about raising money.

The misery of People destitute of rightful and hereditary Princes.

26. The wiser sort had all along sufficiently understood whither these actions tended, but the multitude stopped their ears against all accusations, as proceeding from the malice of the great ones. But now upon further consideration they began to suspect him, and repent they had put the power out of their own hands, which he being aware of, left the discontent should so seize upon the generality as thereby to procure him any let or hindrance in the full complearing his design, he drew out the Army to *Leontium*, which now was used as a Fortresse or Garrison, and there shutting himself close up, pretended a great conspiracy against his life. The day followng he called the multitude

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multitude together, and alleging many probable reasons to perswade them of the danger, obtained to have 600 men as a guard for his person, which he should chuse out where he pleased. This number he increased to 1000, picked out, and consisting of such as were desperate in fortune, and thereupon backed with stomach and resolution. He called the Mercenaries, and ingaged them to him with good words, then new modelling the Army, gave such commands therein as he knew would best serve his own turn: he gave free admission to all Exiles and malefactors, knowing such would be effectual to all his purposes. Having thus in imitation of *Pisistratus* got him a guard, and made himself Tyrant, at his return to *Syracuse* he openly shewed himself such, placing his Tent in the Arcenal. The People murmured in vain, being beset with strangers and mercenaries at home, and in continual fear of a War hanging over them from abroad. To establish himself he took to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*, who did such service against the *Athenians*, and was slain in attempting to seize on the City: he also gave his own Sister in marriage to his wives Brother, thinking it his interest to be allied to so great a Family. Then assembling the People, by his devices he procured *Daphneus* and *Demarchus* the most potent of his Adversaries to be put to death; and so from a Scribe and a man of mean condition, he became Master of the greatest *Greek* Citie, continuing such for 38 years, unto his end. A. M. 3599. *Ol. 93. an. 3. V. C. 348. Darii Nothi 18.*

27. *Imilcar* having wintred in *Agrigentum*, at Spring-time razed the City, and then fell upon *Gela*. The Inhabitants betook themselves to *Dionysius* for help; but his indeavours not well succeeding, they were forced to quit the Town, and leave it also to the disposal of the Enemy. *Dionysius* made the Citizens of *Camarina* to do the same, possessing them with a fear of the *Carthaginians*; so that departing thence in haste, some with their Gold and Silver, others with their wives and children onely, and the wayes being full of both sexes and ages, who miserably shunned servitude by exile, the *Syracusian* Horse-men pitied them exceedingly, and accounting this but a fetch of their Tyrant, to make himself Master of the place, conspired how they might kill him in the way, and the rather, because they had observed how remisse, or rather industriously treacherous, he had been in the relief of *Gela*. He keeping the Mercenaries close to him, they could not execute this design, but rode fast to *Syracuse*, where being easily admitted, they rifled his Palace, and used his wife very harshly that she died. Being secure of him as at a great distance from them, he conjectured the same, and in post-haste coming to *Syracuse*, set fire on one of gates, and so got in. Then slaughtered he such of them as he could light on, as also of those Citizens whom he knew to be most averse to him, some he slew, and others he expelled the Town. Scarce were things setled, when a message came from *Imilcar*, inviting the *Syracusians*, though conquered, unto Peace. *Dionysius* most gladly imbraced the offer, so that it was made upon these terms: The *Carthaginians* were to have subject to them, besides their old Tributaries and Colonies, the *Sicani*, *Selinuntians*, *Agrigentines*, and *Himerians*, and also the *Gelæans*, and *Camarinæans*, who might inhabit their Towns unwalled, but be tributary to *Carthage*. The *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all *Sicilians*, were to be free, and the *Syracusians* subject to *Dionysius*. All ships taken on both sides were to be restored. These things confirmed, *Imilcar* passed over into *Africk*, having lost half of his Army by the Plague, which so raged also in *Africk*, as great multitudes both of the *Carthaginians* and their Associates fell thereby. *Idem ad an. 4.*

A conspiracy against him

Disappointed.

He maketh peace with the *Carthaginians*.

28. *Dionysius* knowing that the *Syracusians* now eased of the War, would busie their heads how to recover their liberty, to prevent such a design, fortified that part of the City called the *Island*, which he caused to be inhabited with his own confidents: he also divided the publick grounds to such as he thought fit, and admitted strangers to equal privileges with the Citizens. Having thus as he thought secured his estate, he resolved to march against such *Sicilians* as he thought most assisted the *Carthaginians*, and was about to besiege *Erbesa*, when the Citizens of *Syracuse* now armed, considering what an

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an opportunity was put into their hands, and repenting they had not assisted the Horsemen in their revolt, resolved to declare for their liberty. The attempt generally took, the Citizens stood upon their defence, and the Tyrant was besieged, for whose head a great sum of money was offered. He was much cast down, and thought to resign his power, according as some advised him; but *Philistus* turned his mind, and made him resolve to venture all rather than do it. Bethinking himself how he might circumvent the Citizens, he sent to them, pretending a willingness to quit all, if they would but permit him to carry away his goods; and at the same time he dispatched a message to the *Campanians* (mercenary Soldiers of *Campania* in *Italy*) offering them large rewards if they would stand by him. The *Syracusians* consented he should depart with five ships, and then, as if their liberty was fully recovered, grew secure, remisse, and idle, disbanding some of their men, neglecting their guards, and taking their pleasure in the fields: The *Campanians* allured by his promises broke in to him, some Troops of Mercenaries also came to his assistance, with which he set upon the Towns-men, and easily putting them to flight recovered his power. He hindred his men from killing, and a great number flying to *Ætna*, he sent to them, offering them pardon, which some imbraced, and others refused to venture themselves upon it.

Another design against him

Frustrated.

29. When he had well re-seeled himself, he made War upon several Towns in *Sicilie*, some of which he took, and having an eye upon the *Carthaginians*, strongly fortified his City of *Syracuse*. He resolved with himself to make War upon them, hoping that all those Towns which in time of Peace willingly submitted to their yoak, would then revolt to him. Understanding that in the *Athenian* War a line had been drawn before *Syracuse*, from Sea to Sea, and thereby accesse into the Country cut off, with admirable celerity he raised a wall to prevent this for the time to come, labouring himself amongst the workmen, to cause them the more chearfully to undergo the toil: Then did he make extraordinary provisions of all sorts of Arms, compleatly furnished himself with shipping, and hired Soldiers from all parts. Thus provided, he caused all the goods of the *Carthaginian* Marchants, and others dwelling there, to be seized by the multitude of the *Syracusians*, to whom now he caried himself more mildly, being very ready to begin the War; especially upon so profitable terms. Other *Sicilian* Towns followed his example, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians* for their cruelty, of whom such as were amongst them they unmercifully handled in way of requital, which taught that State to deal more favourably afterwards with such as they took, in remembrance of the vicissitude of humane affaires. Then dispatched he a messenger to *Carthage*, to denounce war from the people of *Syracuse*, except they would set at liberty all the *Greek* Cities of *Sicilie*. They were much struck therewith, being exceedingly spent by Pestilence, but rejected the terms, and as they might, made provision for resistance. *Dionysius* besieged *Motya* one of their Colonies, and chief Fortresse for War; upon whose ships *Imilco*, as yet not sufficiently provided, made an attempt, and beating up the Camp presently retired again; so that *Dionysius* became Master of the Town.

His Wars.

Diod. ad Olymp. 95. an. 3, 4.

30. Ere he had taken *Motya* he besieged *Ægesta*, the Inhabitants whereof would not betray their trust, and made excursions into the Territories of their Friends. But the Spring following the *Carthaginians* having created *Imilco* King, sent him over with a vast Army, wherewith he first wrosted *Leptines*, whom *Dionysius* had commanded to attend his motions; then took *Eryx*, and presently recovered *Motya*. He had *Panormus* betrayed to him: he took *Lipara*, and after that *Messana* with his ships, the Inhabitants having sent their Forces out of the Town to meet his Land-Army. When he took *Motya*, *Dionysius* brake up his Siege and retreated to *Syracuse*; now hearing that he intended to set upon *Catana* both by Sea and Land, he sent *Leptines* with the Fleet after *Mago* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, and he himself marched by Land to meet with *Imilco*. *Leptines* according to order made after as

Idem ad Olymp. 96. ann. 1.

A. M. 3609. *Olymp. 96. an. 1. V. C. 358. Arrax. Menomis. 9.*

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faſt as he could, and attaching the Enemie's Fleer, at firſt ſunk diverſe Veſſels; but when he was now almoſt incompaſſed with *Mago's* ſhips which were in number 500. not able to fight at ſuch diſadvantage, he was forced to fly out into the main, and in his flight loſt 100 Veſſels. *Dionyſius* kept on his march, intending to fight *Imilco*; but was ſtopped by the interceſſion of his friends, who feared leſt in his abſence *Mago* might with his whole Fleet ſet upon *Syracuſe*, and take it. He therefore returned to the Citie, and diſpatched away Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Italy* for aid.

Syracuſe beſieged.

31. *Mago* by Sea with nigh 200 ſhips, and *Imilco* by Land with 300000 foot, and 3000 horſe, beſieged *Syracuſe*, who for that the Citizens refuſed to give battel, waſted their grounds for 30 dayes, and after that took the Suburbs of that part of the Citie called *Acradina*. His Army was taken with a ſudden Pannick fear, and ſeized by a ſore diſeaſe; yet notwithſtanding he drew a line for the Fortification of his Camp, and built three Forts upon the Sea, wherein he put his proviſions, and ſent into *Sardinia* and *Africk* for more. Afterwards *Polyxenus* father-in-law to *Dionyſius* returning out of *Peloponneſus* and *Italy* with 30 long ſhips, and *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Syracuſians*, they took a victualling ſhip from the *Carthaginians*. They doing their endeavour to reſcue it, the *Syracuſians* drew out their whole Fleet, and ingaging, took the Admiral Gally, and ſpoyled 24 Veſſels. After this the *Carthaginians* durſt not ſtir abroad, and the *Syracuſians* puffed up with this victory, thought of recovering their former liberty. *Dionyſius* coming in at the *Port*, called them together, incouraged them in the War, and gave them hopes of finiſhing it ſhortly to their ſatisfaction. Here before his face, one *Theodorus* in many words exhorted his fellow Citizens to throw off the yoak, and either take the Militia into their own hands according to the Laws, or deliver it up to the *Lacedæmonian* General. But *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, according to his inſtructions from his Superiours (who had now eſtabliſhed an Oligarchy wherever they could, agreeable with their own Government and Intereſt, or gave way to the power of a ſingle man rather than that of the people) ſaid openly, that he was ſent to help them againſt the *Carthaginians*, and not to overthrow the power of *Dionyſius*; ſo that the people were at ſo unexpected a thing utterly quelled, murmuring much againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who had now twice deceived them in the recovery of their freedom. *Dionyſius* affrighted hereat, made ſhew afterwards of great humanity, to gain the affections of the people.

Another attempt againſt him.

Fruſtrated.

32. The *Carthaginians* were at this time ſeized with a moſt grievous Plague, which *Diodorus* attributeth to their rifling the Temples of *Proſerpina* and *Ceres*, as the Meritorious cauſe, and to the unwholeſomneſſe of the place beſet with Fens, as the effectual means that wrought the diſtemper. A grievous diſeaſe had formerly falln upon the *Athenians* in the ſame place. For before Sun-riſe, becauſe of a cold vapour that roſe from the Fens, a cold and ſhaking ſeized on the body, then at noon a ſuffocating heat. So many men being gathered together into one place, the contagion firſt began with the *Africans*, who, though they died in great numbers, were at firſt all buried. Afterwards the number increaſing, ſuch as looked to the ſick dying alſo ſhortly after them, none would venture to come near the infected. But beſides want of attendance, no remedy could be had for the evil. For from the ſtench of the dead, and putrefaction of the Fenniſh aire, in the beginning of the diſeaſe a Catarrhe, and then preſently an *Angina*, or ſwelling of the neck, took the patient. Theſe were followed by a Feaver, pains in the Spina, and numneſſe of the legs, which drew after them a Dyſentery, and Spots over all the body. Some were taken with madneſſe, and abolition of memory, who wandring up and down the Camp beat all they met. At length all the endeavours of Phyſicians were void, through the vehemence of the diſeaſe, and ſuddenneſſe of death, for on the fifth, or at furtheſt on the ſixth day they died in great torment. *Dionyſius* underſtanding this ſad condition of the beſiegers, thought it convenient to ſally out upon them, and ſent 80 ſhips to fall on

A grievous plague ſeizeth on the *Carthaginians*.

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on their Navy. The Land Army firſt arriving took two of their Forts, and diverted them from their ſhips, which as ſoon as they ſaw in danger, they again retired to them; but with little advantage. For the *Syracuſians* boarded and ſlaughtered them in great numbers, and *Dionyſius*, with his Land Army, fired 40 of their Gallies that rode at Anchor in the Haven of *Dasco*. The night approaching broke off the fight, and then the *Carthaginians* ſent to *Dionyſius* 300 Talents, begging leave to depart; which he granted (with exception to all *Sicilians* and other Mercenaries) being unwilling they ſhould be quite defeated, that through fear of them his ſubjects might be the better contained in obedience. After the flight of the *Carthaginians*, the *Sicilians* departed home, and all the reſt were ſlain or taken, except the *Spaniards*, who gathering themſelves into a round body, ſent to *Dionyſius* to enter into Alliance with him; which he accepted.

33. *Dionyſius* being ſecure of the *Carthaginians* for ſome conſiderable time, provided againſt his Mercenaries, which badly affecting him, he prevented, by taking of their Leader, and beſtowing on them the Citie and Territories of *Leontium*. Then did he make new Leavies, and replanted *Meſſana* with its antient Inhabitants the *Meſſenians*; but ſeeing the *Lacedæmonians* his friends offended with it, he removed them to another place near the Sea, which they called *Tyndarides*, and wherein they did thrive exceedingly, Conquering, and laying ſeveral places to their demeſnes. Having fortified *Meſſana*, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* (who formerly jealous of his growth, had ſhown their bad affection to him) conceived it to proceed from ſome deſign againſt their Citie, which ſtood over againſt it in *Italy*, upon the very Crag of the Promontory, where *Sicily* was ſuppoſed to have been broken off from the Continent, whence it had the name of *Rhegium*. They ſent *Heloris* to beſiege *Meſſana*, whereupon he determined to make War againſt them; but the *Sicilians* ſeizing upon *Tauromenium*, he firſt reſolved to recover it. He continuing his ſiege all Winter, in a dark night got a certain Fort into his hands, and made way for all his Army into the Town; but the Inhabitants gathering together, and reſiſting, from the higher ground, beat back his men, whereof 600 were ſlain, and he himſelf eſcaped very narrowly; after which the *Agrigentines* and *Meſſenians* forſook him. The year after, he ſet upon *Rhegium* on a ſudden; burnt the Gates, and ſet Ladders to the Walls; but was repulſed by the ſtrong oppoſition of the Citizens. By this the Inhabitants of theſe Sea-Coaſts of *Italy*, ſeeing how far his covetouſneſſe and ambition extended, made a League amongſt themſelves, and appointed a common Council, both for the reſiſtance of him and the *Lucanians*, who made War upon them at the ſame time.

Diod. ad Olymp. 96. ann. 3.

Dionyſius ſetteth upon *Rhegium*.

Idem ad ann. 4.

Mago

34. *Mago* was yet in *Sicily*, and was once overthrown in battel by *Dionyſius*. The year following his Superiours ſent over great ſupplies, gathered as well out of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, as *Africk*, to the number of 80000 men, wherewith he overran the Countrey, and withdrew moſt of the Cities from their obedience, till he came to the *Agyrineans*, whom he could neither remove by fair nor foul means from their reſolution. *Dionyſius* with his Mercenaries and *Syracuſians* marched out againſt him, ſending before to the *Agyrineans* to be in readineſſe, who thereupon met him, and joyned their Forces with his Army. *Mago* now in an Enemie's Countrey was ſore ſtraightned for proviſions, which made the other reſolve to draw out the War in length, and not try his fortune quickly by battel. The *Syracuſians* being earneſt for fighting, upon his refuſal forſook him and departed home. This put him upon a reſolution to make free and liſt all ſlaves, but even then came Ambaſſadors from *Mago* to treat of peace, which he accepted upon this condition, that the *Sicilians* ſhould be under his authority; and ſo *Mago* returned home. After this *Dionyſius* ſeized on *Tauromenium*, and then baniſhed the greateſt part of the *Sicilians* from that Town.

Idem ad Olymp. 97. ann. 1.

Forced to return.

Dionyſius his ſecond expedition againſt *Rhegium*.

35. The next year but one, being the 3615th year of the World, into which fell part of the third year of the 97th *Olympiad*, wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Gaules*, as ſome compute, *Dionyſius* once more undertook an expedition

Ad an. 3.

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Rhegium.

dition against *Rhegium*. He landed his Army, consisting of 20000 foot and 1000 horse in the Territories of *Locris*, wasting all with fire and sword, his Navy, which consisted of 120 Gallies, attending his motions all along, till at length he pitched his Camp near the Streights. The *Italians* inhabiting that part of *Italy* called *Magna Gracia*, hereupon dispatched away sixty ships to help them of *Rhegium*, upon which he fell, and had taken or destroyed them, but that the besieged issuing forth, repelled him with Darts and Arrows, and taking the opportunity of a storm, drew the ships to Land; so that in this fight he lost seven ships with 1500 men, and escaping drowning but narrowly, fled to *Messena*. Then Winter drawing on, he made a League with the *Lucanians*, who after his departure, for a private quarrel betwixt them, invaded the *Thurians*. These sending for aid to the rest of the *Italian* Cities, would not stay for it, which they might justly expect according to Covenant, but issuing out against the Enemy, pursued them into their own Territories, who then taking them at advantage cut off many thousands of them. The rest seeing some ships sayl by, cast themselves into the Sea to swim to them, thinking they belonged to *Rhegium*. But it proved *Dionysius* his Fleet sent under conduct of his brother *Leptines* to aid the *Lucanians*; yet *Leptines* took pity of them, and landed them safe; he also perswaded the *Lucanians* for a pound of silver a man to release their Prisoners, passing his word for the money, and at length made them friends. But hereby he lost the favour of his brother (who hoped to devour both sides, and make himself master of *Italy*, when they should have sufficiently weakned one another) so that, being displaced, *Thearides* the other brother was made Admiral in his stead.

A. M. 3615. *Olymp.* 97. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 364. *Artax. Mnem.* 15.

His third expedition.

36. *Dionysius* his mind was still upon *Rhegium*, to which Citie he bore mortal hatred, because some years before having sent to them for a wife, they returned him answer, that their Hang-man had a daughter, which if it pleased him to accept they would give to him. Therefore the year following he set sayl once more against them, who then looking for no mercy in case he should take the Town, sent to him, desiring they might be moderately used. He required a Tribute of 300 Talents, all their ships, with 100 Hostages, and then went against *Caulonia*, the Inhabitants whereof he removed to *Syracuse*, razed the Town, and bestowed the ground upon the *Locrians*. But his design was not thus accomplished against them of *Rhegium*; his resolution was not to dismisse them upon the former terms, but by taking away their ships to prevent the bringing in of provisions by Sea, that he might the more easily starve them in a siege. Bethinking himself how with any shew of credit he might break the League, at length hovering yet about the Straights, he desired a supply of provisions from them, pretending he would shortly return to *Syracuse*; but he put it off from day to day, excusing himself by his own indisposition, or some other pretext, so that plainly seeing his drift, at length they flatly denied to send him any more victuals. This he pretending to receive with great indignation as an affront, he laid close siege to the Town, and battered the Walls. The Inhabitans making one *Phyto* their General, armed all that could carry Weapons, and making many brave sallies out upon him, burnt his Engins, and gave him a dangerous wound with a Lance. But the siege continuing, after eleven moneths they were driven to such want, as a Bushel of Wheat was sold for ten pounds, & at length they were forced to come out of the Walls, and there graze like Cattel, whereat he was so far from being moved with compassion, that he sent beasts thither to eat up the Grasse from them. Great heaps of Carkasses lying in the Town, and the visages of the living being by famine rendred like unto them, they at last delivered up the Town. Such as could redeem themselves with a pound of silver he released, and sold the rest. *Phyto* the General, after grievous torments, he drowned in the Sea, with his whole family.

Idem ad ann. 4. *& Olymp.* 98. *ann.* 1, 2.

He taketh it.

A. M. 3618. *Ol.* 98. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 367. *Artax. Mnem.* 18.

His studies.

37. After the destruction of *Rhegium*, *Dionysius* lying idle at home, applied himself to Poetry, being heretofore much addicted to it. Whilest he lay before *Rhegium* he sent his brother *Thearides* to the celebration of the *Olym-*

Idem ad ann. 3.

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Olympick games, there to repeat his Verses, which by their baldnesse drew the auditors into such a distast, that they rifled the Ambassador's tents. He called together the best Poets from all quarters to judge of his skill. He also drew over to him *Plato* the Philosopher, whom at first he used very courteously, but afterwards offended at him for his freedom of speech, he brought him into the common Cage, and there for five pounds sold him as a Slave. The Philosophers coming over on purpose redeemed him, and then sent him into *Greece* with this memnto in his ear, That *A Philosopher must either very rarely, or very pleasantly converse with Tyrants.* A year or two after this he put out to Sea with 60 Vessels, pretending an intention to clear the Coasts of Pyrates, but wanting money, according to his custome towards the Temples of *Sicilie*, he seized upon a Chapel near *Argylla*, on the Coasts of *Italy*, which being exceeding rich, he plundered of 1000 Talents, and got much spoil from the Inhabitants of the place, who opposed him. Being now furnished with money, he resolved to renew the War against the *Carthaginians*, and the next year drew divers of their tributary Cities from their obedience. The *Carthaginians* made great preparations for defense, raising a numerous Army, which they committed to the conduct of *Mago*. He poured out a great number of men both into *Sicilie* and *Italy*. In the Island, *Dionysius* overthrew him in a battel near *Cabala*, wherein were slain more than 10000 of his men, and 5000 taken: he himself with the rest retired to an hill, where fighting manfully he was slain, and his men sent to *Dionysius* to desire Peace.

Idem ad Olymp. 99. *an.* 1.

Ad an. 2.

He overthroweth the *Carthaginians.*

38. *Dionysius* answered, that the onely way to obtain their desire, was to quit *Sicilie*, and pay the charges of the War. To this he seemed to assent, but alledged they had no power to deliver up the Cities, and therefore desired a truce for some time to advise about it. During the truce, *Mago*'s son being advanced into his Father's place, trained the Soldiers, and exercised them continually, so as he brought them into a good condition for fighting, and then at the end of the Truce led them down, and gave battel in stead of receiving Peace. Now were the *Sicilians* so puffed up by their late Victory, as the other took advantage of their carelessnesse, and so played the men, that though *Dionysius* in his wing, and *Leptines* his brother in the other, fought most valiantly, and the former prevailed; yet the later being slain, his party was presently put to flight, in which great execution was done, the *Carthaginians* giving no quarter; so as 14000 *Sicilians* are said to have been slain. The Conquerours departed to *Panormus*, and thence sent to *Dionysius*, offering to have the quarrel taken up, which he gladly imbraced. Both sides were to retain what they already had, onely the *Carthaginians* took to themselves the City and Territories of *Selinus*, with so much ground belonging to *Agrigentum* as reached to the River *Helycus*, and required of *Dionysius* 1000 Talents. Long after this he rested from War, but still grudging the *Carthaginians* any footing in *Sicilie*. This moved him at length with great preparations both by Sea and Land to invade their Territories, wherein he took some Towns, wasted the Country, and besieged *Lilybaum*; but perceiving it very strong presently again rose up from before it. Then hearing that the Arcenal at *Carthage* was fired, he carelesly behaved himself, and sent 130 Gallies to seize on the Haven of the *Erycinians*, commanding all the rest to return to *Syracuse*; but the Enemy unexpectedly with 200 Ships well manned, fell upon them in the Haven, and took most of them; then winter coming on, they made Truce, and each departed to their own places. Not long after, *Dionysius* died of a Surfet he got by feasting, for joy he was pronounced Victor in Poetry at *Athens*, after he had reigned 38 years, in the first of the 103 *Olympiad*, A. M. 3637. 366 before the ordinary *Æra* of Christ. It had been told him by an Oracle, that he should die when he overcame his betters, which he had applied to the *Carthaginians*.

And receiveth an overthrow from them.

Diodor. ad Olymp. 103. *an.* 1.

He dieth.

His wives & issue.

39. *Dionysius* married two wives in one day: *Doris* born at *Locri*, and *Aristomache* daughter to *Hipparinus* of *Syracuse*, and sister to *Dion*. By the

Vide Ælian var. Hist. lib. 13. *c.* 10.

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the former he had a ſon called alſo *Dionyſius*; by the later no children for a long time (for which cauſe he put to death the mother of *Doris*, upon ſuſpicion of her having practiſed ſomething upon *Ariſtomache* to cauſe her barrenneſſe) but afterwards begot of her two ſons and as many daughters. When he lay ſick, *Dion* inquired of the Phyſicians concerning his condition, whether he was in any danger, that if ſo, he might move him about the ſharing of his Kingdom; for that he thought his ſiſters children might juſtly expect their part therein. The Phyſicians told this to young *Dionyſius*, who found himſelf ſo concernd in it, that to prevent his Father's diſcourſing with *Dion*, he compelled them to give him that which laid him ſo faſt aſleep as he never could awake, and ſo he ſolely ſucceeded him. *Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Dione.*

Dionyſius his ſon ſucceedeth him.

His diſpoſition.

40. *Dionyſius* the younger at firſt gave ſuch hopes of a pliable diſpoſition, that *Dion* prevailed with *Plato* to return to *Syracuſe*, thinking that by his inſtruction he might be made a good and temperate Prince. *But Dion's* emulators fearing he might be changed from his former courſe, which though bad in it ſelf was more convenient for them, recalled *Philiſtus* (one who was baniſhed by the late *Dionyſius*, and being a learned man, wrote the hiſtory of his life) that they might have one to oppoſe to *Plato*. He according to what was injoyned, and his private intereſt, upheld him in his extravagances, as many other flattering Philoſophers did; eſpecially *Ariſippus* of *Cyrene* the Scholar of *Socrates*, who had ſo great a command of his own temper, that he could apply himſelf * ſuitably to all times and perſons. *Plato*, when he came, found *Dion* in great troubles, being for his nobility and courage both envied and feared by *Dionyſius*, who, four moneths after, ſeeing the People much addicted to him, baniſhed him to *Corinth*, pretending he ſent him thither for the good of them both, that one might be out of fear of the other. Becauſe he ſaw that this diſpleaſed all men, he ſent him all his movables, but kept his wife and his ſon, marrying her afterwards by conſtraint to *Polycrates* one of his Guard. This much ſtartled *Dion's* friends, and *Plato* amongſt the reſt, by whom *Dionyſius* fearing that ſomething might underhand be wrought againſt him, gave them good words, and laboured to keep *Plato*, who earneſtly deſired now that War was begun in *Sicilie* to be diſmiſſed; eſpecially ſeeing his mind far remote from the love of Philoſophy. By his importunity he got leave to depart, upon condition that, when Peace was made, *Dion* ſhould be recalled, and he return with him. *Plutarch & Nepos ibid.* A. M. 3637. *Ol.* 103. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 386. *Aelian. Var. hiſt. l.* 12. *c.* 47.

Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color & ſtatus & res. Horat. Vide Diog. Laertium in vita.

41. When the time came, *Dionyſius* earneſtly deſired the return of *Plato*, but would have *Dion* diſcontinue a year longer, who earneſtly beſought *Plato* to return to *Syracuſe*, for that it was reported that the Prince now was wonderfully taken with Philoſophy. He ſtifly refuſed to do it, objecting his age, with the breach of Covenants, but being again urged on all ſides, a ſhip was ſent for him, and large letters were written, wherein the Tyrant promiſed to deal with *Dion* as his friends ſhould judge reaſonable; many of the beſt ſort alſo in *Sicilie* and his acquaintance were ſent to accompany him over. Wherefore *Plato* once more undertook the journy, with intention to reconcile *Dion* to *Dionyſius*, and reduce the Tyrant to a more ſtrict and commendable life. But not long after his arrival *Dionyſius* ſtopped *Dion's* Revenues, which *Plato* taking ill, once prevailed to have the ſtoppage removed, for otherwiſe he would be gone; but when the ſhips were departed, and *Plato's* paſſage thereby prevented, he again ſequeſtred the Eſtate. After this he fell plainly out with *Plato*, for holding that faith was to be kept with *Heraclides*, who was ſuſpected to have raiſed a Sedition, and put him out of his Court, ſo as the Philoſopher was glad to take up his quarters with the mercenary Soldiers, amongſt whom alſo ſlanders were ſpred concerning him, whence he ſignified his condition to his friends at *Tarentum* in *Italy*, who with much adoe prevailed with the Tyrant to ſend him home ſafe. Such was the entertainment of *Plato* with *Dionyſius* both father and ſon.

42. Though *Dionyſius* had left to him an hereditary War with the *Carthaginians*, yet giving up himſelf wholly to luxury and ſluggiſhneſſe, he was unfit to manage publick affairs, and therefore made peace with them. But *Dion* *Diodor. ad Ol.* 95. *an.* 2, *&c.*

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Dion being now at *Corinth*, together with *Megacles* his brother, and *Charicles* the General of *Dionyſius*, raiſed as many Mercenaries as he could, which not in number paſſing 500, he tranſported in two ſhips of burthen in- *Plutarch in Dione.*

Dion invadeth *Sicilie.*

to *Sicilie*, leaving *Charicles* (or rather *Hercules*) behind, to bring after more ſhips; ſuch was his courage, that he durſt venture with ſo inconſiderable a force upon ſo great a power. After his landing, multitudes flocked to him as he paſſed through the Iſland, and out of *Syracuſe* it ſelf, whom *Dionyſius* in ſuſpition had diſarmed. To them he gave weapons, having brought many over with him for ſuch a purpoſe. By the time he got unto the City he was 5000 ſtrong, which he eaſily entred, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of thoſe Captains that *Dionyſius* had left there, who at this time was upon the Coaſts of *Italy*. Upon his declaring to the People that he came to reſtore them to their antient liberty, they made him and *Megacles* their chief Generals with with full power. *Dionyſius* ſeven dayes after returned and got into the Caſtle, which ſtanding in the Iſland was ſevered from the reſt of the City, whence he ſent for Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, that he might gain time. The People overreached, ſent their Commiſſioners, whom he kept with him, till ſeeing the Citizens negligent and careleſſe by reaſon of their hopes, he poured out his Mercenaries upon them; but *Dion* with much labour repelled them, and ſlew 800 men. After this he ſent again to deſire a Treaty, but *Dion* anſwered, that his onely way to obtain peace was to lay down his power, and content himſelf with certain honours; whereat he was much vexed, and took counſel how any way he might revenge himſelf.

43. *Philiſtus* whom he had made Admiral, fought with the *Syracuſians*, now not inferiour to him in number of ſhips, and loſing the day loſt alſo his life; having either killed himſelf, becauſe he would not be taken, or been tormented to death, after he fell into his Enemies hands, both which are ſaid. Then did *Dionyſius* offer half of his Kingdom to *Dion*, and afterward was content to quit it all; but he was anſwered by him, that he muſt leave the Caſtle, and be content with certain goods and honours: and it was agreed, that with his movables and Mercenary Soldiers he ſhould have leave to paſſe into *Italy*. The People hardly granted this, as being confident to ſubdue him by force; but he leaving ſome ſtout men to defend the Caſtel, departed in the twelfth year of his Reign, with his treaſure and rich ſtuff into *Italy*, undiſcovered by *Heraclides*, who ere this arrived out of *Peloponneſus* with a good force, and was ſet over the Navy. *Heraclides* being much blamed for this, that he might re-ingratiate himſelf, perſwaded one to ſtir up the multitude to an equal diviſion of the grounds, which being oppoſed by *Dion*, he out of emulation procured him ill-will, and cauſed the People to create 25 Prætors, whereof he himſelf was choſen one. *Dion's* Mercenaries by this new Model deprived of their pay, deſired him to uſe their help in revenging himſelf upon his ingrateful Country-men. He then took upon him to be their Leader, and marched away to *Leontium*. The *Syracuſians* purſued, and oppoſed them in their way; but being forced with loſſe to retire, the *Leontines* received him with much honour, gave to the Soldiers their arrears, and made them free of their City. A. M. 3649. *Ol.* 106. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 398. *Orbi* 6. *Philip.* 5.

He expelleth *Dionyſius.*

Is diſobliged.

44. But ere long there was an occaſion for the recalling of *Dion*. The Soldiers whom *Dionyſius* had left in the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, being diſtreſſed by want of proviſions, reſolved over night, that the next day they would yield it up; but that very morning appeared a Fleet ſent to their relief, over which *Nipſius* a *Neapolitan* had the command. The *Syracuſians* iſſuing forth againſt it, had the better; but then growing ſecure, and giving up themſelves to gormandizing and drunkenneſſe, *Nipſius* thought a good opportunity to be offered for the redeeming of his credit, and fell upon the City, ſending ſome over the wall, who killing the ſentinels, opened the gates for his Soldiers. The new Captains of the *Syracuſians* being drunk, could take no order for reſiſtance, ſo as great ſlaughters were made in every place, the Garriſon Soldiers iſſuing out of the Caſtel, and great plunder with many priſoners were taken away. Now the Citizens ſaw that no help remained

Redeemeth *Syracuſe.*

for

Sect. 2. for them, but onely in *Dion*, to whom they sent, begging of him, that laying aside all thoughts of private injuries, he would now succour his distressed Country. He being armed by precepts of Philosophy against private grudges, marched for *Syracuse*, and was met by a number of old men, women, and children, who with lamentable cries implored his help. As the Garrison Soldiers were busie in plunder, and had set the houses near the Forum on fire, he brake in upon them, distributing his men to the several quarters of the City. They fell upon them all in disorder, and burthened with plunder, killed 4000; and so forcing up the rest into the Castel, cleared all.

45. *Dion* having atchieved much honour by this act, was made General of the Land Forces; but *Heraclides* his emulater still retained his Admiralship. This vexed him so, that he gave out some words that a *Commonwealth could not be well governed by many*, which procured him great envy, as if he thereby signified that he would get the Soveraignty over all. He studied not how to palliate the matter, but sought to carry on all things by an high hand, and in a way of force; and either procured *Heraclides* to be made away, or connived at those whom he formerly hindred from doing it; after which he seized on the goods of his Enemies, and distributed them to his Soldiers. But presently again money failing him, and having none to run upon but his friends, he was constrained either to lose them or his Soldiers, who being also displeased for want of pay, the common People might safely revile him, affirming that the Tyrant was not to be endured. Whilst he with thoughts of these things tormented himself, came to him one *Callicrates* (or *Callippus*) an *Athenian*, a most cunning dissembler and irreligious person. He told him, that seeing he was in such danger, both in reference to Soldiers and People, his best way was to have some friend, who counterfeiting himself his Enemy, should hold intelligence with his adversaries, and thereby discover all their plots and practices against him. This part, by *Dion*'s consent, he took upon himself, and under this pretence really and indeed practised his destruction, which *Dion*'s wife and sister hearing of, therewith acquainted him; but he regarded them not, giving too much credit to what *Callicrates* had promised. The women nevertheless brought *Callicrates* into the Temple of *Proserpina*, and there made him swear, that he had not at all plotted against *Dion*'s life; but he minding no Religion, but being egged on more forward to the accomplishment of his design, sent certain young men, natives of *Zachynthus*, in to him, whilst he was private in his chamber, who being easily admitted, for the knowledge his family had of them, fell upon and presently bound him: but being unarmed could not kill him, till one *Lyco* a *Syracusian* reached them a Sword in at a window; his Guard hearing, but stirring not. He died in the 55 year of his age, and the fourth after his return out of *Peloponnesus*, being much lamented after his death, though before called Tyrant, and what ever else could expresse him odious.

Envied — *Corn. Nepos in Dione.*

Plunged into great difficulties.

Circumvented by *Callicrates*, and slain.

46. *Callicrates* after *Dion*'s death seized on the Principality, which he held but thirteen moneths; for then *Hipparinus* son to *Dionysius* the elder, by *Aristomache Dion*'s sister, expelled him, and placed himself in his father's Kingdom, which he enjoyed two years. *Callippus* (or *Callicrates*) with *Leptines* went against *Rhegium*, which was held by a Garriron of *Dionysius* his Soldiers, which taking, he was there slain by *Leptines*, and *Polysperchon*, it's said, with the same sword wherewith *Dion* was killed. After *Hipparinus*, *Nasaus* obtained the Soveraignty over *Syracuse*, and then *Dionysius* recovered it in the tenth * year after his expulsion. In this time of his exile he made himself Lord of *Locri*, where his mother was born, and tyrannized over the Inhabitants six years in a most cruel manner; ravishing their Virgins, and playing other pranks suitable to his disposition. There he raised a Company of men, and coming over on a sodain to *Syracuse*, where finding all men in deep security, he expelled *Nasaus*, and erected his Tyranny afresh. When he was gone, the *Locrians* expelled his Garrison, and in revenge for his ravishing their Virgins tormented his wife and two daughters

Callicrates expelled by *Hipparinus*, and slain.

Nasaus.

Dionysius recovereth *Syracuse*.

Justin l. 21.

Ælian l. 9. *c.* 8.

to death, by thrusting sharp Needles under their Finger Nails. The Commonwealth of these *Locrians* being very famous, is commended much by the antients, not onely *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, but more antient than they, as *Plato* and *Demosthenes*; the former in his discourse which he maketh to have been betwixt *Socrates* and *Timæus* a *Locrian* Philosopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, concerning the nature of things, and Original of the World; and the later in his Oration against *Timocrates*, an Author of new and pernicious Laws. Something is therefore according to the nature of our design to be said of it. Sect. 2. — A.M. 3658. Ol. 108. ann. 2. V. C. 407. Ochi 15. Phil. 14.

Zaleucus modelleth the Locrian Commonwealth.

47. *Zaleucus* (as he was accounted) a wise, just, and honest man, born of an Eminent family at *Locri*, was the modeller of this Commonwealth. *Eusebius* thinketh he flourished about the 29th *Olympiad*, but *Diodorus* and several others making him a Scholar of *Pythagoras*, who taught in *Magna Græcia*, reckon him as Contemporary with *Charondas* the Law-giver of the *Thuriahs*, another of *Pythagoras* his Scholars, and who is famous for the strictnesse and severity of his Laws, which he is said to have confirmed by his death in the same manner as *Diocles* did his; the same story being told of him. According to their account he must have flourished about the 80th *Olympiad*. In the beginning of his Laws, or his Preface to them, this to some appeareth to have been his design; to affect the minds of his people with piety towards God, as the Original of all Right and Justice, the Lord and Governour of Heaven and Earth, as also an hater and punisher of wickedness. Then mentioned he Laws, not very many in number, but most effectual for the defence of Justice, restraining Vice, preserving concord and tranquillity in the State, preventing innovations, and for the establishment of themselves; which as long as observed (and they were observed long) preserved the Commonwealth in safety. He thought a few stable and unalterable Laws well obeyed, to be more profitable for a State than an infinite multitude of weak ones, which are easily changed by those that have a mind to innovate, and he concluded, that the spediest way to the ruin of a Commonwealth was by change and innovation. That his opinion was true, the example of *Athens* abundantly demonstrated, which erring in this point paid dearly for it, as *Demosthenes* often complaineth; and *Rome* also, which being infected with this itching distemper, at length was constrained to submit to the power of one man. It being almost impossible, but that popular Governments should totter, what ever might happen to this inconsiderable Citie. He commanded his Laws to be strictly observed, and the Magistrate to proceed according to the Letter of them, without giving his own glosse, or pronouncing sentence according to his private fancy. To this purpose is most memorable of all his Laws, that which *Demosthenes* and * *Polybius* relate concerning one who should afterwards prefer a new Law, abrogate any old one, alter any thing in it, or dispute concerning the meaning of it. He was to come into the Council of 1000 men with an halter about his neck, where speaking his mind, if to them he should demonstrate his opinion to be profitable for the State, then was he to be dismissed safe, and the Law admitted; but if it should appear contrary, then was he to be strangled forthwith in the sight of the Council. — *Lege Gbbonem Emmium de Repub. Locrensium.* — * *Lib.* 12. 7.

The form thereof.

48. *Zaleucus* chose 1000 men out of all the people, in whom he appointed the Supream power to reside. It is not to be doubted but he ordained also a *Senate* of a far lesse number, by which dayly and lesser matters should be dispatched: that there were also certain Magistrates and Courts of Justice, which had orders prescribed to them, we need not question; though we find one onely Magistrate in * *Polybius*, called *Cosmopolis*, who seemeth either to have presided in the Senate, or the greater Council. *Zaleucus* took care for preventing dissentions amongst Citizens, pride in the greater ones, and either favour or hatred in Courts of Justice. For to cut off the pride and vanity of women, he forbad any to go abroad with more than one waiting woman, except she were either drunk, went out of the Citie by night, or betook her self to an Adulterer; to deck her self either with costly apparel, ex- — * *Quo prius.*

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cept she professed the trade of a Strumpet. He forbad men in like manner to wear Gold Rings, or a *Milesian* Garment, under pain of being accounted Whoremongers and Adulterers. *Ælian* * mentioneth a Law of his, prohibiting any one to drink strong Wine, except by the Physicians order, though for health's sake, upon pain of death, and another, * commanding that an Adulterer convicted should lose both his eyes. Concerning the later a notable thing hapned to the Law-giver himself, whose son being found guilty of this Crime, all the people were willing for his sake to remit the punishment, but he would not suffer his Laws to be broken, but to preserve sight to his son, commanded that one of his own, and another of the young man's should be pulled out.

* *Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 37.*
* *Lib. 13. c. 24.*

49. (*a*) *Demosthenes* maketh mention of another Law, commanding that he who struck out his Neighbours eye should be punished with the losse of one of his own, as a *Lex talionis*. It hapned that a naughty man bearing a grudge to his Neighbour that had but one eye, threatned him to strike it out, though with the losse of one of his own. The poor man terrified exceedingly herewith, and judging continual blindnesse worse than death, with a rope about his neck came into the Council, and asked a Law, that *whosoever should strike out his eye that had but one, or deprive him of the use of one who was purblind, should lose both his own, or be punished with the like calamity and losse that he should bring upon his Neighbour*. This as just he easily obtained, and this was the onely new Law which in 200 years time was brought in, the Insolency of innovators being repressed by the severity of the former constitution, as the Orator observeth. Another there was, that a thing controverted should remain in the possession of him whose it was when the sute commenced, till such time as a definitive sentence passed; concerning which (*b*) *Polybius* telleth a notable story of two men that contending about a slave, the one having had him long in possession, the other got him into his hands two dayes before the tryal, and then the former went and taking him away, possessed him the second time. The Judges referred the matter as an hard case to the *Cosmopolis*, who determined in favour of the first and last possessor; but the other contended with him about the sense of the Law, to whom he offered that both of them should go with ropes about their necks and dispute about it. The young man told him, he was old, and expecting but three or four years longer to live, dying now would be no great losse to him, whereas he expecting a far longer time, according to the course of nature, should have the far worse bargain; with which facete reply he handsomly ended the dispute, and the Judges confirmed the opinion of the *Cosmopolis*. (*c*) *Aristotle* mentioneth a Law of *Zaleucus*, which forbad inheritances to be sold except in urgent necessity, and this was to be proved, which Law being neglected amongst the *Leucadians*, made their Government degenerate into too much Popularity. (*d*) *Heraclides* mentioneth other two, whereof the one forbad mourning for the dead; it being the custom of the *Locrians* to feast after Funerals. The other inhibited all retailing shops, commanding Husband-men to sell their own Commodities. This was the form of the Commonwealth of *Locri*, called *Epizephyrii*, from the Promontory *Zephyrium* near adjoyning, being a Colony of *Locri* (*e*) *Ozola*, one of the two *Locri* of *Phocis* in *Greece*: whereof the other was called *Locri Opuntii* and *Epicnemidii*. *Dionysius* the elder having got footing in *Italy*, made himself master of this place; but yet left them to their own freedom, but *Dionysius* his son Tyrannized in the manner aforesaid.

(*a*) *contra Timar.*

(*b*) *Excerpt. 7. lib. 12.*

(*c*) *Politic. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

(*d*) *In Politiis.*

(*e*) *Lege Polybium lib. 12. Excerpt. 3.*

The *Syracusians* beg aid of the *Corinthians*.

50. When *Dionysius* recovered his Principality over *Syracuse*, the Citizens were more inclining to one *Hicetas* born amongst them, who at that time was Lord of *Leontium*; yet notwithstanding all their attempts he kept his possession. But within awhile the *Carthaginians* from without invaded them, being thus at odds within amongst themselves, which constrained the *Syracusians* to send, and beg aid of *Corinth* their Metropolis. *Hicetas* with the Messengers sent some of his own, as desiring the same thing; but held secret intelligence with the *Carthaginians*. The *Corinthians* resolving to send

Plutarch. in Timoleon.

Timoleon

send aid to their Colony, pitched upon *Timoleon* for their Captain. He was the son of *Timodemus* or *Timenetus*, of a quiet and loving disposition, but a great Enemy to such as mastered their neighbours, which he shewed effectually against his own brother, whom, having made himself Lord of *Corinth* by the help of some Mercenaries, he gave way to have killed, being in the room, and bursting out into tears, whilst his two companions did it. Some accounting this act as unnatural and impious, though others commended it, he thereupon abstained from all imployment for twenty years, till this charge was laid upon him. Whilst he was preparing for the Expedition, *Icetas* dealt underhand with the *Carthaginians*, that he might be advanced into the place of *Dionysius*, wrote to *Corinth* to stop their proceedings, and procured the *Carthaginians* to send to forbid *Timoleon* from setting foot in *Sicilie*. He besieged *Dionysius*, but rising up upon other thoughts and returning homewards, the besieged followed him, and falling on his rear, forced him to fight. Having the better in this ingagement, he killed 3000 of *Dionysius* his men; then pursuing the rest to *Syracuse*, got it all into his hands, except the Island. *Timoleon* being more earnestly pressed forwards by his fellow Citizens, upon discovery of *Icetas* his treachery, though he fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* sent from him to intercept him, yet escaped, and arrived in *Sicilie* with ten ships, and 1200 men. The several Cities in the Island being accustomed to be deceived and ill used by others, suspected him also; but finding the Inhabitants of *Adranum* to be part for him and part for the *Carthaginians*, he using admirable expedition, fell sodainly upon the Enemies Camp, which taking, he was admitted into the Town. After this diverse other places joyned with him, and with speed marching to *Syracuse*, he unexpectedly also broke into the City.

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Sent to their aid.

51. *Syracuse* was now held by three several parties, *Timoleon's*, and that of *Dionysius*, and *Icetas*, in so many several quarters; moreover the *Carthaginians* were in the Haven with 150 Gallies, which carried 50000 men. It troubled *Timoleon* to see himself overmatched, but presently things turned very well for him. Ten ships came loaden with men and money from *Corinth* to his aid, and *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and divers forts joyned themselves to him, which so discouraged the *Carthaginians*, as they weyed anchor and departed into their own dominions: *Icetas* being destitute of their assistance was quite discouraged, and *Messana* now also declared for *Timoleon*. *Dionysius* too being terrified at this his successe, sent to him, and yielded up himself with all he had into his hands, whom he suffered upon his delivery of the Castle, and laying down his Principality, to depart *Corinth*, some four years after the recovery of his former estate. Thenceforth, having lost all by his sluggishnesse, he lived in great contempt and penurie, so as he would walk up and down in poor ragged cloathes, frequent the Stewes and drinking houses, gaze upon that meat in the shambles which he had no money in his purse to buy, and at last took upon him the office of a Pædagogue, in which he might best imitate his former carriage towards his Subjects, in tyrannizing over his boyes. *Ælian* reporteth, that *Philip* of *Macedon* meeting meeting him on a time, asked him the reason why he kept not that great and strong Principality left him by his father; to which he answered, That *his father left him that inheritance, but not his fortune, whereby he defended both himself and it*. This was the end of the Tyranny of *Dionysius* father and son, 64 years after the first beginning of it, in the second year of the 109 *Olympiad*, A. M. 3661.

He expelleth *Dionysius*,

Who liveth in great want at *Corinth*.

A. M. 3661. *Ol.* 109. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 411. *Ochi* 19. *Philippi* 18. *Justinus supra.*

Var. hist. l. 12. c. 60.

52. *Icetas* very unwilling to lose his hopes of preferment, procured the *Carthaginians* to return to *Syracuse*. *Mago* filled the Haven with his ships, and landing 60000 men, pitched his Camp in the City; *Icetas* then laid siege to the Castle, which the *Corinthians* now held from the resignment of *Dionysius*. *Timoleon* relieved them by provisions sent from *Catana* in little Vessels through the *Carthaginian* Fleet; whereupon *Icetas* and *Mago* drew out a strong party and besieged *Catana*; after whose departure, *Leon* Captain of the *Corinthians* sallied out of the Castle, and falling upon the be-

Plutarch.

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siegers lying in a secure and careleſſe poſture, killed ſome, and, the other flying, took *Achradina* the ſtrongeſt quarter of the City. This the two Generals underſtanding, quicky faced about and returned; but miſſed of both places, out of deſire to poſſeſſe both. *Timolton* having ſecured *Meſſana*, returned with 4000 men towards *Syracuſe*, whereupon *Mago* for fear hoiſed up ſails and departed for *Africk*, having by his lazineſſe and cowardize loſt a fair opportunity of reducing all *Sicilie* into the power of his Superiours. Afterwards *Timoleon* dividing his men, ſet upon ſuch places of the City as *Hicetas* yet retained, and by force got them all into his power, without any bloodſhed of his own party: then threw he down all the fortifications and monuments of the Tyrants, except *Gelon*'s Statue, calling the People to the work by a publick Crier. Then he applied himſelf to the making of Laws agreeable to a Popular Government, which yet he endeavoured but to little purpoſe ſo to reſtrain, as to prevent the inconveniencies which formerly had their riſe from too much popularity. In explaining and illuſtrating *Diocles* his Laws, he uſed the help of *Cephalus*, and *Dionyſius*, both *Corinthians*. He ordained a new annual and chief Magiſtrate, whom he would have called the *Servant of Jupiter Olympius*, in memory of their recovered liberty, commanding that by his name the year ſhould be ſigned, as by the *Archons* at *Athens*, and the *Conſuls* at *Rome*. The firſt that bore this Office was *Callimedes*, a man of prime note, being choſen by the Suffrages of the People. Now whereas by reaſon of Wars, Seditions, and Baniſhments, the City was even exhauſted, he recalled the Exiles out of *Sicilie*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*, which being in number 10000, he increaſed by a far greater, conſiſting of *Sicilians* and *Italians* of *Greekiſh* Original, to whom being made free of the City, he diſtributed Lands and poſſeſſions.

Timoleon recovereth *Syracuſe*, and ſetleth the State thereof.

53. *Icetas* having retired to *Leontium*, *Timoleon* laid ſiege to that City; but finding it ſtrongly manned, roſe up from before it, and went about to other places, to which he reſtored liberty, expelling their Tyranni. In this mean while *Icetas* went againſt *Syracuſe*; but was forced to retreat with great loſſe. *Timoleon*'s renown was by this time ſo ſpread abroad, that many towns of the *Sicanians*, and others ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent to him, to deſire they might be admitted into the ſocial League. The *Carthaginians* herein were ſo concernd, as to prepare amain for the renewing of the War, procuring Soldiers out of *Gall*, *Liguria*, *Spain*, and *Africk*. *Mago* had killed himſelf after his ſhameful return, and his dead body was nailed to a croſſe for the mal-adminiſtration of his Office; therefore in the third year after they ſent over *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, with 200 long-ſhips, and above 1000 of burthen, wherein were ſo many men tranſported as made up thoſe already in *Sicilie* 70000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, which with warlike Chariots marched againſt *Timoleon*. He having compoſed the difference with *Hicetas* muſtered all his forces, and judging it wiſdom to tranſfer the War into the Enemies Country, for this purpoſe he choſe out of all 12000 men, with which he marched away in haſte; but in his journy a great mutiny happened amongſt his Soldiers. For one *Thraſius* a raſh impudent fellow, who with the *Phocians* had rifled the Temple at *Delphos*, cried out, that *Timoleon* being mad, led them into moſt certain death, for that the *Carthaginians* in number ſo far exceeded them: and he adviſed the Mercenaries to return to *Syracuſe*, and demand the pay already due to them. *Timoleon* had much adoe to take up the matter, and 1000 utterly refuſed to follow him. But he rejoyced that the mutineers had already fallen off, before they came to any ingagement, and with the reſt haſted toward the Enemy.

54. By the convenience of a miſt he got near to the Enemy undiſcried, then lying upon the River *Crimeſus*. Ten thouſand of the *Carthaginians* paſſing the River, he fell down upon them from the hills, and made great ſlaughter, and their friends coming in to their relief, the fight was ſharply renewed, and the *Carthaginians* by their great numbers began to incompaſſe the other round, when fell ſuch a ſtorm, as, together with the valour of the *Greeks*, forced them to their heels. Flying into the River by heaps, the Foot

Sect. 2.

Foot amongſt the Horſe, and Chariots, multitudes periſhed, being either preſſed, wounded to death by the ſwords of their Companions, drowned through the ſwiftneſſe of the ſtream then increaſed by rain, or elſe killed by the Enemy on their backs: the *Sacred band* ſo called, conſiſting of 2500 of the choiceſt Soldiers, fighting moſt valiantly, all died in the place. Near upon 13000 were ſlain, and 15000 taken, with 200 Chariots (the greateſt part whereof was broken in pieces) and 1000 brigandines with 10000 ſhields; though moſt of the Arms were ſwallowed up in the water: Thoſe *Carthaginians* that remained, in great conſternation eſcaped to *Lilibæum*. Their friends at *Carthage* hearing of their defeat, were in no little fear, out of conceit that *Timoleon* would now come over thither. Wherefore they recalled *Giſco* the brother of *Hanno* out of baniſhment, and made him General over the Army, which they raiſed with money out of other Nations, not thinking it meet to thruſt themſelves into ſuch danger for the time to come. But *Timoleon* returning to *Syracuſe*, found it a convenient time to puniſh the mutiniers, whom he baniſhed *Sicilie*, commanding them to depart the City before Sun ſet. Paſſing over into *Sicilie* they ſeiſed on a Town amongſt the *Brutii*, who riſing and beſieging them, took the place, and therein put them all to the ſword.

The *Carthaginians* receive a great overthrow.

55. *Hicetas* often mentioned before, and *Mamercus* Tyrannus of *Catana*, joyned with the *Carthaginians* againſt *Timoleon*, perſwading them, for fear of loſing their ſhare in *Sicilie*, to ſend over ſome forces. They ſent away *Giſco*, who hired ſome *Greeks*, the firſt which ſerved that Nation. They cut off ſome hundreds of *Timoleon*'s Mercenaries, and *Hicetas* invaded the *Syracuſian* Territories, whence getting much booty he marched into *Calauria*, in contempt of *Timoleon*, who lay there now with inconſiderable forces in compariſon of his. *Hicetas* being purſued by *Timoleon*, got over the River *Damyria*, and then endeavoured to hinder his paſſage; but he preſſing upon him, ſlew 1000 of his men, and putting him to flight, purſued him into the Territories of *Leontium*, where he took him alive, with his ſon *Eupolemus*, and put them both to death as Traitors to their Country, together with *Eutychmus* his General of the Horſe; for that in a ſpeech to the *Leontines* he had ſcoffed at the *Corinthians*, ſaying, they needed not to be afraid, though *the Corinthian women were come from home*, terming *Timoleon* and his men no other than women. After this *Timoleon* overthrew in battel *Mamercus*, killing 2000 of his men, whereof the greater number were *Carthaginians*, who thereupon earneſtly begged peace, and had it granted on theſe conditions: That they ſtill retaining all in their hands within the River *Lycus*, it ſhould be yet lawful for any one to remove thence to *Syracuſe* with his goods and family, and to renounce alliance with them, and with all the Tyranni in *Sicilie*, which at this time had enſlaved many Cities of the Iſland. *Mamercus* fled over into *Italy*, and *Catana* was delivered up to *Timoleon*, who betook himſelf to *Meſſana*, where he beſieged *Hippo* by Land and Sea, and taking him in his flight, delivered him up to the Citizens, who put him to death. *Mamercus* yielded himſelf to *Timoleon*, who having promiſed him he would not be his accuſer, he caſt himſelf upon the People of *Syracuſe*; but perceiving them as he began to ſpeak inraged againſt him, he attempted to daſh out his own brains, and that not diſpatching him, he was taken up and executed as a robber.

Timoleon taketh and putteth to death *Hicetas*.

Overthroweth *Mamercus*.

Hippo and *Mamercus* put to death.

56. *Timoleon*, after this, drove away *Nicodemus*, who ruled over the *Centoripini*, and forced *Apolloniades* to lay down his power, which he exerciſed over the *Agyrneans*, whom having reſtored thus to liberty he made free of *Syracuſe*. Then did he reſtore all the other Cities to their deſired liberty, one after another, and received them into confederacy with *Syracuſe*: and it was proclaimed by the voice of a publick Crier throughout *Greece*, that *The People of Syracuſe offered houſes and land, to all that would joyn themſelves as members to their Commonwealth.* Hereby it came to paſſe that multitudes flocked thither as to a new inheritance. *Timoleon* ſetting himſelf to the care of the State, corrected and explained the Laws of *Diocles*, and

Nicodemus & *Apolloniades* put out of their power.

A. M. 3666. *Ol.* 110. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 415. *Och* 23. *Phil.* 22.

SECT. I.

and acted other things neceſſary, as he thought, to the well being thereof, till growing old he loſt his ſight, which calamity as he bore very moderatly, ſo by reaſon of it he intermitted not publick buſineſſe. Not long after, he died, and was buried by the confluence of all *Sicilie*, the affaires whereof he had ſetled; games being celebrated yearly in memory of him, as for an *Hero*. This happened in the 58 year of his government, the laſt of the 110 *Olympiad*, and the laſt alſo of the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon* father to *Alexander* the Great; about the year of the World 3668, the ſecond of *Arſes* King of *Perſia*, and ſeven before the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, to the time whereof, what we have further to ſay concerning the affairs of *Sicilie*, is to be referred; which affaires will ſhew, that the infirmity of Popular Government is greater than that *Timoleon* by his conſtitutions could heal the diſtempers thereof, and further evince the worth of Monarchy.

Timoleon's death.

A. M. 3668. *Ol.* 110. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 417. *Arſis* 2. *Phil.* 24.

CHAP. IV.

The affairs of the *Romans* contemporary with the ſecond Empire.

SECT. I.

From the Baniſhment of Tarquinius *and firſt change of the Government, to the alteration made by the* Decemvivi, *the ſpace of* 57 *years.*

Conſuls.

1. THe Kingly Office being baniſhed with *Tarquinius* (though both rebelliouſly and impudently) that of *Conſuls* ſucceeded. Who were ſo called a *Conſulendo*. *Feſtus* obſerveth out of *Verrius*, that the word *Conſulas* was uſed by the Antients, not onely for *Conſilium petas*, and *per conteris*; but alſo for *judices* and *ſtatuas*: Moreover the word *Conſulere* is many times taken for *providere*, or *proſpicere*. According to this Etymology various is the opinion of Learned Men concerning this Office. Some derive it from the duty or work of *conſulting the Senate*, which was incumbent upon the Conſuls. Others interpret it of *judging*, which, ſaith (*a*) *Lipſius*, I onely read in (*b*) *Quintilian*, who puts the queſtion, whether Conſul was ſo named from *conſulting*, or *judging*, ſeeing that *conſulere* was uſed alſo for the latter, whence aroſe that phraſe: *Rogat boni Conſulas*, that is, *judices*; but not only *Quintilian*, but *Feſtus* alſo, in the word *Conſulas*, giveth this Etymology. Laſtly, ſome derive it from the end of the Office, which was *conſulere*, or *providere*, as (*c*) *Florus* and *Juſtinian's Code*. But thoſe Magiſtrates were not firſt of all named *Conſules* but *Prætores*, which name, although it was common to others, yet ſtuck to them by way of excellency. (*d*) *Feſtus* ſaith it expreſly; and ſo doth (*e*) *Juſtinian* in his *Novella Conſtitutiones*. *Xonaras* ſaith the name of *Prætor* continued till the *Decemviri*, who being baniſhed, then at length crept in the name of *Conſul*. But he ſhould rather have ſaid, that *then the name of Judex crept in*; for it appeareth out of *Livie*, that they were called *Judices* next after *Prætors*, before the name of *Conſuls* came in. The Hiſtorian in his third Book ſpeaking of ſuch things as happened in the firſt year after the writing of the twelve *Tables* addeth: *In theſe times it was the cuſtom not to call the Conſul by the name of Judex, but Prætor.* (*f*) *Varro* out of antient Commentaries confirmeth this, and (*g*) *Cicero* giveth the Etymology of all theſe Offices thus, *à præeundo, judicando, conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules appellantur.* Some upon good grounds conjecture, that after the creation of *Prætors*, who were peculiar Judges, the name of *Judex* was left, and that of *Conſul* ſucceeded, which continued to the laſt.

Whence ſo called.

(*a*) *De Magiſtrat. pop. Rom. cap.* 7.
(*b*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.
(*c*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.
(*d*) *In voc. Prætovia Porta.*
(*e*) 24, & 25.
(*f*) *De Ling. Latina. lib.* 5.
(*g*) *De Legib. lib.* 3.

2. The

SECT. I.

Their power.

2. The power of *Conſuls* was at firſt the ſame with that of *Kings*, allayed onely by plurality of perſons and ſhorteneſſe of time, ſo that *Cicero* calleth it *Regnum Imperium*, and *Regia poteſtas*, and the *Greeks* thoſe to call them *Hypatoi*, which ſignifieth thoſe that are moſt excellent or chief, as *Dionyſius* telleth us. In the beginning they might impriſon and ſentence at their pleaſure, having the power of life and death over the Citizens, though ſcarce the authority to make peace and war, as *Lipſius* affirmeth. By degrees this great power was diminiſhed, and that eſpecially by two things, viz. *Appeal*, and *Interpoſing*, called *Provocatio* and *Interceſſio*. The former was preſently brought in after the baniſhment of the *Kings*, by *Valerius Poplicola*, who preferred a Law for taking away animadverſion upon Citizens from the *Conſuls*, and giving liberty of Appeal to the *People* as the higher Judge. But by the *Interpoſition* of the *Tribunes* of the people who were afterwards created, all actions of the Conſuls whatſoever might be obſtructed, as by the voyce of the people it ſelf, whoſe power and dignity thenceforth dayly increaſed, and took authority over all Magiſtrates. Hereby was that of the Conſuls much diminiſhed; Yet not quite broken and diſſolved as long as the Commonwealth continued; their Offices being both many and large. For firſt they were the head of the State, all ordinary Magiſtrates being ſubject and obnoxious to them, (except the *Tribunes*) in whoſe actions they might interpoſe. Secondly, they had the chief Command in the War over Citizens and Aſſociates, as alſo over Provinces and Subjects, whom they might puniſh; and Authority to appoint Officers in the Army, as appeareth out of *Cicero* and *Polybius* in ſeveral places. Thirdly, they aſſembled the people, conſulted with it, preferred Laws alſo, which if enacted bore their names. Fourthly, they received Letters from Governours of Provinces, from Nations and Cities: gave audience to Ambaſſadors, and what was to be done either by Senate or people paſſed through their hands as chief Miniſters of State. Fifthly, as the Senate handled and executed all things in peace and war, ſo did they govern it in ſome ſence, they aſſembled and diſmiſſed it: therein they asked the Members their opinions, counted and divided them: and in concluſion they ſteered the ſhip of the Commonwealth. This was their power while the free State continued; but after it was ſubjected to the power of one perſon, their authority was again much impaired, few of all theſe privileges remaining to them; for that the Prince aſſumed the rights of all Magiſtrates, but eſpecially thoſe of the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes*. Under the *Emperours* they were employed in conſulting the Senate, adminiſtring Juſtice, aſſigning Tutors or Guardians, manumitting Slaves, letting out to farm the Cuſtoms (which Office formerly belonged to the *Cenſors*) and managing publick Games: beſides, they had the honour of having the year Characterized by their names, as formerly. Theſe things will be ſufficiently evinced (at leaſt moſt of them) in the ſequel of this Hiſtory concerning *Roman* affairs.

Certain Rites concerning them.

3. There were obſerved certain Conſular Rites, which it will rather behove us in this place to relate, than ſcatteredly hereafter to give an account of them. Firſt of all the time wherein the Conſuls aſſumed their Office was not ſet or conſtant, but various, till the year of the Citie 532. when both they and other Magiſtrates entred on the Calends of *January*, having before, as * *Simplex* and others obſerve, Commenced on the Calends of *Quintilis* called *July*, as well as at other times. The firſt day was an high day, and very creditable to them, the Senate and people meeting at their houſes, ſaluting, and accompanying them to the Capitol, where they took their Oaths and Sacrifized. Thence they went to the Senate houſe, where they were ordered by a *Senatus Conſultum* to give thanks to the Prince of the Senate; then ſent they gifts to their friends, and threw money to the people, which later expenſe was afterwards taken away by the Emperours, and appropriated to the repairing of aqueducts. They twice ſwore to govern according to the Laws (as all other Magiſtrates did, none being to keep his Office above five dayes, except publickly ſworn) when firſt they entred; once

* *Ad* A.M. 3676.

in

SECT. I. in the *Capitol*, and then again in the *Rostra*, in their hands to whom they succeeded: and at the laying down of their Office again at the years end they swore in like manner, that wittingly and willingly they had done nothing, contrary to the said Laws. Another Rite there was, as *Lipsius* termeth it, about their power, which thereby was so increased as to become as absolute as the Kingly was. This was onely upon an extraordinary occasion, or in extream necessity, when all lay at the stake, and the Citie was in danger. Then a Decree of the Senate passed in this form: *Viderint Consules nequid Resp. detrimenti accipiat*, or *Dent operam Consules nequid Resp. detrimenti Capiat*, as * *Sallust* hath it, who addeth, that *this greatest power was given by the Senate to these Magistrates, to raise forces, make War, all manner of wayes to punish Citizens, and associates, to have, both at home, and abroad in War, absolute command and judiciary power. Otherwise without the command of the people no Consul could do any of these things.* In a word, by this Decree was restored to them that power (or rather more given) which was taken away by the *Appeal*, and other Laws.

* De bello Catilin.

4. What the Ornaments and Ensigns of the *Consuls* were, we have formerly observed out of *Dionysius*, to which shall be added upon occasion what may be thought requisite. As for the age wherin a man was capable of this Office, (*a*) *Tacitus* observeth, that of old it was lawfull at any age to sue for the *Consulship*, and the supream power of *Dictator*. But afterwards being taught otherwise by experience (in the 573th year of the Citie) the *Romans* thought fit to set bounds to juvenile heat and ambition. This was, as (*b*) *Livy* writeth, by a Law which *L. Julius* (or *Villius*) *Tribune* of the people preferred, whereby was limited a certain age before which it was not lawfull to stand for any place of Magistracy; but from *Cicero* it should rather appear that there were several Laws made for the several Offices; and at length the *Lex Julia* or *Annaria*, included, and abolished all the rest. For (*c*) he maketh them many, calling them in the plural number *Leges Annales*; and *Livy*, saying that *then first of all a Law was preferred by* Julius, in effect contradicteth himself, relating elsewhere a (*d*) passage concerning *Scipio Africanus*, that when he stood for the *Ædileship*, the *Tribunes* of the people opposed him, alleging that he was not yet arrived at the lawfull age which was required for that Office; and yet he was many years before *Julius* or his Law. *Cicero* (*e*) declareth the 43th year to have been the age of Consulship, saying, that *Alexander* the Great having died in his 33th year, came ten years short of the *Consular* age. If his words be taken strictly, the 43th, but if more largely, the 42th was the year, and this rather as many examples do confirm. A grave age became this most grave and weighty Office; but sometimes the people dispensed with the Law, as will be shewn, the *Emperours* neglected it, and *Cæsar* Dictator before them, who made *Dolabella* Consul at 25. Lastly, as for the Term or duration of the Consulship, it was annual, as we before hinted in *Brutus* his model, and so continued, till *Julius Cæsar* made several in one year, so that afterwards *Consuls* were nominated for three, two, and one moneth, and others substituted one after another. Hence came it to passe that there were two sorts of Consuls, *Ordinary* and *Substitute*, the former beginning on the *Calends* of *January*, and the later at other times. This custom continued till *Constantine*, who again made the Office Annual, and instead of the *Suffecti*, or *Substitute*, ordained a new kind, called *Consulares*, and *Consules Honorarii*, whose Office was not called *Consulatus*, but *Consularitas*, having derived its Original from the *Consular* Ornaments invented by *Julius Cæsar*. Of this titular promotion, (*f*) *Cassiodorus* is to be consulted.

The age capable of this Office.

(*a*) *Annal. lib.11.*

(*b*) *Lib.10.*

(*c*) *Philipica 5.*

(*d*) *Lib.25.*

(*e*) *Quæstiones.*

Its duration.

(*f*) *Lib.6. Epist.21.*

5. But (to come to the matter in hand) the first *Consuls* were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who began this Office, according to (*a*) *Dionysius* his Computation, in the beginning of the 68th *Olympiad*, wherein *Ischomachus* of *Crotone* was Victor, *Isagrus* being *Archon* at *Athens*. Because they could not deny that many good things had been done by *Kings* for the Commonwealth, they would have the name preserved for ever in the State,

The first Consuls.

(*a*) *Lib.5.*

Their Acts.

State, and therefore gave order to the *Pontifies* and *Augurs* to chuse out some one, who taking care of *Superstition*, and being exempted from War, should be called *Rex Sacrificulus*, to which Office allotted unto the Patricians, *Manilis Papirius* of that Order first attained. Next after this, fearing that the people might have, as they well might, an ill opinion of their intentions, and say that for one they had got two Kings; to diminish envy, whereas each of them had as yet twelve Axes carried before them, as the Kings used to have, they ordered that but one of them should have twelve Axes, and the other twelve *Lictors* with Rods alone, and each his moneth should have the Axes. This contained the people better in obedience, as other things whereby they laboured to render themselves popular. For they revived the Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning publick meetings and assemblies, with other things which conduced to the satisfaction of the common sort, who now looked upon their lawlesse liberties as recovered.

SECT. I. A.M. 3496. Ol.67. an.4. V.C. 245. Darii 13.

6. *Tarquinius* after his banishment first stayed at *Gabii* for some time, whither many of his party flocking to him, after he could not prevail with them of that place to make War in his behalf against the *Romans*, he betook himself into *Toscany*, or *Hetruria*, where he could claim kindred by his mother, and there winning mens minds by his munificence, and moving them with his tears, he procured Ambassadors to be sent to *Rome* in his behalf. First they moved that he might be received again, promising on his behalf very good demeanour for the time to come, and when this equity could not be heard, they (or others sent afterwards, as *Plutarch* writeth) desired he might have his goods, especially such as were descended upon him from *Tarquinius Priscus* his Grand-father, who had in no wise ill deserved of them. *Brutus*, according to his furious and malicious temper, very vehemently opposed it, saying, that it would shew little forecast in them to furnish him with money to imploy against themselves; but his Collegue was for restoring the goods, and prevailed to have the Decree passe on his side, by one Vote onely overpowering the contrary party, according to *Dionysius*. The Ambassadors having it in charge to labour with the friends of *Tarquinius*, that they might do something effectually, drew out the time in length, pretending they wanted carriages, and must sell such things as could not be removed. They stayed so long as to draw over to them some of the two notable families of the *Aquillii* and *Vitellii*, viz. two persons of this, and three of that. Of all these *Collatinus* the Consul was Uncle, and *Brutus* also had married the sister of the *Vitelli*, by which he had several Children, whereof two youths they drew in, having convinced them of their fathers vehemency, madnesse, and folly, and given them good hopes of great things to be done for them by *Tarquinius*.

7. These men met in the house of the *Aquillii* to ripen their businesse. There in the dark, a certain slave, *Vindicius* by name, fearing to be found in that room when they came in, and not with any intent to harken, had himself behind a Chest, and heard their whole debate concerning their purpose of killing the *Consuls*; about which they gave Letters then to the Ambassadors (who lodged in the house, and were present at the meeting) to be delivered to *Tarquinius*. The Slave in this case knew not how to carry himself; for, to go to *Brutus*, and to accuse his own sons to him seemed an hard and bold attempt, as also no lesse to do it unto *Tarquinius* their Uncle; no private person he knew to whom he might communicate so great a matter, and yet a thing of such consequence he thought was not to be buried in silence, nor yet the discovery thereof deferred. At length he betook himself to *P. Valerius*, who had also a great hand in casting out the King. *Valerius* exceedingly struck with the thing, that he might proceed warily, first secured the slave to have him forth coming, then sending his brother *Marcus* to seize the Kings house, and watch the servants there, that they should carry away no Letters, he himself with his Clients and Friends went to the house of the *Aquillii*, where he got into his hands what was written to *Tarquinius*. The *Aquillii* being abroad met him at the Gate, where they endeavoured to recover by force the

Lege inter alios Dionysium l. 5. & Plutarch. in Poplicola.

Revealed.

Sect. 1. Letters from him; but he through the help of those about him drew them into the Forum, as his brother also having seized on other Letters at the King's house, forced some of his servants thither. The tumult being appeased by the Consuls, *Vindicius* related the Story, and the Letters were read. The parties said nothing for themselves; all were astonished and silent; at length some to flatter *Brutus* mentioned banishment; *Collatinus* shedding tears gave the prisoners hope, and this was increased because *Valerius* held his peace.

8. But furious and implacable *Brutus* calling both his Sons by their names (*Titus* and *Tiberius*) asked them why they said nothing to what was laid to their charge, and when they answered not at the third time, he turned to the Lictors or Executioners, and said, *Now is it your part to perform the rest.* They presently took the youths, and stripping them tied their hands behind them: then did they beat with rods, and after that beheaded them, he, whilst others could not behold so abhominable a spectacle, feeding his angry eyes with the object, till all was done. Then left he the rest to the discretion of his Colleague and departed; after which a stupidity, horrour, and amazement, as the things required, for a time possessed all. *Collatinus* his backwardness and delay incouraged the *Aquilii* to desire time to answer, and that *Vindicius* their Slave might be given up to them, and not continue in the hands of their accusers. The Consul was about to do both, when *Valerius* who kept the Slave all this while in the midst of his followers, would neither deliver him, nor suffer the People to depart without censuring the accused, though *Collatinus* was ready to dismisse the Assembly. He laid hands upon the *Aquilii*, and sent for *Brutus*, crying out, that *Collatinus* did unworthily, to impose upon his Colleague a necessity of killing his sons, and think of granting the lives of the other unto women. The Consul being vexed, commanded the *Lictors* to take away *Vindicius*, so that they laying hands on him, wounded those that kept him, and *Valerius* his friends fighting in his behalf, the People cried out for *Brutus*. When he came he said, that by his full authority he had animadverted upon his own Sons, and left the other delinquents to the People, giving leave to every man to speak. There was no need of this, saith *Plutarch* (though *Dionysius* relateth a great contest betwixt the two Consuls) but the rabble called to the vote, condemned them by all their Suffrages, according to which sentence they were beheaded. *Collatinus* now, who for being a kin to the King had been suspected, and whose name was hateful to the People, having by his carriage in this businesse offended the generality, voluntarily laid down his Office and departed from the City, seeing now to what a sad passe he had helped to bring things, and too late repenting of his rebellion. To him succeeded *Valerius* (the *Comitia* being held for an election) whom *Brutus* much desired to have had his Colleague at first, but that the greatnesse of *Collatinus* carried it from him.

Brutus putteth to death his sons.

The rest beheaded.

Valerius Consul in the room of *Tarquinius Collatinus.*

9. *Valerius* being with the good-will of all the multitude created *Consul*, thought the first fruits of his Office due to *Vindicius*, whom manumitted he made free of the Commonwealth, this privilege being given to him first of all *Liberti* or *Freed-men*, according to *Plutarch*, (which *Appius* long after communicated to them all) and from him a perfect and full manumission had the name of *Vindicta*. This done, the Consuls gave the goods of the King to be rifled by the People, demolished his house, and laid the *Campus Martius* which he had to himself, open as before, wherein lying Corn cut down already, they threw it into the River, and sending trees that grew there after it, these receiving gravel and such rubbish as came down the chanel, at last grew into an Island called *Insula Sacra*; though some say, this happened in after times, when *Tarquinia* a *Vestal* Nun gave the adjoyning field to the Publick, and for that obtained great honours, as these amongst the rest; of all women alone to appear as a witnesse in any cause, and liberty to marry, which she refused. But *Tarquinius* seeing that reason failed, betook himself to force, and brought a great Army of *Tuscans* against *Rome*.

Dionys. lib. 5. Livius lib. 2. Val. Maxim. l. 1. c. 8. Plutar. in Poplicola. Plin. l. 29. c. 1. Festus in voce Insula.

The

Sect. 1.

The *Consuls* opposed him with another, and when they came to joyn, *Arruns* the son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Consul*, with greater wrath and fury than discretion, singled out each other, and so carelesly demeaned themselves, as both of them lost their lives. A great and bloody battel was fought betwixt the Armies, which night onely broke up, and that with such equal fortune, as neither party could boast it self, till at length either by a voice out of a grove, as the story goeth, that the *Etruscans* had lost one man more, or some other way, the *Romans* were so revived, and the other discouraged, that the later forsook their tents for fear, and being fallen upon by the enemy, were nigh 5000 taken prisoners, having lost 11300 in the fight. *Valerius* triumphed at his return to the City (leaving an example to posterity which was duly followed) and then buried his Colleague with great honour, making himself a funeral Oration in his commendation, which custom *Dionysius* will have more ancient at *Rome* than in *Greece*; although *Anaximenes* wrote that *Solon* was the Author of it.

Brutus slain.

A. M. 3497. *Ol. 68. an. 1. V. C. 246. Davis 15.*

Valerius suspected

10. But when the People considered how *Brutus* the father of their liberty, as they accounted him, would not govern alone without a Colleague, and yet *Valerius* made no haste to take a partner, they began to complain, that he had not taken to himself so much the place of *Brutus* (which yet not at all belonged to him) but that of *Tarquinius*, and were much offended with him. They confirmed themselves in their hard opinion, from his having all the Rods and Axes caried before him, and with them, in greater state than *Tarquinius* used, marched from his house, which was much larger than the Palace that he demolished. His house was very fair, situate in such a place as afforded him prospect round about, and had a difficult ascent; so that the convenience of the site, considered with his Kingly port and attendance, seemed to threaten their infant Commonwealth, now an Orphan by *Brutus* his death. His friends remonstrating to him these particulars, he intended not; but that very night sent for Carpenters, who demolished the house ere morning: the next day the People were presented with a new and unexpected sight, which fully altered their opinion concerning *Valerius*, who now wanting an house of his own, was glad to accept of the courtesie of friends, till the People give him a place, wherein he built a mansion lesse stately than the former. Further, that he might render not onely himself, but also his Office, in stead of terrible, familiar and acceptable to all, he removed Axes from the bundle of Rods, and, the Rods themselves, when he came into the Assembly, he bowed or vailed to the People, thereby intimating, that in them lay the chief power: which custom his Successors followed. Hereby, as to his own person, he lessned not himself, but cut off envy, and got so much power, as he renounced of liberty, the People willingly submitting to him, because he flattered them, out of which respect they gave him the Sirname of *Poplicola*, not *Publicola*, as *Sigonius* hath evinced. He gave free leave to any to sue for the Consulship; but before a Colleague should be joyned with him, being ignorant what might happen, and fearing he might either through emulation or ignorance crosse his designs, by his sole authority, he gave birth to several Popular Constitutions, which at length produced such effects as shewed the excellency of that Government which he had helped to destroy.

Cleareth himself.

11. First he filled up the Senate which had been exhausted, by an addition of 164 Persons, as some delivered the number. Then made he several Laws, which gave beginning to that paramount or rampant liberty, whereof the People was afterwards possessed. By one he gave leave to an accused person, to appeal from the Consuls to the People. By another, he made it death for any one to take upon him an Office of Magistracy without the People's order. A third gave relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another punished disobedience towards the *Consuls*, and appointed the mulct to be the price of five Oxen, and two Sheep: the price of a Sheep was ten *Oboli* (each *Obolus* is worth 1 d. q.) and 100 the value of an Oxe. For at that time the use of money was but rare amongst the

His constitutions.

Sect. 1. *Romans*; wealth conſiſting in plenty of Cattel; whence riches were afterwards called *Pecunia* from *Pecus*, and upon the antient money an Ox, Sheep, or Hog was ſtamped, which gave it the name of *Pecunia*: and hence they impoſed upon their ſons (as *Plutarch* obſerveth) the names of *Suillii*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*. Another Law *Valerius* made, which gave power to any man to kill him unheard, that affected the Supreme power, if he could demonſtrate the crime. The laſt was a Law for the creation of two *Quæſtors* or publick Treaſurers, as *Plutarch* writeth. For it being neceſſary that the People ſhould contribute money for maintenance of Wars, he would neither undertake the keeping of it himſelf, nor commit the care of it to his friends, neither thought it convenient that the Publick money ſhould be kept in a private houſe: therefore he made the Temple of *Saturn* the *Ærarium*, or Treaſury, and cauſed the People to chuſe out two young men to be *Quæſtors*. The firſt were *P. Veturius*, and *M. Minucius*. A great quantity of money was now brought into the *Ærarium*. For at the *Cenſus* 130000 were ceſſed or valued, beſides Widdows and Orphans. Thus much *Plutarch* delivereth concerning this Office.

The *Quæſtors*.

12. But ſome give a more antient beginning to the *Quæſtors*, making theirs antienter than any Office, except that of the Kings. (*a*) *Gracchanus* a Lawyer wrote, that both *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Quæſtors*, created by the conſent of the People; however he ſaith it is certain that *Tullus Hoſtilius* had his. (*b*) *Ulpian* confirmeth the later, and (*c*) *Tacitus* ſeemeth to agree with either of them, affirming that under the Kings there were *Quæſtors*, which the *Lex curiata* ſheweth, that was renewed by *L. Brutus*. He addeth, that the *Conſuls* had power to chuſe them, till the People took that honour to it ſelf, and firſt of all created *Valerius Poitus*, and *Æmilius Mamercus*, that they might follow the Army, in the 63 year after the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*. *Lipſius* thinketh this number ſhould be read 23, that it might agree with (*d*) *Dionyſius*, and alſo (*e*) *Livie*, who firſt mentioneth the *Quæſtors* in the 269 year of the City, 23 years after the baniſhment of the King, and differeth onely in one of their names, having for *Æmilius*, *Caſo Fabius*. Concerning the antiquity of theſe Officers (*f*) *Pomponius* alſo the Lawyer agreeth with the reſt. They had their name *à quærendo* ſaith (*g*) *Varro*, becauſe they made inquiry after publick money, and alſo Malefactors, or the actions of ſuch, which later employment was afterwards committed to the *Triumviri* for capital matters, ſo that *Quæſtor* is written as for *Quæſtor*. *Juſtus Lipſius* is of opinion, that though the Kings might have theſe Officers for the puniſhment of vice, yet the Treaſurers were not created till the change of the Government, when the Publick Treaſure being increaſed there was need of ſuch. At the beginning they were but two by conſent of all; and thoſe were made for the City, retaining afterwards the name of *Urbani*. But afterward when they were to look to the paying of the Armies abroad, and ſelling plunder and booty, then were there other two made, to accompany the *Conſuls*, as *Livie* ſaith, which hapned about the 232 year of the City.

When firſt made.

Their number.

13. This number long continued, until all *Italy* was brought in; then was it again doubled, no fewer than eight being thought to ſuffice for the Tributes of the Provinces; and this hapned when Silver money was firſt coined, about the 439 year of the City, as may be gathered from the Epitome of *Livie*'s 15 Book. Not long after *Sylla* procured by a Law, that twenty ſhould be made for the aſſiſtance of the *Senate*, as *Tacitus* writeth, to which he had delivered the judicial power: and for ſuch an end did *Cæſar* cauſe fourty to be created. The *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt ſtep to Offices of Magiſtracy. Their duty, as is clear from ſeveral Authors, was to gather, lay up, and pay out the publick revenues, to keep the military Enſignes of Gold and Silver (for they then uſed no banners) in the Treaſury, to ſell plunder and booty, receive, lodge, and carry out Ambaſſadors. They had alſo the government of certain places, as *Oſtia* and *Calet*. They received from *Auguſtus* the privilege of keeping the *Senatus conſulta*, which formerly belonged to the *Ædiles*

Their duty.

(*a*) *Lib. de Poteſtatibus.*
(*b*) *Lib. de officio Quæſtoris.*
(*c*) *Annal.* 11.
(*d*) *Lib.* 8.
(*e*) *Lib.* 3.
(*f*) *Lib.* 2. *ff. de Orig. Juris*
(*g*) *De Lingua Latin. lib.* 4. *pag.* 22. *ex Edit. Joſeph. Scalig.*

Ædiles and *Tribunes*. And the *Emperours* had a certain *Quæſtor* of their own called *Candidatus Principis*, and *Quæſtor Principis*, or *Auguſti*, whoſe Office *Ulpian* deſcribeth. This gave original to the *Quæſtor Palatii* (ſaith *Lipſius*) to whom was granted great authority, as to make Laws and Decrees, ſubſcribe Petitions, return anſwers, and to be as it were the keeper or Preſident of the Laws, which name is now changed into *Chancellour*. But, to ſpeak ſomething of the *Treaſury*, the Temple of *Saturn* was firſt made uſe of to this purpoſe, as *Plutarch* telleth us. Here alſo were kept the *Libri Elephantini*, Books wherein the 35 Tribes were written, and the Decrees of the Senate; but the *Libri Lintei*, or the *Annals*, were kept by the *Pontifices*, who therein recorded ſuch things as were memorable. In the *Ærarium* was alſo a more ſecret place, where the twentieth part of the revenues were reſerved for caſes of extremity onely. The *Ærarium* was afterwards called *Fiſcus*, from the *Fiſcella*, or bags wherein the money was kept, according to *Varro*. The firſt *Advocatus Fiſci* was inſtituted by *Adrian* the Emperour, as *Spartianus* witneſſeth. Amongſt other tributes, the People of *Rome* had the twentieth part of all revenues of Corn throughout *Italy*, beſides Salt, which was the device of *Livie*, thence Sirnamed *Salinator*. Thoſe that farmed the Tributes or Cuſtom were called *Publicans*, and the principal of them *Mancipes*, according to *Pedianus*, whom *Volaterranus* followeth.

Sect. 1.

The *Ærarium* or Treaſury.

14. *Valerius Poplicola* having finiſhed his conſtitutions of Settlement, held the Aſſembly of the People for the election of another Conſul. *Lucretius* the father of *Lucretia* was choſen, to whom, as the elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Faſces* or bundle of Rods; which reſpect of age was ever after obſerved by their Succeſſors, till the time of (*a*) *Plutarch*, as himſelf writeth. This granting of the *Faſces* was yet but for the firſt moneth, which indeed afterwards was wont to be granted to the elder *Conſul*; but no longer thin till the *Lex Julia*, in the ſeventh Chapter whereof this privilege was given to him who had moſt children, either ſtill in his own power (that is to be underſtood not *emancipated*) or already loſt in War. But if both Conſuls had an equal number of children, he who at preſent was a married man was preferred. If both were husbands and fathers alike, then the antient cuſtom returned, and he who was eldeſt had firſt the *Faſces*. Concerning ſuch who were both unmaried, had the ſame number of children, or were both maried and had no children, the Law commanded nothing. But I hear, ſaith (*b*) *Gellius*, that thoſe who were exempted, were wont to yield the *Faſces* of the firſt moneth to their Colleagues that far exceeded them in age, or in birth, or entred upon their ſecond Conſulſhip. In the mean time that Conſul who had no *Faſces*, that he might be known by ſome note of diſtinction, had an *Accenſus* (a certain Bedle or Crier, concerning whom (*c*) *Varro* is to be conſulted) that went before him, and *Lictors* followed with Rods and Staves, as (*d*) *Dionyſius*, (*e*) *Livie*, and (*f*) *Suetonius* de teſtifie.

Lucretius Conſul.

(*a*) *In Poplicola.*

(*b*) *Noct. Attic. lib.* 2. *c.* 15.

(*c*) *De Ling. Lat. pag.* 62.
(*d*) *Lib.* 5.
(*e*) *Lib.* 3.
(*f*) *In Julio.*

15. *Lucretius* died alſo a few daies after his creation, to whom ſucceeded *M. Horatius*, who continued the Colleague of *Poplicola* for the remaining part of the year. Now was the Capitol finiſhed which had been vowed by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and begun by *Superbus* his grand-ſon. *Poplicola* had a great ambition to dedicate it, but the Nobility envied him the honour, and ſtirred up *Horatius* to ſtand for it, whom when the other was conſtrained to be abſent in the War, they injoyned by a Decree to do it, and caried him up thither, knowing that in the preſence of *Poplicola* they could not have prevailed. Some write, that by lot the War fell to *Poplicola* much againſt his will, and the Dedication to *Horatius*. On the *Ides* of *September*, which fell in with the full Moon of the *Greek* moneth *Metageitnion* (anſwering to *Auguſt* the 28 of the *Julian* year, as *Jacobus Cappellus* computeth) when many flocked to behold the Solemnity, *Horatius* having commanded ſilence, and finiſhed all the uſual rites, touched the door, and pronounced the words of Dedication. Then *Marcus* the brother of *Poplicola* ſtanding near for that purpoſe, and watching for an opportunity, ſaid, *Thy ſon O Conſul is dead in the Camp*, whereat when all others were ſtruck, *Horatius* nothing diſturbed

Horatius.

Sect. 1.

The Capitol dedicated.

disturbed answered onely, *Then cast him out whither you please, for I admit not of mourning*, and went on with the matter in hand. Neither was the story true, but feigned by *Marcus* to deter him from the Dedication. The same fortune hapned to the Dedication of the second Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, after this was burnt in the Civil Wars. For *Sylla* having rebuilt it died before the Dedication, as *Tarquinius* was banished, and so that honour came to *Catulus*. When this had perished in the sedition of *Vitellius*, *Vespasian* built the third, and was herein more fortunate than *Sylla*, that, as he died before the Dedication of his, so the *Emperour* lived not to see the destruction of this, which presently after his death was also burned. The fourth which stood in *Plutarch*'s time was both built and dedicated by *Domitian*. *Tarquinius*, as was reported, spent 4ccoo pounds of silver in founding his Temple; but the fourth was not guilded for so little as the wealth of the richest private man. The Marble Pillars *Plutarch* saw at *Athens*, being then of a thicknesse answerable to their length, but afterward when they were new cut at *Rome*, they got not so much splendour as they lost of proportion and beauty, being rendred too slender in bulk or substance.

16. In the * Consulship of *Junius Brutus* and *M. Horatius* (that is in the same year that *Horatius* succeeded, though not immediatly, into the place of *Brutus*, who with *Tarquinius* his Collegue governed but 4 moneths) when the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was Consecrated, 28 years before *Xerxes* his expedition into *Greece*, the first League was made betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. Herein it was provided, that the *Romans* should nor sayl beyond the *Fair Promontory*, which lay before *Carthage* towards the North. *Polybius* thinketh the cause was, for that the *Carthaginians* would not have them take notice of the places about *Byzacium*, nor the little *Syrtis*: which for the fruitfulnesse of the soyl they termed *Emporia*. But if it hipned that any, either by Tempest or Pirats, were forced in thither, they promised they would furnish them with all things necessary, but forbad any thing to be taken by force, and commanded all to be gone thence within five dayes. It was lawfull hereby for the *Romans* to Traffick to *Carthage*, and all that part of *Africk* which lieth on this side the *Fair Promontory*, as also *Sardinia*, and that part of *Sicily* then under the *Carthaginians*, who promise upon their publick faith that all Justice shall be duely executed. From this League it appeareth that the *Carthaginians* speak of *Africk* and *Sardinia* as absolutely their own, but far otherwise concerning *Sicily* expresly distinguishing of that part thereof which they had subdued. The *Romans* also include in this League onely *Latium*, making no mention of the rest of *Italy*, which was not in their power. After this another League was made, or rather this renewed, wherein the *Carthaginians* comprized the *Tyrians*, and the people of *Utica*. To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Mastia* and *Tarseium*, beyond which it was neither lawfull for the *Romans* to make any depredations, nor build a Town. These things *Polybius* observeth concerning these Leagues, which he also exemplifieth, and to which we referre Students in History.

* *Polyb. lib. 3. p. 160.*

The first League betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

17. *Tarquinius*, after that great battel wherein he lost his son *Aruns* in a Combat with *Brutus*, betook himself to *Clusium*, the King whereof *Porsena* by name (one of great account for his power and munificence amongst the Kings of *Italy*) he procured to take upon him his quarrel. He first sent to *Rome*, commanding them to receive their King according to their duty, and upon refusal, both threatned, and made War upon them. Now were created Consuls *Poplicola* the second time being absent, and *T. Lucretius Tricipitinus* on the *Calends* of *October*, according to the *Pompilian* year, which answered to *September* 14. of the *Julian* in the new Moon. *Jacobus Cappellus* observeth that the Consuls Commenced at this time of the year from the first of *Poplicola*, till fifteen years after, in the 361st year of the Citie. *Sp. Cassius* and *Posthumius Cominius* began their Office a moneth sooner, *viz.* on the *Calends* of *October*. The reason might be, for that the new Moon fell in with the Autumnal *Æquinoctial* on the 29th of *Julian September*, from

Porsena warreth against *Rome*.

Livius lib. 2.

Plut. ut prius.

Ad A.M. 3492. & 3507.

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from which the *Pompilian*, or *Numan*, *September* seemeth to have Commenced that year, the Moon increasing, although without order. For the *Calends* of *October* ought rather to have been on that day; but such errors were frequent in the *Pompilian* year, either through the negligence, or wilfull neglect of the Priests. After the third year the *Calends* (or first day) of *January* recovered their true place, *viz.* the next new Moon to the Winter Solstice; but *September* obtained to be the beginning of the year untill the 278th year of the Citie, wherein the *Comitia* for Creation of Consuls were cast back to the *Calends* of the moneth *Sextilis* (afterwards called *August*) at what time *A. Virginius Tricostus*, and *Sp. Servilius Structus* were made Consuls, in the Summer Solstice, as *Dionysius* observeth.

18. *Poplicola* returning to *Rome*, first resolved in magnanimity to outvy *Porsena*, and for that purpose, when the King was now approaching, founded the Citie *Siglitia* (or rather *Signia*) which with great expence he fortified, and then planted it with 700 Inhabitants, making hereby a show that he could without any trouble or fear sustain the War. But *Porsena* laying close siege to *Rome*, very fiercely with all his might set upon the Citie. The two Consuls with much ado repelling the *Toscans*, at length were both so wounded as they must needs be carried off, after which the *Romans* fled from before their Enemies, who in their retreat into the Town followed them close, and flocked upon the bridge. There *Horatius* sirnamed *Cocles* (either for that he had but one eye, having lost the other in War, or because his Nose was so depressed that both his Eyes seemed to go into one, whence intending to call him *Cyclops*, by ignorance of the language they pronounced it *Cocles*) together with *Herminius* and *Lartius*, opposed himself against the *Toscans*. *Cocles* stood before the bridge, and repulsed the Enemy so long till it was broken down behind him, which done, he cast himself armed as he was into the River, and swom out to his friends, having received a wound with a Spear. To requite him for the lameness he contracted by this wound, and in admiration of his valour, *Poplicola* caused all the *Romans* to give him, every one so much provision as would serve one for a day, then conferred he on him so much ground as he could plow round about in one day, and they erected to his memory a Statue in the Temple of *Vulcan*. But *Porsena* drawing out the siege in length sore straitned the Citie. *Poplicola* now executing his third Consulship, together with his last year's Collegue *M. Horatius Pulvillus*, led forth his men, and giving the King battel, overthrew him, and killed 5000 of his men. Yet this little availed, the honour of finishing this War being reserved for the valour and policy of *Mutius Cordus*.

Plut. in Poplicol. Dionys. lib. 5. Livius lib. 2. Florus lib. 1. cap. 10. Aurel. Victor de viris Illustr. Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. Vide etiam Polyb. lib. 6.

Horatius Cocles.

19. *Mutius* a man of excellent courage, and no lesse skill in War, resolving with himself to ly in waie for the life of *Porsena*, put on the *Tuscan* habit, and using that language, came into the King's Camp, where observing the place in which the King was, but being ignorant of his person, he stabbed his Secretary who sate with him amongst several others. Being taken in the act, when they went about to examine him, he thrust his right hand into the fire, as intending to punish it for so great a mistake, and whilest it burned beheld *Porsena* with a stedfast and angry countenance, who admiring his resolution dismissed him, and reached him back his sword from his seat. *Mutius* took it with his left hand (whence he had the name of *Scævola*, which word signifieth one that useth his left hand, saith *Plutarch*) and telling the King that he was now overcome by his braveness of spirit whose threats he had contemned, he said in way of requital he would reveal a thing to him which no force of torment could have compelled him to discover. He affirmed there were 300 *Romans* now in his Camp watching an opportunity to kill him. As for his part, having been by lot destined to make the first attempt, it did not trouble him that he had failed in killing him a right good man, & one much worthier of the friendship than hatred of the *Romans*. *Porsena* hearing this, inclined presently to a composure of the difference, not so much out of fear of the 300. as admiration of the *Roman* courage. *Poplicola* having notice hereof, was glad of such a friend, and content to make him Umpire be-

Mutius Scævola.

A.M. 3498. *Ol. 68. ann. 2. V.C. 247. Varii 15.*

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betwixt the Commonwealth and *Tarquinius*. He often challenged *Tarquinius* to put the matter to arbitration, to which the King answered courageously, that he would not admit of any Judge, much lesse of *Porsena*, who having promised him aid now basely falsified his word. *Porsena* hereat displeased, especially through the solicitation of *Arruns* his son, made peace with the *Romans* on these conditions: that they should quit those *Tuscan* grounds they had got into their hands, restore all prisoners, and receive all their fugitives.

Peace made with *Porsena*.

20. For the establishment of this peace the *Romans* gave up twenty Hostages, *viz.* ten young youths, and as many Girles, amongst which was *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola*. All acts of Hostility ceasing, the young Virgins went down to the River to wash, and taking an opportunity, when none were present to hinder them, got over the water, and returned home. Some reported, that one amongst them named *Cœlia* went over on horse-back, and perswaded the rest to swim after. When they presented themselves to *Poplicola*, he neither admired their resolution, nor approved of their return, fearing it would be objected as a breach of faith to the *Romans*; so that apprehending them all, he sent them back to *Porsena*. *Tarquinius* aware hereof placed in ambush a party to entrap them and their Convoy; but *Arruns* the son of *Porsena* hearing of it, came in, and rescued them out of danger. When *Porsena* saw them, he demanded which had been the cause of their departure, and finding *Cœlia* the principal, bestowed on her one of his own horses sumptuously adorned. Then to give a further Testimony of his respect towards the *Romans*, besides other things wherein he shewed his magnificence, he commanded his Soldiers to depart out of the Camp onely with their Arms, delivering up to the besieged his Tents furnished with victuals, and all other good things. Therefore for a long time after, when publick goods were set to sale, first of all the stuff of *Porsena* was cried, to preserve the memory of his kindnesse: And about the Court-house was erected his Statue in a plain and antient fashion. For the next year *Dionysius* nameth as Consuls, *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, of whom *Livie* maketh honourable mention, but not as executing this Office. He writeth that at the bridge *Sp. Largius* and *T. Herminius* both nobly descended, together with *Horatius Cocles*, sustained the first brunt of the *Hetrusians*. But Learned men tell us that it ought to be written *Larcius*, not *Largius*.

Cœlia.

21. The year following being the 250 of the Citie, and the fifth after the banishment of *Tarquinius*, the first of the 99th *Olympiad*, saith *Dionysius*, wherein *Ischomachus* of *Croton* was Victor, *Acestorides* being again *Archon* at *Athens*, in the 18th year of *Darius Hystaspis* King of *Persia*, A. M. 3501. *M. Valerius* the brother of *Poplicola*, and *P. Postumius Tubertus* were Consuls. Now the *Sabines* made depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and proceeded so far in their injuries that it ingaged the parties in a War: *Marcus* by the Counsel and assistance of his brother obtained great honour in his undertakings. He overthrew the *Sabines* twice, in the later of which battels were slain of them 13000. and not one of the *Romans* lost. Wherefore besides triumphs this was given him as an addition of honour, to have an house built for him in the Palace on the publick cost. Besides, whereas all the doors of other houses opened inwards, they would have this of his house to open outwards toward the street, as a mark of honour in this respect, that he was ever ready to move for the publick good. Indeed all the Gates of the *Greeks* are said most antiently to have opened this way, and that by Testimony of the *Comedies*, wherein they that are going out first knock within, that such as either go by or stand near, may prevent being hurt of the door, which was cast forward into the street. The next year, wherein *Poplicola* was Consul the fourth time, and his Collegue *T. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* with the *Latines* conspired against *Rome*, which was also much disturbed by superstition, for that all the women with Child miscarried of mutilous births, and nothing came into the World perfect. When these things much dejected the minds of the *Romans*, another erected them, and af-

A. M. 3502. Ol. 99. ann. 1. V. C. 250. Darii 18.

War with the *Sabines*.

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Actius Clausus. afforded considerable incouragement to the War. *Appius* or *Actius Clausus*, an eminent man amongst the *Sabines* for riches, valour, virtue, and eloquence, being much against the War, was therefore maligned by his emulators, as favouring the *Romans*, and designing to bring his Country under their yoak. His Enemies gaining credit with the Vulgar, he feared to put himself upon trial, and therefore raised a commotion, which retarded the War. Then did *Poplicola* invite him to *Rome*, whither he came with 5000 Families of his friends and dependents. The Families were made free of the City, and to every man assigned two Akers of Ground by the River *Anienе*; but to *Clausus* himself twenty Akers, and the degree of a Senator. Having got this opportunity, he so improved it, as to become equal to the greatest, and raised his house so much, that the *Clausi*, afterwards called *Claudii*, became inferiour to no one Family.

22. His revolt much more exasperated the minds of his Country-men to the War, who coming with an Army to *Fidena*, placed in ambush 2000 Foot, and then sent some Horse to make incursions, commanding them to retreat, as if they fled, and so draw on the *Romans* into the snare. *Poplicola*, having notice hereof by certain fugitives, divided his Army into three parts, and taking the advantage of a mist, fell upon the *Sabines* on so many sides, and did such execution, as the nearnesse of *Fidena* onely hindred the destruction of them all. The *Romans*, beside the advantage of much plunder, obtained that good by this Victory, to be furnished with courage for all assayes; yet imputed they the whole merit to the Consul, and sticked not to say, that he delivered into their hands their Enemies, blind and lame, onely to be dispatched with the Sword. Having triumphed, and given up the charge of the Commonwealth to the two new Consuls, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *Publius Posthumius*, shortly after he died, finishing his life, as he had lived, in great grace with the multitude whom he had so flattered. The People, as if they had nothing at all requited him when living, but ought him yet his whole reward, decreed he should be buryed at the publick charge, every one contributing a small piece of money. Some say, that he was so poor, as he left not enough to bury him. The women by universal consent mourned for him, as formerly they had done for *Brutus*, an whole year. He was by a special Decree buried within the City, (which honour (saith *Dionysius*) hath onely happened unto him to this day) and that privilege was also granted to his family. But now, (*Plutarch* writeth) none of them is there interred: the Funeral is onely drawn out thither, and the coffin being set down, one puts under fire, and presently again taketh it away, showing, that the deceased hath a right there to be buried, but on his own accord quitteth the privilege. This being done, the body was carried away.

Poplicola dieth.

23. The same year that *Poplicola* died, the *Sabines* provided of numerous Forces, invaded the *Roman* Territories, as far as the City walls. The *Consuls* taking the field against them, *Posthumius* was entrapped in an Ambush, and escaping narrowly himself, lost many of his men, which defeat struck the Citizens with great terror, who now ran to the walls, expecting the Enemy would fall upon the City. But nothing being attempted in this kind, they marched out, resolving to redeem their credit; and *Posthumius*, much more concerned in honour than the rest, so behaved himself, as he made amends fully, and both the Consuls obtained a notable victory, which had been compleated by the slaughter of all the *Sabines*, if the darkenesse of night had not interposed. The Senate ordered the Consuls to return in pomp; *Menenius* with full honour in triumph, sitting in a Chair, drawn in way of a Chariot, but *Posthumius*, because of his late defeat, in a more humble manner, which the *Romans* called *Ovation*, so named (saith *Festus*, or *Paulus* from him, as he from *Verrius*) from the letter O, which the Soldiers in way of joy were wont to echo at their return from a Victory; or corruptly pronounced for the *Greek* word *Euasle*, as *Dionysius* conjectureth. *Ovation* differed herein from a *Triumph* properly so called, that the General entred not the City in a Chariot, but on foot before his Soldiers; for the Robe interwoven

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with Gold, he onely wore the *Prætexta toga*, the ordinary habit of *Consuls* and *Prætors*; neither had he a Scepter, but onely Laurel; and on his head a wreath of Myrtle, when the War had not been denounced, or finished without bloodshed. The year following, wherein *Sp. Cassius Viscellinus*, and *Opiter Virginius Tricostus* were Consuls, the *Sabines* were overthrown in a great battel at *Cures*, 10300 being slain, and about 4000 taken, which defeat caused them to beg peace, and purchase it with Corn, Money, and part of their grounds. Whilst *Sp. Cassius* did this good service against the *Sabines*, his Colleague subdued the *Camarinæans* who had revolted, and having put to death the Authors of the injury, sold the rest, and razed their City.

The *Sabines* beg Peace.

24. The year that followed, being the first of the 70 *Olympiad* (wherein *Nicæas* of *Opus* (a Town of *Locri*) was Victor, (*Myrus* executing the Annual Office of *Archon* at *Athens*) had for Consuls *Postumius Cominius*, and *T. Largius*. Now all the *Latines* (to the number of thirty several Cities, saith *Livie*) conspired against *Rome*, by the procurement of *Mamilius Octavius*, son in Law to *Tarquinius* (who at present was with him at *Tusculum*) though *Valerius* the *Roman* Ambassador pretended to answer to such accusations as were made, and laboured to diswade the several People of *Latium*. In the mean time also the Slaves at home contrived how to seize upon the Capitol, and burn the City, but were discovered, and nailed to crosses. The following year wherein *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Manius Tullius Longus*, were Consuls, a Faction in *Fidena*, having received some men from *Tarquinius*, killed or expelled their adversaries, and caused the Town to revolt from the *Romans*. The Senate would not make War upon the *Latines* in general, knowing many amongst them were inclined to Peace, and thought it sufficient to block up *Fidena*, for which they sent out *Manius* with a strong Army. The besieged implored assistance of the *Latines*, who in their generall meeting heard also the complaints of *Tarquinius*, and though they were much importuned by some amongst them, yet they onely ordered Ambassadors to be sent to demand the reception of the King, and the removal of the siege from *Fidena*, which was done also meetly to gain time, giving the *Romans* a year to consider of the matter, and taking so large a space for to make preparations, in case the overture were rejected. *Tarquinius* and *Mamilius* having little hopes to prevail this way, seeing that the minds of the generality were averse from War, endeavoured to bring his right about in an easier way, by raising in *Rome* an unexpected and inestine difference betwixt the rich and poorer sort.

Tarquinius his endeavours for the recovery of his Kingdom.

25. For at this very time, as *Dionysius* writeth, a great part of the common People, especially the indigent and such as were burthened by usury, did not like of the present state of affaires, which dissatisfaction was caused by the extravagant course of Creditors, who seizing upon the bodies of their Debtors, used them no better than Slaves purchased with money. *Tarquinius* not being ignorant hereof, sent certain of his friends with Gold, who gave them some in hand, promising more after the King's restitution, and procured thereby a conspiracy of many poor Citizens, with such Slaves as had been offended with their Masters the year before, for the severity shown towards their fellows. The matter was discovered to *Sulpicius*, who after he had returned a denyal, though very civilly, to the *Latin* Ambassadors, by a wile drew the Conspirators into the Forum; where incompassing them about, he put them all to the Sword. The stirs being thus allaied for a time, the Consuls of this and the following year looked abroad; and, in the next, *Fidena* was yielded up to *T. Largius Flavus*. Hereat the *Latins* were exceedingly startled, and now all railed on their principal men, for that no order had been taken for relief of the Town. *Tarquinius* and *Mamilius* so improved this opportunity, that all the Cities (24 in number, as they are reckoned by *Dionysius*) decreed War against the *Romans*, ingaging that none should forsake their associates, nor make Peace without common consent, sealing it with an oath, and direful curses against such as should break the

A. M. 3504. *Ol.* 96. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 253. *Darii* 21. *Postumus Cominius Auruncus*, *T. Lartius*, *Ruffus. Cos.*

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the League, who were to be held as Enemies by all the rest. They give liberty to *Tarquinius* and his son in Law to levie what Forces they thought convenient, and that they might have some kind of pretence, sent a message to *Rome*, whence the Senate returned a stout and resolute answer.

War with the *Latines* in his behalf.

26. Great were the preparations of the *Latines*; the *Romans* sending round about, could make no friends, and yet were not dejected, but trusting to their domestick strength alone, were thereby rendred much more resolute and courageous, as such upon whom lay a necessity of being valiant. But a great difficulty was found in listing Soldiers; for the poor, and those that were surcharged with debt, of which there was a great number, being cited, would not appear, saying, they had nothing to do with the *Patritians*, except their debts were remitted by Decree of the Senate, nay some talked of leaving the City, and exhorted one another not to stay in that place, where no good thing was communicated to them. The *Patritians* by good words laboured to appease them, but all in vain; so that the Senate fell into a serious debate about so weighty a matter. Some were for a free remission of the debts, after the manner of the *Athenian Sisachthea*, as the onely way to remove all prejudice, and beget a fair correspondence betwixt Nobility and Commons. Others condemned this as too great a condescention, and which would encourage them to like Seditions for the time to come, thinking it the better way to list such as would give their names, and not at all value the rest, who though gratified at present, would hereafter be unserviceable. Betwixt these extremes several other wayes were propounded; but this at length prevailed, that nothing should now be determined, but the War being hippily finished, the Consuls should report it again to the Senate, and in the mean time all sutes and processe concerning debts were to cease, that Magistrates might make effectual provision for the matter now mainly incumbent. This expedient, though something it wrought, had not sufficient strength to end the difference; and therefore the Senate was put upon another exigent. Whereas by the Law of *Valerius*, power of life and death was taken away from the *Consuls*, and all constraint, by an appeal to the People, so that no man could be forced to the War; It seemed necessary to create a Magistrate, who for six moneths should rule as absolute above the Laws, and from whom should lye no appeal. Thus having renounced Monarchy in effect, they had again recourse to it, and shewed as well the necessity as excellency of it.

The Dictator.

27. This Supreme Officer was called *Dictator*, either for that he was *dictus*, or named, by the Consul, according to (*a*) *Varro*, or rather from dictating, or shewing and commanding what was to be done, which Etymology (*b*) *Dionysius* approveth. He was also called (*c*) *Magister Populi*, and (*d*) *Prætor Maximus*. Both name and thing came from the *Albans*, whose Dictator *Metius Suffetius* we have formerly mentioned. *Spartianus* saith, it was an ordinary Magistrate of old *Latium*. *Dionysius* bringeth the testimony of *Licinius Macer* for this opinion; yet he thinketh the Office first taken from the *Greeks*, who had their *Æsymneta* or extraordinary Kings made upon some urgent occasion, with absolute power. The *Dictator* was created upon some urgent occasion of War or Sedition, for fixing a nail in time of a Plague, to hold the *Comitia* for election of Consuls, celebrate Games, make inquisition, choosing Senators, or in sum, when there was need of a sodain and extraordinary command. The manner of his creation was not, as of other Magistrates, by the Suffrages of the People; but, at the command of the Senate, the Consul named some one of Consular dignity whom he pleased, in the night, and who was approved by the *Auspicium*, or divination from birds, a ceremony observed ever in the election of some Officers. The occasion being many times sodain, they could not stay for the Suffrages of the People, and the design being to restrain, or constrain, the multitude, many times, he was not to be chosen out of their body, although sometimes these rules were not fully observed, either through the absence of the Consul, or some other respect. *L. Cornelius Sylla* alone was named by the *Interrex*, as

(*a*) *De Ling. Latin. l.* 4. *p.* 56.
(*b*) *Lib.* 5.
(*c*) *Varro quo prius.*
Cicero de Fin. l. 3.
Festus in voc. Optima Lex.
(*d*) *Lex Antiqua.*

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His power.

C. Cæsar by the *Prætor*; both which nominations *Cicero* in his Epistles conceiveth done contrary to right and order. The autority of the *Dictator* was exteeding large. He had power of Peace and War, to levie Forces, lead them forth, and disband them, and act all things according to his pleasure, without referring them to the Senate. So that not onely had he the power of both *Consuls* (whence the *Greeks* called him *Dispatos*, or Double Consul) but more also, in that upon his Creation all other Magistrates, except the Tribunes, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his hands. He could punish as he pleased, without all appeal, and for the ostentation of his power, had 24 bundles of Rods caried before him, with as many Axes, or Hatchets, as *Plutarch* and *Polybius* do testifie; although *Livie* dissenting from them, will have *Sylla* first of all others to have had 24 bundles. Hence this Office came to be so terrible, as the Edict of the *Dictator* was ever observed as the command of a Deity.

The bounds of his Office.

28. It was necessary, according to the *Roman* Government, that this extraordinary power should be bounded by certain limits, wherein might lie redresse of inconveniences thence arising. Six moneths were the time assigned for it's duration, and never was it lengthned, except for meer necessity, as might be instanced in *Camillus*, *L. Papirius*, and *Fabius Maximus*: for the perpetual Dictatorships of *Sylla* and *Cæsar* were notorious violations of the Laws. And not onely the time but the place also was limited, it being unlawful for the *Dictator* to stir out of *Italy*, lest being out of sight, he should take advantage at the distance of place, to attempt some new matter; and this constitution was never violated but once whilst the old Commonwealth stood, by *Attilius Collatinus*. He was not to come on horse-back, but march continually on foot, to shew, saith *Plutarch*, that the *Roman* strength lay in the Legions, or rather to teach him humility. Now because in great Expeditions this could scarce be observed, he formally before his departure asked leave of the People that he might ride, as *Livie* informeth us. But those restrictions were inconsiderable, in respect of the Appeal which afterwards came to be made from him to the People. *Festus* in these words *Optima Lex*, saith, that first the power of the *Magister Populi*, or *Dictator*, was full or absolute, as that of *Marcus Valerius*; but afterwards an Appeal lay from this Magistrate to the People. *Livie* seemeth also to hold out the same thing, where he bringeth *M. Fabius* in behalf of his son thus speaking to *L. Papirius* the Dictator: *Seeing that neither the authority of the Senate, nor mine age, which thou goest about to bereave of my son, neither the virtue and Nobility of the Master of the Horse-men named by thy self, prevaileth with thee; nor yet prayers and intreaties, which are wont to appease an enemy, and the anger of the gods: I appeal to the Tribunes of the People, and the People it self which I make our Judge, (seeing thou regardest not the judgment of the Army and Senate) which alone can do more than thy Dictatorship. I shall see whether thou wilt give place to that Appeal to which the Roman King Tullus Hostilius yielded.* Hereupon the People assembled, and the Tribunes were present at the meeting. *Papirius* denieth neither the power of the one nor the other, but continueth resolute for the punishment of the Master of the Horse-men, who had fought in his absence contrary to his command, shewing how all discipline else would be destroyed. A way was found out to preserve the honour of both Offices, the power of People, Tribunes, and Dictator, with the strength of discipline. For the People betook it self to intreaties, and was seconded by the Tribunes. Whereupon the Dictator pardoned the party, granting his life to the request of those, who, as he confesseth, might have commanded it.

Appeal from him.

Lib. 8.

29. At what time this *Appeal* was brought in, or how long it continued in force, seeing that *Sylla* and other *Dictators* made use of the old and absolute power, is uncertain. It is probable, that the People being overwitted in ratifying the Decree of the Senate (as *Dionysius* telleth us they were) grew sensible, how they had thereby given the power again out of their hands;

Sect. 2.

hands; it being lawfull for the Senate at any time when they should pretend a necessity, and that for the bridling of the People it self, to give order to the Consul to name a Dictator, and therefore resumed its antient power of *Appeal*, without which no lawfull freedom could be enjoyed. But in the declining condition of the Commonwealth, when Dictators grew more imperious, their Soldiers more dissolute, and the Tribunes of the people especially more factious, an opportunity might be wanting for it to exert that right which as yet it had not given up to any other. If what *Dionysius* writeth of the Dictator's being approved by the people after the Consul's nomination be true, the State stood in lesse need of the Appeal; but it being not possible for a multitude never to mistake in its opinion of a person, this defect might at length experimentally be discovered, and thence a recourse had to that remedy which was ever certain whilest it could be applied. By these cautions and restrictions, with the modesty of the *Romans*, this Grand Office was for 400 years managed for the publick good, as it was accounted, till *Sylla*, and afterward *Cæsar*, converted it into a Tyranny, as the multitude counted it, and rendred the very name thereof so odious, that after *Cæsar*'s death, in the 710 year of the Citie, when *M. Antonius* and *P. Cornelius Dolabella* were Consuls, a Law was made (from the former Consul called *Lex Antonia*) whereby it was for ever banished. The Dictator when he was Created made choice of one who had either been Consul or Prætor, to be *Magister Equitum*, who, saith *Varro*, *had chief power over the horse-men, and Adcensi* (Criers, Beadles, or publick Messengers) *as the Dictator had over the* Roman *people, whence he also was called* Magister Populi. *The rest, because they were of lesse value than these* Magistri, *were named* Magistratus, *as from* alius Albatus. If the Dictator was absent, the Master of the horse-men executed his place in the Army, but if he present, he commanded the horse, yet so as to be obedient to the Dictator's orders, and not to fight, either contrary to, or without his command. In the second *Punick* War, *M. Fabius Buteo* was made Dictator for filling up the Senate, without a Master of horse-men. But he alleged, that he could not approve of two Dictators to be at the same time, nor a Dictator without a Master of horse-men, and having perfected his work on the same day laid down his Office.

The *Magister Equitum*.

De Ling. Latin. lib. 4. p. 22.

The time of the first Dictatorship.

The Person.

30. Concerning the time of the first Dictatorship, Authors differ in the space of two years, and do not full agree about the person. *Dionysius*, a grave, faithfull, and wary Author (by consent of the most learned sort of men) referreth it to the 355 year of the Citie; but *Livy*, and most *Latine* Authors assign it to the 253. *Dionysius* saith expressly, that *T. Largius Flavus* was the first Dictator, being Consul that year. *Livy* saith it could not be certainly known from antient Authors who was the first, yet confesseth that the most antient mentioned *Largius*, and upon good grounds approveth of their opinion rather than that which maketh *M. Valerius* the son of *Marcus* yet living, and Grand-son to *Volesus* the first of all, which *Festus* seemeth to follow. *Livy* mentioneth no other cause of the Original than a falling out with the *Sabines*, and the conspiracy of the 30 *Latine* Cities, putting off the Sedition till after the finishing of the *Latine* War; but as there can little hold be taken of one who uncertainly relateth matters; so no need would there have been of an absolute Authority for the *Latine* War, if no stir had been made in the Citie, all giving their names with alacrity, and obeying the Consuls, as in former Wars. And if the Consuls had been suspected to favour the cause of *Tarquinius* (as some wrote they were) then new ones might have been made in their rooms, nothing being prevalent to alter the ordinary form of Government, but a necessity of absolute power for a time; and no ordinary accident about War could make this necessity; so that compulsion must have been the end, and the taking away that help from the multitude, which was unalterably given to it against the Consuls by the *Valerian* Law. This might the Nobility, if they had had that duty, have seen cause to repent in time of their Kings banishment.

31. *T. Lar-*

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T. Largius the first Dictator.

31. *T. Largius*, the first Dictator, having named *Sp. Cassius* for his Master of horse-men (who had born the Office of Consul in the 70th *Olympiad*) caused Axes to be carried before him with the Rods, as had been wont, till the time of *Poplicola*, before the chief Magistrates, both Kings and Consuls. Having with these & other Ensigns of power terrified the Seditious, he began the *Census* after the Pattern of *Ser. Tullius*, according to the Tribes, taking the names and ages of such as were Cessed, and of Children. In a short space, fear of losing freedom of the Citie, and Estates, so prevailed, as 150700 of such as were ripe of age gave their names, which he distributed into four parts, whereof taking one to himself, he gave the rest to his Master of horse-men, and two others, one being to continue in the Citie for the defence thereof. This done, he sent some who underhand dealt with the several *Latine* Cities, and procured them to suspend the War, and make a Truce for a year, notwithstanding all that *Mamilius* and *Sextus Tarquinius* could do to the contrary. Then returned he home with the Army, and ere his 6 moneths were out, the Consuls being appointed, laid down, no Citizen being killed, banished, or otherwise chastized by any grievous punishment; which carriage was imitated by his Successors, untill the third age from that wherein we live, saith *Dionysius*. But in the time of our fathers, 400 years from the Dictatorship of *Largius*, *L. Cornelius Sylla* first of all others behaved himself cruelly in this Office, so that the *Romans* conceived then what before they had cause to be ignorant of, that the Dictatorship was a *Tyranny*.

32. When the Truce betwixt the *Latines* and *Romans* was ended, both parties prepared for the War: The former were against their wills, 'tis said, drawn in by the interest of *Mamilius*; but the later with all cheerfulnesse imbraced the opportunity. The *Romans* thought fit a Dictator should be Created, and accordingly *Virginius* the Senior Consul named *A. Posthumius* his Collegue, who chose for Master of horse-men *T. Ebutius Helva*, and hasting his Levies, divided his Forces into four parts, whereof one he kept to himself, assigned the second to *Virginius*, the third to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who therewith was to defend the Citie. News being come that the *Latines* had taken the Field, the Dictator with speed marched to the Lake *Regillus* (at this day called *Il Lago di Santa Severa*) in the Countrey of *Tusculum*, where he fortified his Camp against the Enemy, who as yet had not united his forces, & expected assistance from the *Volsci*. The *Roman* Army divided into three parts incompassed the *Latines*, who indeavoured to beat off *Ebutius* from an Hill he had seized on betwixt them and home; but he kept his ground in despight of them, and fortified himself. The *Latines* hereupon being hindred from all Provisions, resolved to fight: the Dictator at first was minded to end the War without bloud, by famishing his Enemies, but understanding that the *Volsci* were expected within three daves, changed his resolution. The right Wing of the *Latines* was led by *Mamilius*, the left by *Sextus Tarquinius*, and the middle battel by *Titus Tarquinius* his other son. On the other side against *Mamilius* stood *Virginius*, *Ebutius* was opposite in the right Wing to *Sextus Tarquinius*, and the Dictator led the middle battel against *Titus*, and the *Roman* Exiles. The *Romans* brought into the field 24000 foot & 1000 horse, but the *Latines* 40000 foot and 3000 horse. When they joyned, both parties missed of their expectation; for the one trusting to their numbers, and the other to their valour, thought to bear all down before them. The Dictator gave the first opportunity of victory by over-powering *Titus*, after which, though *Mamilius* and *Sextus* omitted nothing requisite to valiant and able Captains, yet both losing their lives, their followers were discouraged and overthrown; scarce 10000 escaping home of the whole number. Of the *Romans* fell *M. Valerius*, whose dead body his two Nephews by his brother *Poplicola*, *Publius* and *Marcus*, endeavouring to get off, were also slain in the attempt.

Dionys. lib. 6.

The *Latines* overthrown at the Lake *Regillus*.

33. After the fight, the *Volsci*, whom the *Latines* had expected, arrvied at the Camp, which seeing full of dead bodies, and learning the issue of the battel, some of them were for falling on the *Romans* now weary; but another party prevailed to send Messengers to the Dictator, to tell him they came to his assistance, thereby to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerours. But the Dictator convinced them of falshood by their Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Messengers to return, whom the multitude would have pulled in pieces, resolved on the morrow to fall on them; but in the night they deserted their Camp and fled. From the place of this action the Dictator obtained the firname of *Rhegillensis*.

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The *Latines* sent to deprecate the anger of the *Roman* State, laying all the blame upon their Nobility. The Ambassadors managed their work with such earnestnesse and humility (casting themselves at the Feet of the Senate, and making great lamentations) that the motion of *Largius* prevailed in their behalf for the former League to be renewed. This was the end of the War which in behalf of the *Tarquinii* had been carried on for fourteen years: *Tarquinius* himself being onely left behind of all his stock, now almost ninety years old, for that the *Latines*, *Hetrusc ans*, and *Sabines*, refused to harbour him, as also all other neighbouring Cities which were free, went into *Campania* to *Aristodemus* the Prince of *Cuma*, with whom he shortly after died. Of the man we may judge charitably, because his story was onely related to posterity by his bitter Enemies. However, his banishment our religion must censure as rebellion. And such were the stirs, seditions and tumults afterwards, and so many changes and rechanges, as if the Reader seriously consider them, he will see that the *Romans* suffered much for want of Monarchy, and the contrary Government did not contribute to their happinesse. That this may appear, he hath here a fuller view of their changes than in any other modern Writer.

Great stirs in the Citie

34. The *Romans* now freed from this War, fell into a grievous sedition in the Citie, the Courts of Justice being again opened by the Senate, and the processe against debtors revived. The *Plebeians* alleged they were not able to pay their debts, by reason of their losses sustained in the late Wars through want of tillage, and plundring of their Cattel by the Enemy. Their Creditors replied, that these losses had also befallen them, which made the remission of the debts impossible; and so neither sort would yield at all, but many tumults were raised, wherein the parties did not abstain from blows. *Posthumius* the Dictator perceiving some expedition to be necessary for the quiet of the Citie, created Consuls for the following year, and laid down his Office. The Consuls were *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *P. Servilius Priscus*, who being of the Dictators mind as to the War, resolved to go out against the *Volsci*, who had assisted the *Latines* against the State, and now were making new preparations for War; when they came to make Levies none of the *Plebeians* would give their names, complaining that they having already undergone the heat, and danger of the War, both for liberty and dominion, they were by their fellow Citizens at home kept in bondage (it being the custom then for Creditors to make use of them as Slaves bound in ferters) and many times cruelly beaten, till they could pay their debts. They cried out, that the security of the common sort was more provided for in War, and amongst their Enemies, than in peace, and with their friends. The disagreement of the Consuls amongst themselves added to the present distemper; *Servilius* being willing to comply something with the desire of the poor, but *Appius* inveighing against them with great bitternesse, and earnestly urging force and rigour to be the most suitable means for appeasing these tumults. The Senate was forced to betake it self to the popularitie of *Servius*, who with fair words drew the people out against the *Sabines*, and when he had by this good service deserved a Triumph, the honour was denied him through the suggestions of his Collegue to the Fathers, for that by bearing with the multitude he impaired the Dignity of their Order.

Divorced by War.

35. After the finishing of the War the common sort thought again of their own concernments, and expecting performance of what *Servilius* had promised, *Appius* exacted the payment of debts as rigorously as ever: This doubled

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doubled the people's rage, and made them carry on all things by force, so that they rescued their Companions out of the hands of Sargeants, and holding secret councils by night, denied to the succeeding Consuls to take Arms, till they could have a relaxation of their burthens. This putting the Senate to a stand, *Appius* still urged that nothing was to be granted to the rabble, and procured a Dictator to be created. When most looked upon him as fittest for the time, the Consuls judged quite otherwise, and made choice of *M. Valerius* the brother of *Publius*, and son of *Volesus*, a popular man, being perswaded that the terror of the Office alone would do the work, and that a man of mild temper would best manage it. The Dictator promised the People, in case they would freely follow him, not onely what they justly required concerning their debts, but other rewards also, and by this means listed ten Legions against the *Volsci*, *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms, which being brought under, he divided amongst his Soldiers some grounds taken from the *Volsci*, but requesting of the Senate, that his and their promise might be made good, was checked for his love to the multitude, and because he was an old man above 70, being unfit as he said to contend, he laid down his Office. The People hereat much inraged, kept private meetings, and consulted how to separate themselves from the *Patritians*, which when the Senate perceived, they gave order to the Consuls not to disband the Armies, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had conspired against *Rome*. The Soldiers being bound by the Oath taken at their listing (called by them *Sacramentum*, and ever strongly observed) could not forsake their Standards, but the Consuls having their Camps near to each other, they all went into one by the advice of one *Sicinius Bellulus*, and taking away the Ensignes from the Consuls, departed to the Mount called afterwards *Mons Sacer*, lying three miles from the City beyond the River *Aniene*, now called *Taverone*.

The first separation of the Commons.

36. Notice hereof being brought into the City, filled all places with marvelous tumults. The *Patritians* were in great fear lest War should be made upon them; the *Plebeians* grew exceeeding high, and many flocked to the Army, though the other hindred it as much as possible. The Fathers had also great strife amongst themselves, while some pleaded for the multitude, and others would hear of nothing but carrying the matter through by strong hand. But the former sort prevailed to send a message to the Armies, desiring them to return home; promising that for the future all things should be forgot, and the Senate would be ready to reward their faithfulnesse and serviceableneſſe to their Country; withall, the Ambassadors had it in charge to know the utmost of their desires. To the message nothing would be returned but disdainful words, and high complaints, something mixed with threatning language, which more grievously afflicted the Fathers, not knowing what way to procure a reconcilement; and now would not such as they had by their authority and interest hitherto retained in the City, be with-holden from going to the Army. The time for creation of new Consuls was now at hand. The old ones appointing the Comitia, no Candidates (so called because they appeared in white garments) would stand for the Office, nor any accept of it, till at length the Consuls appointed by their sole authority *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, who had born it before, and were equally in favour with the Nobility and Commons. They having entred on the *Calends* of *September* (sooner than usual) in the 72 *Olympiad* (wherein *Tesicrates* of *Crotone* was Victor, and *Diognetes Archon*) first of all consulted the Senate about the return of the Commons. *Agrippa Menenius* a man of great wisdom and temper, being first asked his opinion, by all means possible exhorted the Fathers to a composure. He shewed what necessity there was of it in regard of the *Roman* Dominion, which could not be either preserved or increased without the inferiour sort of People, and made it clear, that they could not expect to have any of better temper than the present were, for as much as all, whosoever they were, who by their labour and blood obtained power and Soveraignty for the City, would expect to be sharers in it's advantages.

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tages. He pressed the danger they were now in from their Enemies round about, and having used other motives, concluded with his advice, that *they would send messengers with full power to treat and conclude what they should find convenient, without any more consulting the Senate.*

37. After *Menenius* spake *M. Valerius*, and upbraided the Senate for not giving him credit when he foretold these distempers, He advised them to cure the wound while it might be healed, shewed what reason the Commons had to be concerned more of late, because of the Dictatorship, which took from them their former Appeal, as also for that the Senate had denied the honour of triumph to *Servilius* when they desired it for him, because he was suspected to favour them, and for that neither he, the Consul, nor he himself the Dictator, could at all profit them in what had been promised. He inveighed against the avarice and cruelty of creditors, and particularly fell foul upon *Appius* for his rigour, and raising a Faction, which if others were not wise to prevent, would utterly destroy the Commonwealth. Lastly, he commended the advice of *Menenius*, and desired it might speedily be executed, so as whatever the Commons required might be granted. *Appius* a man of an high spirit, most studious of the Patrician dignity, and also of a sober and venerable cariage, being asked his opinion next, in excuse of himself recriminated *Valerius*. With great animosity he noted the ambition and senselesnesse of the multitude, admiring that any of the Fathers should be so absurd, as having denied remission of debts to them when friends, would grant it to them now Enemies, who would not * rest here, but require also a communication of honours, and what not? so that at length the power would come into the hands of the rabble, and the Commonwealth degenerate into a *Democracy*. He lessened, or rather endeavoured to remove, the danger which threatned either from the Armies revolt, or the hostility of old Enemies. He endeavoured to perswade them, that they were able enough to reduce them by force, having their wives and children in the City; and alleging for further confirmation of this, that the multitude were without any persons of good conduct, whereas the Patritian order abounded with experienced commanders, concluded with this advice, *neither to send any message to them, nor remit them their debts, nor do any other thing which might shew the least fear or trouble: If they would lay down their Arms and return sing into the City, submit to the Senate, then moderately to determine concerning them; seeing that all fools, especially the Vulgar, are insolent against such as condescend, but cowardly towards those that resolutely demean themselves.*

* Note.

The Prophecy of *Appius* concerning the lawlesse rabble.

38. The wise speech of *Appius* so inflamed those of his party, especially the younger sort, that nothing could be determined for the heat of contention. This put the Consuls upon dismissing the Senate for that time, admonishing the younger sort to carry themselves more respectfully and modestly for the time to come, or else they would neither use them as Advisers nor Judges, but prefer a Law for limiting a certain age for Senators. The graver men they exhorted also to concord, letting them know they had a way to end the controversie, by referring the matter to the decision of the People, which had right to judge of it, as a case about Peace and War. At the next meeting the ancient men were of the same opinion as formerly, but the younger modestly referred themselves to whatsoever they should determin; so that the major part by far, being wearied with the cries and sollicitations of those who had relations in the Army, rather than any reason, notwithstanding *Appius* stuck close to his former resolution, resolved to follow the advice of *Menenius*, who with nine others were commissionated with full power, both by Senate and People, to compose the difference. At first the offers of the Commissioners could not be heard through the instigation of two cunning and turbulent fellows, *Sicinius*, and *L. Junius*, who conceited of his abilities, affected the name of *Brutus* also. *Menenius*, to give full satisfaction, promised that such as were unable to pay their debts, should be discharged both from obligation and imprisonment, and for the time to come matters of this nature should be ordered by the joynt consent both of People and Senate.

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39. Little wanted of their departure without any other security than the bare word of the Commissioners. But *Junius Brutus* a *Plebeian* formerly mentioned with-held them, saying, that they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the Senate; but whereas some men of tyrannical spirits might reserve their anger to a convenient opportunity, the Commons wanted such good security for the time to come, as might defend them from the unreasonable malice of great ones, and he moved, that they might have certain Officers created yearly out of their own bodie, whose power should onely be *to give relief to such Plebeians as were injured, and suffer none to be defrauded of their right*: and therefore not to resist the Consuls, as some thought. This being received by the multitude with great approbation, was insisted on to *Menenius*, and his fellows, who thought not good to admit of a matter of such large consequence, without leave from the Senate, and demanded time to know the pleasure thereof. The Consuls reporting the matter, *Valerius* thought this favour was to be granted to the Commons, and, though *Appius* opposed it earnestly, crying out, calling their gods to witnesse, and truly foretelling what calamities they would bring upon the Commonwealth, yet the major part inclining to Peace, it was caried for them, and the Commissioners were sent back with the resolution of the house. The Commons by the advice of *Menenius*, first sent to take from the Senate a religious confirmation of this privilege, and afterwards in the Assembly of the *Curiæ* elected *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinius Bellutus*, to whom they afterwards joyned *C.* and *P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruga*. These five first entred this new Office on the fourth of the *Ides* of *December*, according to the History and computation of *Dionysius*, sixteen years after the expulsion of *Tarquin*.

A. M. 3511. *Ol.* 71. an. 3. *V. C.* 260. *Darii* 28. *A. Virginio Montano, T. Vetusio Gemino, Coss.*

A composure by bringing in the Tribunes.

40. These Officers were called *Tribuni Plebis*, there having been from the beginning other *Tribunes* in the City named *Tribuni Celerum*, so called from the Peoples being divided into three parts at that time, from which so many were sent into the Army, as (*a*) *Varro* and (*b*) *Pomponius* derive the word; or because they were elected by the Tribes, or oversaw them, as others. *Varro* seemeth to hold that the *Tribuni Plebis* were called *Tribunos*, because they were first made of the *Tribunes* or Colonels of the Soldiers. *Livie* nameth *C. Licinius*, and *L. Albinus*, for the first two, to whom were shortly after added three more, viz. *Sicinius*, the Author of the departure, and two others, concerning which, faith he, Authors differ. In the 297 year of the City five more were added, and this number of ten so continued. As these Officers were elected by the Commons, so ever out of their body, except where we read in *Livie* (in his third Book) of two Patritians; Nay most commonly of the lower sort, till a Law ordained that they should be created out of the Senate; that is, out of such Plebeians as were admitted into the Senate. What time this Law was preferred, cannot certainly be discovered. (*c*) *Appian* saith, it is not certain whether *Sylla* did it. It should appear from (*d*) *Gellius*, that there passed a *Plebiscitum* or Decree of the People, for this purpose, called *Plebiscitum Atinium*; but what *Atinius* this should be is also obscure, there being one *P. Atinius* Tribune of the Commons when *Julius Cæsar* and *Bibulus* were Consuls. As concerning their power, (*e*) *Cicero* saith, they were opposed against the Consuls: but this is not true, the occasion of their making not rising from the Consuls. At the beginning their power was onely to relieve the oppressed, as a shield to keep off evil, and not as a weapon to inflict it. They nulled the unjust (as they accounted them) Decrees, and Commands of the Senate and Magistrates; and to shew their readinesse to protect the meaneſt,

(*a*) *Ling. Lat. l.* 4. *p.* 22.
(*b*) *D. Orig. Furis pag.* 20.
Their number.
(*c*) *Bel. civil. lib.* 1.
(*d*) *Lib.* 14. *c.* 8.
(*e*) *De Legib. lib.* 3.
Power.

meaneſt, (*f*) their doors stood open night and day to their complaints. (*g*) *Gellius* telleth us, that they could not be absent from the Citie one day; not an hour saith (*h*) *Dion*; and (*i*) *Appian* going further, confineth them within the Walls. They interposed by this one word *Veto* solemnly pronounced. They procured themselves afterward to be accounted *Sacrosancti*, so as by a Law confirmed with an Oath, none might compel a *Tribune* to do any thing, as one of the vulgar, neither strike, nor command him to be beaten; neither kill, nor command him to be killed. If any did contrary, he was to be held as *Sacer*, and his goods being Confiscated unto *Ceres*, it should be lawfull for any to kill him. And left afterwards the people should abrogate this Law, they made all the Citizens take the most solemn Oath that could be devised, both for themselves and posterity, to preserve it for ever inviolable, as (*k*) *Dionysius* writeth, who hath also exemplified the Law it self. To this (*l*) *Cicero* addeth, that they were not onely by sacred Laws fortified against Force and Arms, but against words also, and interruption of speech.

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(*f*) *Plutarch. Probl.* 81.
(*g*) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 2.
(*h*) *Lib.* 37.
(*i*) *De bell. civil. l.* 2.
Privilege.
(*k*) *Lib.* 6.
(*l*) *Pro Sext.*

41. But as their power of *Interposing* was most powerfull against Consuls and Senate, so also against themselves; the dissent of one man being sufficient to hinder whatever all his Collegues designed. This appeareth to have been the onely constant effectual means for moderation of that power which afterwards they assumed, when the Patritians could prevail with one of the College to interpose. By that awe which their *Sacrosanct* Magistracy struck into all men, improved through their prompt boldnesse (very common in men of meaneſt condition) they took advantage to inlarge their bounds. * *Valarius Maximus* writeth, that at first it was not lawfull for them to enter into the Senate, but they had seats placed before the door, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, such of them as they suffered to passe they signed with the letter *T*. But nothing in *Dionysius* is more common than their speaking in the Senate, and their contentions with the Members thereof in that very place at the very time, and that in the infancy of their Office. However, these fellows at first presumed not to Tyrannise and disturb all, as afterwards they did, they presumed not at first to assemble the Senate, which afterward they did in the 277 year of the Citie, & in processe of time to dismisse it also, when called by another. Within a small time they assembled the people, preferred Laws, executed their sawcy Decrees against the Magistrates themselves, commanding the Consuls to be carried to prison, (especially after the enacting of the *Hortensian* Law, whereby the *Plebiscita* obliged the whole *Roman* people) for that they were the chief Officers of the Commons.

The ballance to their power.
* *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *Exemp.* 7.
The extravagancy of their power.

42. Great were the Seditions and Tumults, which turbulent spirits backed with such liberty, stirred up; so as notwithstanding their first end was to preserve right, *Lucan* rightly termeth them *Turbantes jura*. *Sylla* was the first that bridled their extravagancy, by depriving them of liberty to prefer Laws, to make Orations, and obtain any Office of Magistracy; but after his death *Aurelius Cotta* by a new Law restored the later privilege to them, and all the rest they recovered when *Pompey* and *M. Crassus* were Consuls. Their power thus recovered they kept till the Emperours swallowed it up themselves, and left them little more than a name, which continued till the time of *Constantine*. As for the Ensigns of their Office, they wore not the *Prætexta*, had no *Lictors* or Sargeants, neither used they a *Curule* Chair; onely a sort of Beadle, called *Viator*, went before them. For want of these Ceremonies, as because they entred not at the beginning of the year, and laid not down their Office upon the Creation of a Dictator, which others did, *Plutarch* writeth that some held them to be no Magistrates, but rather a curb and restraint to such. Lastly, besides these *Tribunes*, and the *Tribuni Celerum* formerly mentioned, there were afterwards many other sorts, as *Tribuni Militum*, and *Tribuni Ærarii*, during the Commonwealth: under the Emperours are found *Tribunus Voluptatum*, *Tribunus Matrimoniorum*, *Tribunus Chartariorum*, *Tribunus Provinciarum*, *Tribunus Fori*, and *Tri-*

Several other sorts of Tribunes.

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bunus Scholarum, concerning which *Cassiodorus* in his Epistles, and *Lipsius* in his Commentary of the Magistrates of old *Rome* are to be consulted.

43. The Commons having got from the Senate a confirmation of the Office of *Tribunes*, obtained further, that they might yearly chuse out of their own body two, to be as Ministers to these Officers; to Judge certain causes referred to them from the *Tribunes*, take care of publick buildings and provisions. These were first called the *Ministers and Assistants of the Tribunes*; but afterward saith *Dionysius* from one of their Duties had the name of *Ædiles*. Many things of great consequence were committed to their trust, being very much like to the *Agoranomi* amongst the *Greeks*. *Festus* acknowledging that in the beginning *Ædiles* was a Magistrate who took care both of publick and private buildings, yet saith he was so called, *quod facilis ad eum plebis aditus esset*. Truer is the derivation which *Varro* giveth, agreeable to that of *Dionysius*; that they were named *Ædiles*, from *Ædes* the buildings, of which they took care, or those particularly, wherein the *Plebiscita* were kept, of which they had the over-sight. This later Etymology is rendred by *Pomponius*, who in his second book of the Original of Law, describing the several Offices of Magistracy, maketh the end of the constitution of the *Ædiles* to have been, that they might take care of that house where the Decrees of the people were laid up. Whence soever the word was derived it came out of *Latium*, being a name of certain Magistrates in the *Latine* Towns, as was also *Dictator* and *Duumvir*, as some observe out of *Spartianus*. To these *Ædiles Plebis*, who were instituted in the 271 year of the Citie, at the same time with the *Tribunes*, were added two more out of the *Patritian* order 117 years after, called for distinction *Ædiles Curules*, because they used the *Curule* Chair, whereas the other onely sate on Benches, as the *Tribunes* and *Quæstors*. The occasion of creating those shall be shewn in its place, the end was onely then for celebrating of Games.

The *Ædiles* created.

44. This number continued till the time of *C. Julius Cæsar*, who in the 710 year of the Citie added two more, whom he would have created also out of the Patritians. They were called (*a*) *Cereales* from *Ceres*, being appointed to take care of, and make provision for Corn. This number of six thus distinguished, continued till the time of *Constantine*, as is probably conjectured, and were as most other Offices of Magistracy taken away by him. The Ædiles, saith (*b*) *Cicero, are the Curators of the Citie, of provisions, and of solemn Games. Of the Citie*, because they looked to publick works and Temples; made provision against fires (which *Augustus* seemeth to have charged upon them saith *Lipsius*) had inspection over Funerals, and such like Rites of smaller moment; over Marriages and Adulteries, Baths, Aqueducts, Sinks, and Streets, both for repairing and cleansing of them. *Of Provisions*, for that they had the over-sight of all things to be sold, men, and other creatures, determining, judging, and censuring by their words and edicts. *Of solemn Games*, and onely *solemn* (not votive and private ones) as the *Ludi Florales, Circenses, Megalenses, Romani*, &c. Sometimes at their own charge they made these shews, and ever examined the Fables written before they were acted. And (whether from this inspection of Play-books it came or no is uncertain) they seem to have been Licensers and Judges of other writings, being ordered by a Decree of the Senate, as (*c*) *Tacitus* telleth us, to burn the Papers of *Cremutius Cordus*. It is further (*d*) observed, that the *Generals* when they returned home after some victory, delivered up the Corn and Provisions which had been made prize, to them, as the Captives to the *Prætor*, and the money to the *Quæstor*. All such Victuallers as offended against the Laws, as also Monopolizers and others that transgressed in this kind, they accused to the people, and with the Fines celebrated Games, made Presents to their gods, or some publick works. Lastly, 'tis observed, that they took care that none but *Roman* gods, and those after the *Roman* manner onely, should be worshipped.

(*a*) *Diod. lib.* 43.

Their Office.

(*b*) 3. *de Legibus.*

(*c*) *Annal. lib.* 4.

(*d*) *Janus Gulielmus.*

45. But

War with the *Volsci*.

45. But, to return to the story, the rabble having obtained these Officers, willingly gave their names to the Expedition against the *Volsci*, under conduct of *Posthumius Cominius* the Consul. He took *Longula* and *Polusca* with no great difficulty, and presently laid siege to *Corioli* a strongly fortified Town, and the head of the Nation. The *Antiates* coming to the relief of this place, he left part of the Army to continue the siege under the Command of *Titus Largius*, and with the other went to give them battel. *Largius* attempting to storm the Town, the Inhabitants sallied out, and charged the *Romans* so furiously, that they forced them back into their Camp: all but a few whom *C. Marcius*, a Patrician of great Nobility, and greater Valour, kept about him. This *Marcius* with so small a Company received the violence of the Enemy, and doing great execution, forced him at length into the Town, and following himself rushed in with him, whereat the besieged were so affrighted, that not considering their own numbers, they fled to the contrary part of the Citie, and suffered him to let in the rest of the Army. When the Soldiers now fell to plunder, he suffered them not, but hasted to the battel to help the Consul, and with the good news of his successe to chear the Army.

Sect. I.

Dionys. lib 6. *Plutarch. in Coriolano.*

Marcius.

46. He desired of *Cominius* that he might be suffered with his men to fight against the middle battel, wherein the chief strength of the Enemies lay, which obtaining, he shewed there more valour than formerly, and was the greatest cause of the victory. The day following the Consul gave him extraordinary commendations, and a good share of booty before it came to be divided amongst the Soldiers; but he would accept of nothing except an horse, which gained him greater honour from the whole Army, and moved *Posthumius* to bestow the sirname of *Coriolanus* upon him for his incomparable valour shewn at that place. The *Volsci* were by this overthrow forced to submission, and made their peace. This year was the League of Amity and Confederacy renewed with the *Latines* with all chearfulnesse, because they had been faithfull in the late Sedition and War, and had sent to congratulate for the peace made betwixt Nobility and Commons. The Senate for this Civil Union decreed supplications or thanks to their gods, a third *feria*, or Holy day, to be added to the other two *Latinæ Feriæ*, whereof *Tarquinius* had dedicated one, when he Conquered *Hetruria*, and the People the other after the banishment of *Tarquinius*. In this Consulship died also *Agrippa Menenius*, whom the People out of gratitude resolved to bury at the publick charge, every man contributing something, because he died poor, and when the Senate would needs defray the charge out of the Treasury, they bestowed the money upon his Children. Now also the *Census* being celebrated above 110000 heads were Cessed.

Sirnamed *Coriolanus.*

A.M. 3512. *Ol.* 71. *ann.* 4. *V.C.* 261. *Darii* 29. *Sp. Cassio* 2. *Postumo Cominio Coss.*

47. The year following wherein *T. Geganius Macerinus*, and *P. Minucius* were Consuls, a great dearth fell upon the Citie, the effect of the late Sedition. For, the Commons having departed a little after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, about the time of sowing, the Countrey was forsaken of husband-men; the richer sort betaking themselves to the Patritians, and the poorer to the Army, and the division continued till a little before Mid-winter. All the middle space of time there was no tillage, though it was most proper for sowing, and for some time after the agreement, it could scarce be renewed, for that Slaves had run away, and there was great scarcity of Cattels by these means for the year following they were little beforehand in Corn, either for seed or provisions. This put the Senate upon sending into several parts of *Italy*, and also into *Sicily*, to buy Corn. But notwithstanding their care, the multitude being exceedingly pinched with Famine, raised tumults, getting together by companies, and laying all the fault upon the Fathers, as if by their wilfull neglect they had in this way revenged themselves. The *Volsci* being acquainted with this new Sedition, and the weak Estate of *Rome*, conspired how to improve the advantage; but were diverted by a grievous plague, which so raged, as *Velitræ* a Noble Citie of that Countrey was almost utterly exhausted, the small remnant of the Inhabitants whereof gave up them-

A dearth.

Dionys. l. 7.

Which causeth a Sedition.

Sect. 1. themſelves to the *Romans*, deſiring they would ſend a Colony thither.

48. Of this advantage the Senate was very glad, to leſſen the multitude of the City; and the poor were content to inhabit ſo fertil a place; but when they conſidered the danger of infection, they were again diſcouraged, and wreſted this to ſo bad a ſence, as to make it a deſign to deſtroy them. But the Senate laying a great penalty upon ſuch as refuſed to go, many obeyed and went thither, as alſo to *Norba* a *Latin* Town. This inraged more ſuch as ſtaid behind, being ſtill pinched by the famine, ſo that raiſing great multitudes, they called the *Tribunes* into the Comitium. Great ſtrife hapned betwixt the Conſuls and them; The Tribunes affirming they had promiſed not to interrupt them in their diſcourſes to the People, to which the other anſwered, that it was onely when they called the People together, not when the Conſuls themſelves did it, as now they had done, to promiſe them all fair accommodation from the Senate. Hereupon *Brutus*, who being ſo great a ſtickler before, was choſen one of the firſt Tribunes, deviſed a Law, which under ſuch a penalty as the Tribunes ſhould impoſe, forbad any one to contradict or interrupt them, when they ſpoke to the People. Such as could or would not give ſecurity for the payment of the fine, were to be put to death, and their goods be ſacred to *Ceres*. If any controverſie aroſe about the fine, it was to be determined by the judgment of the People.

And this a new Law in behalf of the Tribunes.

49. This Law being enacted by the Suffrages of the *Tribes*, cauſed greater diſturbance; the Senate refuſing to ratifie the reſolves of the People, and the People the Decrees of the Senate; yet proceeded it not to any greater inconveniency than words, and ſome blows without weapons. For the poor broke not into the ſtore-houſes of the rich, but were content to purchaſe victuals at an exceſſive rate; and when money failed were contented with roots and herbs: neither did the rich deal harſhly with the poor, but carried it towards them as indulgent fathers, ſo that we muſt ſay, it was the infirmity of the Government, and not any bad diſpoſition of the People which cauſed the Seditions. The Conſuls, to divert their minds, and eaſe the charge, offered to lead them out into the Enemies Country, but few or none would give their names; ſo that *Marcius Coriolanus* with ſome Patritians, and a few of their Clients made incurſions, and returned home loaden with booty; the knowledge whereof made the poorer ſort murmur againſt their *Tribunes*, who had diſſwaded them from the Expedition. The following Conſuls *M. Minucius Augurinus*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, famous for their abilities both in War and Peace, bent themſelves, by making proviſion for Corn, to allay the preſent diſtempers; though not with wiſhed ſucceſſe. They procured much to be imported, and this Summer returned thoſe that were ſent into *Sicilie*, with a great quantity of Wheat, whereof half they bought at a very cheap rate, and half was beſtowed on them by *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*. Now the *Patritians* conſidering how to diſpoſe of the Corn; ſome were for ſelling it to the poor at eaſie rates, thereby to win upon the multitude, but others urged they were to be harſhly uſed and afflicted, and the Corn to be ſold to them on dear rates; that by neceſſity they might be brought to ſobriety, and become ſubject to the Laws.

Corn brought out of *Sicilie*.

50. Amongſt theſe was *Coriolanus* the chief, being offended with the Commons, as was given out, for a repulſe at the laſt election of Conſuls. He had been ever an extraordinary aſſertor of the power of the Nobility, which made the People afraid to chuſe him; but now incenſed he much more ſhewed his inclination, openly declaiming againſt the innovation of the multitude, and exhorting others to reſiſt the petulant endeavours of the Tribunes and rabble. The Conſuls calling together the Senate, he inlarged himſelf in a ſet ſpeech to this purpoſe, and preſſed that by force they ſhould take away the *Tribuneſhip*, as the onely means for the recovery of the State; concluding with his opinion, that no favour at all ſhould be ſhewed to the multitude in the ſale of Corn. Some were offended with this freedom, perceiving what inconvenience it would bring; but others approving of it, the Tribunes who were preſent (ſay both *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch*) ran forth, and crying

Coriolanus his counſel thereupon.

Sect. 1. crying out, called the People together, and declared to them the effect of *Marcius* his ſpeech. The multitude inraged, would have violated the Senate inſtantly, but that the Tribunes ſtayed them, laying the whole blame upon *Marcius*. They ſent ſome Beadels for him to come and anſwer it before the People, but they returning with nothing but ill words, they went themſelves, and commanded the *Ædiles* to apprehend him. Theſe were *Brutus* and *Icilius* the firſt Tribunes, who going to do what was injoyned, were repulſed and beaten by the young *Patritians* he had got about him. This put all into a flame, the whole City being gathered together and ready to deſtroy it ſelf; but by the wiſdom of the Conſuls the matter was put off till the following day. Then the Conſuls laboured to heal the breach, confirming as from the Fathers, what was formerly granted to the Commons, and palliating as much as might be the ſuppoſed offence of *Marcius*. The Tribunes anſwering, inveighed againſt the Senate, as deſirous to break their faith, and laying open the fault of *Marcius*, concluded the action with a Decree of their College, *That he ſhould be forthwith caſt down headlong from the Tarpeian Rock*. For, having given him liberty to ſpeak, he was ſo far from recanting his former ſpeeches, that he flew out into the ſame invectives, as they were termed.

Put all into a flame.

51. The *Ædiles* laying hands on him, the *Patritians* again reſcued him, the ſober part even of them taking it ill he ſhould be condemned to death without due proceſſe, and the more underſtanding ſort of the Commons not approving of the attempt; ſo as a great tumult being raiſed, the Tribunes nulled their former Decree, and ſet him a day wherein to anſwer, and ſtand or fall by the judgement of the People. In the mean time the Senate, by ſelling the Corn at moderate rates, and by intreaties, fought either to procure the tryal to be utterly laid aſide, or at leaſt to defer it till the wrath of the multitude ſhould be appeaſed, which was alſo to be imployed in a War againſt *Antium*. When the former could not be done, and the War was blown over, the Conſuls being very unwilling to let the People take ſo much upon themſelves, as without Decree of the Senate firſt had (according to the antient cuſtom) to paſſe their judgement in any caſe, procured the Tribunes firſt to ſue out ſuch a Decree, on this condition, that they might be heard ſpeak their minds, and each Senator before he gave his judgment, ſwear ſolemnly, as was uſual in judicature proceſſe, to deliver what he thought moſt behoveful for the Publick. The *Tribunes* then argued much in behalf of the *Commons*, who they ſaid had undergone the heat of all Wars, both in the time of Kings, in the expulſion of them, and ſince in the inlarging the *Roman* Dominion; in conſideration whereof, they could not in conſcience have leſſer privileges than of late they had obtained. They aggravated by ſeveral circumſtances the crime of *Marcius*, who in ſo high a manner had gone about to infringe them, and therefore as well for maintenance of right, as the ſafety of the City, they deſired he might be left to the juſtice of the People. *Appius Claudius* ſtifly impugned the Decree, arguing that the Senate would be enervated, and the Commonwealth betrayed, if they granted to the People power of judging *Patritians*.

52. *M. Valerius*, and other popular men made a better conſtruction of the People's deſire, thinking they would uſe this power moderately, and in oppoſition to *Appius* his politick reaſons, ſtrangely conceived it would make for the ſecurity of the Commonwealth, and particular members thereof, if the Commons were admitted to ſome ſhare in the Government; that ſo it might neither wholly lye in the *Patritians* nor *Plebeians*, but be tempered and poiſed betwixt both. He urged, that they had allaied the Kingly power, by giving it to two annual Magiſtrates, and that therefore there was no fear of it's degenerating into Tyranny, being alſo awed by the overſight of 300 moſt prudent and worthy perſons, of which the Senate conſiſted. But for the Senate it ſelf, there was no curb; ſo that it might afterwards (though of the preſent members he had no cauſe to judge ſo) draw all things into extremity, and indeed ruine the State, except the People might be admitted to

Sect. 1. to have an hand in the judgment of such faults as concerned the Commonwealth, as when any was accused of moving Sedition, affecting Tyranny, Treason, or the like crimes; because the more solemn and severe the tryal was, ambitious men would be the more terrified from such attempts. The generality inclining to give up the man, *Marcius* demanded of the *Tribunes* whereof they would accuse him. They consulting with themselves apart, knew not well how to form an impeachment out of his former words, which might passe with the Senate, and therefore answered, they would lay the affectation of Tyranny to his charge. Hereat he very chearfully put himself upon tryal, not refusing the severest punishment, if it could be proved; and a Decree of the Senate passed accordingly, time being given him till the the third Market day, to prepare for it. For a Market was kept once in nine dayes, at which time the People that lived in the Country, came either to traffick, receive justice, or give their Suffrages in such matters as either primarily concernd them, or were referred from the Senate. When the day came, a greater multitude of Country-men than ever formerly was seen, early in the morning placed it self in the Forum, and the Tribunes called the People to the *Comitia Tributa*, or *Assemblies of the Tribes*, severing each Tribe from another by cords. Now it having been the custom for the People to give their suffrages by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius* in arms, and under their Centurions, the *Patritians* called hard for them, and protested against this innovation; but by the other way of *Centuries* brought in by *Servius*, the ordinary sort of People being excluded, (for that most commonly the two first Classes caried it from the other four) the *Tribunes* would in no case suffer it, and the crime of *Coriolanus* seeming to concern all alike, at length they obtained the consent of the *Patritians* to this innovation.

He answereth before the People.

53. *Minucius* the Consul beginning the action, declared the worth of the person now to be judged, and exhorting the People to mildnesse, signified that the Senate became petitioners in his behalf. *Sicinius* one of the Tribunes said, he would neither betray the liberty of the People, nor suffer another to do it; therefore if the Patritians would, as they prerended, subject him to their judgment, he would give forth the balls without any more to do, to which the Consul replyed, they did so, but on this condition, that he should answer to the charge of affected Tyranny, and therewith protesting, went down. *Sicinius* then ripping up all that ever *Coriolanus* did, that might any way make for his purpose, laboured to put a bad construction upon it. But when the party came to speak, he so related what particular services he had done the State, and shewed the skars received all over his body; withall, those that he had saved in the Wars, made such lamentation in his behalf, that the People generally cried out he was to be discharged. Then *Decius* another of the Tribunes stepping up, said, that seeing the Senate, as the Consul alleged, had absolved *Marcius* from those words he had spoken in their house, and suffered him not to be accused for them, he would wave his words, and come to actions, by which he would make good the charge. Their was a certain Law, that all booty and plunder got in War, should be appropriated to publick use, so as no General was to meddle with it, but give it up into the hands of the *Quæstor*. Now, whereas no man ever brake this Law, or so much as spake against it, this *Marcius*, saithhe, hath dared to contemn it; for when in the late incursion into the Territories of *Antium*, we had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Provisions, he neither delivered these things up to the *Quæstor*, nor payed any money unto the Treasury, but divided all the booty amongst his friends, which could not but be taken as an argument that he intended to inslave his Country; it being the custom of Tyrants, this way to procure themselves instruments for their purpose. Though he had done this not with any sinister intention, but for the service of his Country, at such time as all were full of Seditions at home, and the Enemy from abroad wasted the *Roman* Territories; yet the multitude interpreted it in the same sence as *Decius*, and the whole matter was quite changed; he being abashed at so unexpected a charge, and the Consuls

Is banished. Consuls and Patricians utterly to seek what to answer. The *Tribunes* then named perpetual banishment, and gathered the suffrages of the Tribes, which being 21 in number, 9 onely absolved him, and so he stood condemned by the major part. Sect. 1.

54. This was the first sentence passed by the people upon any Patrician, and henceforth the *Tribunes* were wont to set the day to whomsoever they pleased; whereby the power of the Commons was inlarged exceedingly, and the interest of the Patricians was more and more diminished; *Plebeians* at length being admitted into the Senate, Offices, and Priesthoods, which in former times were onely communicated to the other: the Senate partly against their wills and by constraint, partly by a wise foresight giving way to it, as will be seen in due place. *Marcius* being accompanied home with the lamentations and tears of many, saluted his Mother, Wife, and Children, as they made pitifull complaints, and without any appearance of trouble, bidding them bear their condition chearfully, straitway departed out of the Citie, attended onely by a few Clients, and without any thing to bear his charges. He went to *Antium*, and there in the habit and posture of an obnoxious suppliant betook himself to *Tullus Attius*, a man of royal condition amongst the *Volsci*, both for Nobility, Riches, and Valour, whom he knew to be his greatest Enemy in that Nation, because in battel they had often challenged each other, and out of Æmulation added a private to the publick hatred. But knowing him to be of a magnanimous mind, and most willing to catch hold of any advantage against the *Romans*, he cast himself at his feet, bidding him either avenge his Countrey of him, or else him against *Rome*, which by her unnatural carriage toward him had forfeited all duty and service that she might have expected at his hands. *Tullus* imbracing him with singular kindnesse, resolved to make use of his great abilities.

Dionysius Halicarnass. l. 8.

Stirreth up the *Volsci* against *Rome*.

Marcius advised that some fair prerext might first be sought for War, and for that purpose sending many of the *Volsci* to behold the solemn Games at *Rome*, caused one to go to the Consuls, and accuse them of having some design against the Citie, that so they forcing them out on a sudden, might be said to have broken the peace. This accordingly succeeding (for the Consuls commanded all by Proclamation to be gone before Sun-set) *Tullus* so aggravated the matter to his Countrey-men, that he procured them to send to *Rome* to demand back all the Towns and Territories which by War had been taken from them.

55. The Senate taking the message in great scorn, answered, that if the *Volsci* first took up Arms, the *Romans* would last lay them down. *Tullus* then perswading the *Volsci* to the War, procured *Marcius* to be joyned with him as General, with full power, who presently invading the *Roman* Dominions, wasted all such grounds where ere he came as belonged to the *Plebeians*, not suffering any thing to be touched which belonged to any of the Nobility. His design was accomplished; for this raised great envy and malice against the Patritians, who upbraiding the people that they had banished unjustly so considerable a man, were accused with greater indignation, that to be revenged for former injuries they had procured *Marcius* to invade the Countrey, seeing they were idle spectators, when others were undone, and kept their goods, being out of all danger of the War. *Coriolanus* leading home his men richly laden with booty, was sent out shortly after with one half of the Forces, and taking by surrender the Town of the *Circeians*, a *Roman* Colony, thence invaded the *Latines*, who being Confederate with *Rome* sent thither for relief; but the common people were averse to the War, and the Consuls being almost out of their Office were unwilling to begin any thing; so that the Messengers were dismissed without any satisfactory answer. *Marcius* then by storm took *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, which he plundred, and made the Inhabitants Slaves. Such as yielded he mildly treated, but having stormed *Bola*, which lay within thirteen miles of *Rome*, he put almost all to the sword that were of age. The *Volsci* now so admired him, that such as were left to defend the Towns would not stay, but all flocked to him,

Invadeth its Territories.

SECT. I. owning him onely for their General. At *Rome* there was nothing but confusion, all being in despair, and seeking no relief any other way than by venting their spleen one against another: but when news cam that *Lavinium* was besieged, it made a marvelous, yet absurd change in their minds. The people now cried out that *Coriolanus* was to be restored by a repeal of the Decree for banishment; but the Senate utterly refused to assent to it, and plainly forbad it in full house; either for that they desired to oppose the people in all things, or would not have his restitution ascribed to the Commons; or else were incensed against *Marcius*, who was become Enemy to all, though but injured by some, and had declared against his own Countrey, wherein he knew the greater and better sort to sympathize with him, and account his no other than a common grievance.

He marcheth towards *Rome*. 56. The resolve of the Senate being published, the people could do nothing as to his restitution, the custom requiring that the Fathers should propound. *Marcius* hereupon rose from before *Lavinium*, and marching towards *Rome* it self, pitch'd his Camp at the *Ditches of Cluelia*, five miles from the Citie. This forced Senate and people into agreement, all in common being seized with horrour and amazement, so that it was agreed a message should be sent to him, offering him his restitution. The Messengers were Patritians, and such as for their love to him he had most cause to favour; but though with all advantage possible they made their addresse, yet he received them with wonderfull severity in a Council of Officers, and gave them this answer, that if they would expect peace, they should restore to the *Volsci* all Towns and Territories taken away in War: and make them free of the Citie as the *Latines* were: and he would give them 30 dayes time to consider of it. Hereat the Captains of the *Volsci*, especially *Tullus*, took occasion to malign him, though he employed this time of Truce very profitably, subduing seven great and strong Towns. When the time was out, and he returned, another Message came to him, desiring that restraining himself he would draw off the *Volsci*, and then consult in common; for they would do nothing by constraint or fear: but if he thought the *Volsci* were to be gratified, they would yield to him if they would lay down their Arms. He replied, he carried himself not as General of the *Volsci*, but as a *Roman* Citizen, and desired, that, having a respect to justice and moderation, they would return within 3 dayes with a grant of what he had formerly demanded; else he must proceed in his enterprize. Hereupon the Senate, in so great a Tempest which threatned all, betook them to their sacred Anchor as they accounted it, and ordered all the *Pontifices*, *Priests*, *Governours of their superstitious houses and Augurs*, in their several habits, should go & beseech him to compose the matter: But neither was *Marcius* moved with this Pompous train; but required they should either accept of the terms, or expect hostility to the utmost.

57. The Priests being returned, the Citizens were warned to be ready at the Walls, thence to repel the Enemy if he came, for that no other hope remained, than what time, and vicissitude of fortune might afford. The whole Citie being full of tumults, trembling, and amazement, the women flocked to the Temples, but the most, and especially the chiefest, made their supplications at the Altar of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. Amongst these was *Valeria* the sister of *Poplicola*, into whose mind came this device, that they should go to *Veturia* (say *Dionysius* and *Livy*). or *Volumnia* (saith *Plutarch*) the mother of *Coriolanus*, and procure her, with *Volumnia* (say they) or *Virgilia* (saith he) her daughter-in-law, to go, and intercede for their Countrey. *Veturia* earnestly pressed to undertake so pious a work, answered, they had little hopes to obtain their sute, for that her son had never sent to see them since his departure, being fallen out with his own family as well as his Countrey; yet she was ready to improve that interest she had in him, and set forth towards him with her daughter-in-law, and two Nephews. *Coriolanus* seeing the women come, resolved fully to give them a denial; but when he perceived his mother amongst them, he descended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her. Having courteously received her with his Wife and Children, he gave ear

SECT. I. ear to her request, which she made with all the Oratory that she could compasse out of the impending ruin of his own Countrey, and the infamy which would necessarily follow a fruitlesse attempt. When herewith she could not prevail, she put him in mind how much nature, together with a carefull education of him in her widowhood, had ingaged him to obedience, and in conclusion cast her self down at his feet which she imbraced and kissed. He presently lifted her up, and cried out, *Mother, thou hast got the victory, advantageous to my Country, but destructive to my self*, and accordingly drew off the *Volsci* into their own Countrey, who were variously affected. Some blamed both him and the action: others that were studious of peace did neither; and some, though they condemned the thing, yet absolved the man, who was constrained by so great necessity to do it; yet none refused to obey his orders, but followed him, more through the authority of his virtue than of his power.

His mother prevaileth with him to retreat.

A.M 3517. *Ol.* 73. an. 1. *V.C.* 266. *Dion.* 34. *Sp. Nautio Sev. Furio Coss.*

58. But when he was come to *Antium*, *Tullus*, the great Æmulator of his glory, supposing he had a sufficient advantage against him, required him to lay down his Office, and give an account of his actions to the people. He refused to resign his place, except commanded by the people to do it, unto which he said he was not afraid to give an account of any thing he had done, at that present. The people being called together, the principal of *Tullus* his faction instigated them against him, but when he arose to speak for himself, those turbulent spirits for shame gave way, and all sober and peaceable men openly declared they would hear him candidly, and judge him according to right and equity. *Tullus* then fearing the mans eloquence, and sufficiently apprehensive how much repute the very Crime objected would bring him (for they could not seem to be injured by him in not taking *Rome*, without considering that he had brought things to that passe by his incredible valour and dexterity, that they were near taking of it) would not expect the judgement of the multitude, but crying out with his complices, that the betrayer of the *Volsci* was not to be suffered to hold the Tyranny over them by refusing to lay down his Office, rushed out, and slew him in the place. Though no man stood up in his defence, yet that this wicked act displeased most, it presently appeared. For upon report of his death they came generally out of the Towns and buried him honourably, adorning his sepulchre, as of a General and a famous Warrier, with Arms and Trophies. Such was the end of the Eminentest man of that age for valour, who by his sour rigidity procured extreme hazard to his Countrey, and destruction to himself, whilest he preferred private revenge before publick good, and yet would not stoop to any provision for his own safety.

He is slain.

59. At *Rome* upon *Marcius* his retreat was such exultation, as is suitable to the joy of those that are rescued from utter desolation. The Senate Decreed to the women what honours they would ask, but they onely desired they might build a Chapel to *Women's fortune*, in the place where they had delivered their Countrey, which was done at the publick charge, and they at their own dedicated the image. When the death of *Coriolanus* was heard, there was neither expression of joy nor sorrow further than this, that the women were permitted to mourn for him ten monehs: the longest time allowed by *Numa* for the neareſt relations, according to *Plutarch*. The Consuls not long after took the field with a considerable Army, but had no occasion to make trial of it; for the *Volsci* and *Æqui* joyning their forces together resolved to take the *Romans* unprovided; but in their march they fell out about a General, of whether Nation he should be, and from words to blows, in such a manner that they fought a great battel, and if night had not severed them, one party had been utterly destroyed. The year following the new Consuls, *C. Aquilius* and *T. Sicinius*, overthrew, the one the *Hernici* and the other the *Volsci*, amongst whom fell *Tullus Attius*, a man of personal valour, but no good conduct. Their Successors, *Proculus Virginius*, and *Sp. Cassius* took the field with the Legions; the *Æqui* falling to the former, as the *Volsci* and *Hernici* to the later. The *Volsci* presently asked

Sect. I. peace, having in the laſt battel loſt the flower of their ſtrength, and after them ſhortly the *Hernici*, refuſing any more to contest for equality with the *Romans*. *Caſſius* having received money and proviſions, as from ſuch as confeſſed themſelves conquered, gave them truce, and referred them for conditions to the Senate.

60. After a long debate, the Fathers reſolved they ſhould be received into amity, and that *Caſſius* at his diſcretion might preſcribe the conditions of the League, confirming whatſoever they ſhould be. *Caſſius* returning home, asked, and obtained a triumph, though he had neither taken any City, worſted any Enemy, nor had any Captives or ſpoils for ornament of the ſolemnity, which poſſeſſed men with an apprehenſion of his arrogancy, and procured him envy. After his triumph he publiſhed as conditions of peace, the very ſame that were granted to the *Latines*, which gave great diſtaſte, it being conceived an unworthy thing to make ſtrangers equal in privilege with their kinſmen the *Latines*; ſuch as could allege no merit, with thoſe who had exceedingly well deſerved of the State: the Patritians took it alſo diſdainfully that he would determine fully on his own head a matter of ſuch weight, without asking any of them his advice. His three Conſulſhips, and two Triumphs, made him ſeem to himſelf far ſuperiour to any of the ſame rank, ſo that no leſſe than the Principality would now content him. Knowing that the ordinary way to it was to gain the favour of the People, by ſome great act of kindneſſe, he reſolved upon that courſe, and firſt to divide amongſt them certain publick grounds, which through the neglect of the Magiſtrates, had been ſeized on, and poſſeſſed by the rich. The ſucceſſe might have been dubious had he ſtayed here; but he would alſo have the *Latines* into the lot with the *Hernici* his new denizons, that he might procure the favour of thoſe Nations. The day after his Triumph, calling together the People according to the cuſtom, he recalled to their memories the great ſervices he had done in his ſeveral Conſulſhips: how in the firſt he had ſubdued the *Sabines*, in the ſecond reduced the Commons into the City, after the appeaſing of the Sedition, as alſo received the *Latines* into fellowſhip and Communion: in the third, the *Volſci* of Enemies were made friends, and the *Hernici*, a great and powerful Nation, received into cloſe and inward confederacy. By theſe diſcourſes he inſinuated, as if above all others he took charge of the Commonwealth, and ſo would continue to do. And he concluded with a promiſe to do more for the Commons, than any man ever did who was moſt in favour, and that ſhould preſently appear.

Caſſius aimeth at the Sovereignty.

61. The day following, he called together the Senate, which was very much troubled at his ſpeech, and declared, that becauſe the Common People were very uſeful both in procuring Dominion, and defending Liberty, it was convenient to divide to them thoſe publick grounds, which were moſt impudently held from the State by ſome Patricians, and pay the money back out of the Treaſury, that they had laid out for that Corn, which being given freely to the City by *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Sicilie*, ought to have been divided amongſt the Inhabitants. The Fathers heard him with great diſdain, and rejected the motion, his Colleague *Virginius* grievouſly accuſing him as ſeditious. For ſeveral daies after, *Caſſius* diſcourſed of this to the People, and *Virginius* held the Senate conſulting how to withſtand him. The Tribunes of the People at length, either for that they were jealous of ſome deſigne, or were diſpleaſed that they themſelves had not firſt propoſed this thing, withſtood it, alleging it was an unjuſt thing that what they had dearly purchaſed with their labour and blood, ſhould be common to ſtrangers as well as themſelves. As this raiſed ſome diſlike, ſo *Caſſius* again drew them to his party, by propounding that the grounds might be divided amongſt ſuch as had moſt need, and by urging that it was better to have a little, than by expecting much to be fruſtrated of all. As the People were thus perſwaded to and fro, *C. Rabuleius* one of the Tribunes found out a way, which for the preſent ended the diſpute. *Virginius* pretending that he was for a diviſion of the grounds, but not unto foreiners, hoping that theſe would ever be joyned; and

Sect. I. and *Caſſius* being both for Citizens and ſtrangers; he took them both at their words; for the one and the other yielding there ſhould be a diviſion, he bade the People accept of that, and defer that wherein they diſſented to another time.

62. For ſome dayes after this, *Caſſius* kept his houſe, pretending ſickneſſe, and ſtudied how he might cauſe his Law, called *Lex Agraria*, to paſſe by force. For this purpoſe he ſent for the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be preſent at the Comitia, that he might carry it by greater number of voices, ſo as the City was filled with them. *Virginius* hereupon made Proclamation, that all ſuch as dwelt not in the City, ſhould depart within a ſhort time prefixed, and *Caſſius* cauſed it to be proclaimed, that all ſuch as were free ſhould ſtay till the matter were determined. No end of the contention appearing, the Fathers feared it might come to blows, or further inconvenience, and therefore aſſembled to make ſome effectual proviſion for the publick Peace.

After a little debate they came to this reſolution, that ten men of *Conſular* dignity ſhould be created to ſurvey the grounds, and declare how much of them was to be let out to farm, and how much divided to the People. That it ſhould be declared, that for as much as it was inequitable for the new aſſociates, or denizons, to expect part in ſuch Lands as were gained to the State before their admiſſion, if any afterward ſhould be got by their aſſiſtance, to each ſeveral People ſhould be aſſigned it's portion, according to the League. That for the choice of the ten men, and the diſtribution of the ground, the ſucceeding Conſuls ſhould make proviſion. This Decree being publiſhed to the People, appeaſed all, and fruſtrated the deſign of *Caſſius*.

His deſign fruſtrated.

63. In the year following, being the firſt of the 74 *Olympiad*, wherein *Aſtylus* of *Syracuſe* was Victor, *Leoſtratus* executing the place of principal *Archon* at *Athens*, according to the computation of *Dionyſius*, in the firſt year of *Xerxes* his Reign, *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* were Conſuls. Now two moſt noble young men, *Ceſo Fabius*, the brother of the Conſul, and *L. Valerius* the grand-ſon of *Poplicola*, being *Quæſtors*, and thereby having authority to aſſemble the People, ſet a day to *Caſſius* the late Conſul to anſwer in the Comitia to the charge of affected tyranny. Then in full Aſſembly did they lay open his actions; how he had beſtowed upon the *Latines* the third part of the plunder, who thought it happineſſe ſufficient to be made free of the City: then the *Hernici*, who could expect no leſſe than to be deprived of their own Lands, he choſe rather to make Friends than Subjects, and Citizens than Tributaries, whence both grounds and plunder being divided into three parts, two of theſe muſt go to Subjects, and Strangers, ſo that if it were found neceſſary afterwards to give others the ſame priviſege of the City, the *Roman* Citizens being by right Lords of all, ſhould not have remaining one third to themſelves. They aggravated this with the management of the buſineſſe, as his doing all without conſulting the Fathers, and againſt the interpoſition of the Tribunes. That theſe things tended to the deſigned eſtabliſhment of a Tyranny, they proved from the money and arms wherewith the *Latines* and *Hernici* had furniſhed him, as alſo from the company of ſtout young men of thoſe Nations which he had about his perſon. In teſtimony hereof they produced ſeveral credible perſons, both Citizens and Aſſociates, who averred it. To theſe the People giving credit, notwithſtanding his premeditated Orations, and his three children, who with many friends and clients accompanied him in mourning habit, and interceded for him; notwithſtanding all his ſervices, and the honour obtained by them, they would not at all pity him, but out of extreme hatred to Tyranny condemned the man, and that to death, leſt being baniſhed, he ſhould procure the State ſuch trouble and danger as *Marcius* lately had done. Therefore judgment being paſſed, the *Quæſtors* preſently led him to the Rock near to the Forum, and thence caſt him down headlong in the ſight of the People, this being the then ordinary kind of puniſhment. His eſtate was confiſcated, and his houſe razed. Some would

A. M. 3521. *Ol.* 74. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 269. *vel* 70. *Xerxis* 1. *vulg.*

He is condemned, and put to death.

Sect. 1. would have had his ſons alſo put to death, but the Senate refuſed to uſe ſuch ſeverity, and at *Rome* the children never ſuffered for their Father's fault, although for high Treaſon, till the *Marſian* War, wherein thoſe that broke the cuſtome miſcaried, and he who deſtroyed them reſtored it to the State, as *Dionyſius* obſerveth, who diſliketh the practice of ſome of his Country-men the *Gracians*, in killing, or condemning to perpetual baniſhment the ſons of Tyrants themſelves.

64. By the death of *Caſſius* the Patritians were more elevated, and the Commons grieved after they ſaw this, and conſidered how ſerviceable a man to their intereſt, as they fooliſhly thought, they had cut off. They now called hard for the execution of the *Agrarian Law*, but the Senate being reſolved to put it off, cauſed the Conſuls to make proviſion for an Expedition. None would give their names, and the Tribunes interpoſing hindred the Conſuls from puniſhing any; but it being given out that a Dictator would be created, the multitude fearing to fall into the hands of *Appius*, liſted themſelves, and ſo *Cornelius* waſted the Territories of the *Veientines*, as *Fabius* thoſe of the *Æqui*. The year following, being the 270 of the City, when *Nicodemus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, the Patritians procured *Caſo Fabius* one of *Caſſius* his accuſers, and *L. Æmilius*, to be created Conſuls, during whoſe Office all was quiet at home, the *Volſci* renewing the War upon the *Romans*. *Fabius* was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Latines* and *Hernici* whom they had invaded, and *Æmilius* led the other part of the Forces to *Antium*, where he was worſted by the *Volſci*; and being forced to deſert his Camp, had with his whole Army been cut off, but that his Colleague in good time ſent ſome choice Companies to recruit him. For the next year *M. Fabius* brother to *Caſo*, and *L. Valerius* ſon of *Marcus*, who put *Caſſius* to death, being Conſuls, propoſed it to the Senate to fill up the Army at *Antium*. A Decree paſſing for new Levies, the People refuſed to be liſted, calling for the diviſion of the grounds, and one of the Tribunes withſtood the Conſuls. This put them upon this device, to ſit in the *Campus Martius*, where whoſoever was cited and did not appear, they puniſhed him, if he had any Lands, by cutting his trees, and pulling down his houſes; or if he hired grounds, by driving away his Cattel, or other wayes, the Tribune not being able to do them any good, for that the power of his Office was confined within the walls; ſo as it was unlawful for them to lye one night out of the City, except in the *Latine feria*, where all the Magiſtrates for the common ſafety were wont to ſacrifize in the *Albanian* Mount unto *Jupiter*.

The Conſuls evade the interpoſition of the Tribunes.

65. This forced the Commons to ſubmit, and ſo the Conſuls making Levies led out the Legions, *Fabius* to the defence of the aſſociates, and *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*, who ingaging with him in battel, came off on equal terms; and afterwards neither party were forward to fight. It was believed in the City, that the *Roman* Army wilfully neglected an opportunity of victory, out of hatred againſt the Conſul, whom they deſpiſed as a man of no experience, and in revenge againſt the Fathers who had ſo long fruſtrated their hopes about the diviſion of publick grounds. At this time one of the Veſtal Nuns *Opimia* by name, being convicted of incontinencie, was ſhut up within the ground in the Forum, and her corrupters ſcourged and put to death. At the next election of Conſuls there was great contention, the Patricians having a deſire to prefer ſome in whom they could confide, and particularly pitching upon the ſon of *Appius*, a man of the ſame temper with his Father; and the Commons as much labouring the Contrary. When the Conſuls held the Comitia, the Tribunes interpoſed, and when the Tribunes called the People together, the Conſuls would not ſuffer any thing to be done, contending that it belonged to their Office. Both parties being incompaſſed with thoſe of their Factions, railed, and ſometimes came to hand cuffs, ſo that worſe threatning, and the Senate conſulting what was to be done, ſome moved to have a Dictator named, who might firſt correct all diſtempers of late brought in, and then deliver the power to men of approved integrity; but a middle way pleaſed; to create *Interreges* for holding of the Aſſemblies.

Commotions in the City.

The

Sect. 1.

The firſt was *A. Sempronius*, who for his five dayes governing affaires in a peaceable manner, the other Magiſtrates having laid down, created according to the manner *Sp. Largius*. He in the *Centuriata Comitia* made Conſuls with the well liking of both ſides, *C. Julius* a favourite of the Commons, and *Q. Fabius* now the ſecond time elected, a man addicted to the power of the great ones. In their Conſulſhip the *Æqui* and *Veientes* invaded the *Roman* Territories, and did much hurt. Againſt the laſt they were ſent with the Legions, after ſome conteſt with the People (who were hardly drawn in by *Largius*, becauſe the Senate had now deferred the execution of the *Agrarian* Law five years) and harraxing the Country returned home with much ſpoil; neither was any thing elſe of moment done that year.

66. The year following (which was the firſt of the 75 *Olympiad*, wherein *Xerxes* made his Expedition into *Greece*, *Callias* being *Archon* at *Athens*) had for Conſuls *Caſo Fabius* again, and *Sp. Furius*, to whom came meſſengers from the *Latines*, deſiring aſſiſtance againſt the inſolence of the *Æqui*; and all *Hetruria* was reported now to be in arms at the deſire of the *Veientes*. The Conſuls were ordered to aſſiſt the one, and ſuppreſs betimes the other; but when they came to raiſe men, *Icilius* one of the Tribunes interpoſed upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian* Law. The work being hereby hindred, *Appius* adviſed the Senate to ſet one Tribune againſt another, by drawing ever ſome of them unto their ſide, as the onely way to abate the power of that Office now ſo ſacred and inviolable. This courſe both at preſent and afterwards was effectual, and the Conſuls with their Armies departed each one into his Province; *Furius* againſt the *Æqui*, and *Fabius* into *Hetruria*. *Furius* harraxed the Enemies Country, and returned home with great booty. *Fabius*, though an able Warriour, was ſo hated by his men, that when they had in battel routed the Enemy, they refuſed to purſue or do any thing more, but departing againſt his command to their Camp, thence alſo marched home, leſt they ſhould procure him the honour of a Triumph. The following Conſuls *Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Fabius*, again were both ſent to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, where they held the Soldiers in the Camp ſo long, till the Enemy was ready to fall upon it, and for ſhame they deſired to be led forth. *Fabius* taking this opportunity, upbraided them with their diſobedience to the Conſul the laſt year, in that place; and ſhewing them how little cauſe he and his Colleague had to truſt them, having ſufficiently humbled them, led them forth. A greater and longer battel was never fought by the *Romans*, who were thought to be Victors onely, becauſe the *Hetruſcans*, the night following, forſook their tents. *Manlius* was ſlain, and for that cauſe his Colleague refuſed the Triumph, ſaying, it was not right for him to take the Laurel at his funerals. Having disbanded his Army, he laid down his Office two moneths before the time, becauſe his wounds diſabled him for ſervice; and by the ſecond *Interrex* in the Comitia, were declared Conſuls *Caſo Fabius* his brother (who having extraotdinarily deſerved in the late battel, was now honoured with this Office the third time) and *T. Virginius*.

Wars abroad. Dionyſ. l. 9.

67. *Virginius* being ſent into *Hetruria* againſt the *Veientes*, was overpowered by them, and had loſt his whole Army, but that *Fabius* upon the intimation of his extream neceſſity came out of the Country of the *Æqui*, and brought him off. When the *Romans* were retreated, the *Veientes* made excurſions very near the City, to the great loſſe and diſparagement of the State. The Senate found it neceſſary to have a conſtant guard upon the borders; but the Treaſury was low, the tributes of private men were not ſufficient for this new charge, and it ſeemed that none would give their names willingly to ſo conſtant a work. When they were at a ſtand, the whole family of the *Fabii*, by the procurement of the Conſul, voluntarily offered to take both the charge and trouble upon it ſelf onely, which was gratefully accepted. The *Fabii* then under conduct of *Marcus* the laſt year's Conſul, fortified a Caſtle near the River *Cremera*, and not far from *Veii*. Their whole number was at firſt 4000, whereof their Clients and friends made up the greater part, and of ſuch as bore the name of the Family there were 306: afterwards

The family of the *Fabii* ingage againſt the *Veientes*.

SECT. I.

terwards another Company followed, being led by *Caso Fabius* the Consul. Out of this Castle, which they named *Cremera* from the River, they made excursions, and much endamaged the Enemy. This caused the *Veientes* again to implore the aid of all *Hetruria*, which making preparations, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* also had agreed upon an invasion. The Senate hereupon ordered their Armies to be provided; whereof *L. Æmilius* the next year's Consul led one against the *Hetrusci*, with whom joyned *Caso Fabius* as Proconsul. *C. Servilius* the other Consul, marched with another part against the *Volsci*: and *Ser. Furius* with the third against the *Æqui*, having also the power of Proconsul. *Furius* no lesse happily than sodainly finished his work. *Servilius* rashly managing his affaires lost many men, and not daring to adventure all in a battel, drew out the War in length; But *Æmilius* giving battel to the *Veientes* and their Associates, overthrew them, and then storming their Camp, forced them to beg Peace.

68. Having purchased a Truce by the grant of provisions for two moneths to the Consul's Army, and six moneths pay, they had leave to tend to the Senate. The Fathers upon reading of *Æmilius* his letters, who advised them by all means to finish the War, resolved to make Peace, and left the conditions thereof to him. He having a respect rather to equity than the profit of the Conquerours, made a League with them, neither taking from them any grounds, nor any more money, nor receiving any Hostages to secure their obedience, which procured him much evil will, and deprived him of the due honour of a Triumph. They ordered him to assist his Colleague against the *Volsci*; but he complaining grievously of them to the People, and suggesting to the multitude that they were angry, because the War was finished, out of a desire to have the Peoples thoughts diverted from the *Agrarian* Law, disbanded his Army, as also that of *Furius*, and hereby afforded much matter for contention betwixt the Nobility and Commons. The year following, being the first of the *76 Olympiad*, wherein *Scamander* of *Mitylene* was Victor in the course, and *Phædon* Archon at *Athens*, the new Consuls, *C. Horatius*, and *T. Menenius*, found some obstruction in the Levies; the Commons still complaining that the *Agrarian* Law was not executed. But necessity cut off the dispute, eleven several Cities of *Hetruria* having declared against the *Veientes*, for making Peace without publick consent, and forced them to break it. The pretence was, for that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremera*, who sending intelligence to the Senate of this intended breach, it ordered *Menenius* to march into *Hetruria*, as *Horatius* against the *Volsci*. While *Menenius* loitered in his Expedition, *Cremera* was taken, and the *Fabii* all cut off. Some wrote that it was by an Ambush, as they were returning to *Rome*, to sacrifize for the whole family, according to their custome. But others delivered more probably, that being accustomed to make depredations, they were drawn into snares by the *Hetruscans* (who caused herds of Cattel to be driven thither, where they had bestowed a sufficient quantity of men) and being overpowered, were all at length destroyed, though with the great losse of the assaliants, except such as they had left to keep the Cattel. These were so far from being discouraged at what had befallen their fellows, that they also stood it out to the last man, enduring all extremity, and fighting when half dead, with weapons wrested from the hands of their Enemies.

All the adventurers are cut off.

69. A tradition remained to posterity, that 306 of this family being cut off, none remained except one Boy, who for his youth could not serve in the Expedition. *Dionysius* sheweth the vanity hereof, by these reasons. 1. All except one could not be unmaried, or without children, for an ancient Law commanded all at a legitimate age to mary, and provide for Posterity, which being diligently observed till their age, the *Fabii* alone would not contemn: but, 2. Grant this; it is not to be granted, that none of those had a brother of young years. 3. If their Fathers had been so utterly deprived of their Sons, yet certainly all would not have been so old and dry, as to despair of any more issue, and consequently make no provision for it by mariage. 4. And if

Whether only one Boy remained of the family.

A. M. 3528. Ol. 15. an. 4. V. C. 277. Xerxis 9.

SECT. I.

if they had no fathers living, yet would it be a prodigious thing to suppose that none of them left any son as yet an Infant, a Wife with Child, or a young brother. This is true, that of the three brothers, *Caso*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, in the family of whom the Consulship had continued for seven years, *Marcus* onely left a young son, besides whom none of this name afterwards being famous, thence the report might rise that none else was preserved. Concerning the time of this defeat Authors something differ. (a) *Macrobius* maketh the day to have been the 17th of the *Calends* of *Sextilis*; (b) *Plutarch* after the Summer solstice, and about the full Moon in the middle of the moneth *Quintilis*. (c) *Livy* and (d) *Tacitus* on the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *Sextilis*, which suiteth with that of *Plutarch*, and (e) *Ovid* on the *Ides* of *February*.

(a) Lib. 1. c. 16. (b) In Camillo & Problem. (c) Lib. 6. (d) Lib. 18. (e) Fast. 2.

70. The *Veientes* having recovered the Castle, went confidently against the *Roman* Legions, which lay incamped not far of, and as was thought might have relieved the *Fabii*, but that *Menenius* the Consul out of envy would not make use of the opportunity. They took the advantage of his unskilfulnesse, and seized on an Hill near unto him, where placing a Guard, they made sallies upon the Camp, and so straightned it, that they brought him to fight upon very unequal terms, and put his Army to the worst. The *Romans* forsook their Camp, and fled in so tumultuous a manner, that had the *Veientes* not been too greedy of plunder, they might utterly have destroyed them. The day following they invaded the *Roman* Territories, and came as far as the Hill *Janiculus*, two miles from the Citie, whereon they seized, and thence made excursions to the great disgrace of the *Romans*. *Horatius* the other Consul returning from the *Volsci*, overthrew them twice, and gave the people some respit from their fear. The following year two skilfull men in Military matters, *Sp. Servilius* and *A. Virginius*, entred the Consulship after the Summer solstice in the moneth *Sextilis*. Now the *Hetruscan* Warre, though difficult enough, seemed profitable, compared with domestick affairs; for the seizing upon the Mount, and the depredations thence made had hindred Tillage for the last Winter, and no Traffick having been for that time, there was such scarcity of Corn that the Citie was brought into extream want, containing 110000 men of ripe age, as appeared at the next *Census*, besides Women and Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers (for no *Roman* Citizen was allowed to keep a Victualling-house, or to exercise any sordid Trade) thrice as many. The people made great tumults, and were ready to take away violently the provisions of the rich: the *Tribunes* also made great disturbance.

The *Veientes* peirce within two miles of the Citie.

71. The Consuls laboured to satisfie the poorest sort by buying in all they could, and causing such as had Corn to sell it, till their Levies were finished. Then led they out by night against the Enemy, and passing the River before day, unexpectedly fell upon him, and got a bloudy victory; after which the Mount was forsaken by the Garrison, which having no relief sent in, retired to *Veii*. This War being ended, *Menenius* the last year's Consul was called to an account, and condemned in a pecuniary mulct for suffering the *Fabii* to miscarry, whom the people so gratefully esteemed, that they hated all who seemed to have been to blame as to their defeat, and placed the day thereof amongst their *Nefasti*, or unlucky ones, wherein no good work was to be begun. The following year also, when *Servilius* was out of his Office, he was called before the people, for that in the last battel against the *Hetruscans*, he had so unadvisedly pursued the Enemy, as thereby to lose the flowr of his Army; but the man's abilities being considered, and his own defence with that of his Colleague weighed (who desired either to stand or fall with him) he was acquitted. This year and that following, the *Veientes* were so overpowered, having been overthrown in battel together with their associates the *Sabines*, and now closely besieged, begged peace once more, and having with a whole year's pay for the Consuls Army, and money for two moneths provision purchased leave to send to the Senate, obtained a Truce for fourty years. The next year being the first of the 77th *Olympiad*, wherin *Dates* an

Menenius fined for the miscarriage of the *Fabii*.

SECT. I. *Argive* was Victor, and *Chares* Archon, *L. Æmilius Mamercus* the third time, and *Vapiscus Julius* were Conſuls. Their Conſulſhip was very turbulent through the attempts of *Cn. Genutius Tribune* of the People, who required them to divide the grounds formerly Decreed to the people by the Senate. They denied it belonged to them to execute what had been Decreed in the Conſulſhip of others, and alleged that a *Senatus Conſultum* was not of force, but for one year. Becauſe he could not compel his Superiors, he ſet the day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the laſt year's Conſuls, to anſwer before the people, why they did not divide the grounds, pretending ſome reaſons wherefore they ought to be queſtioned more than others, though it was now 12 years ſince the paſſing of the Decree, and alleging, that except the preſent Magiſtrates were quickned by a ſence of puniſhment inflicted upon others, they would never ſet upon the work.

Great ſtirs about the *Agrarian.*

72. The Patritians exceedingly ſtartled at ſo bold and impudent an attempt, reſolved by force of Arms, if fairer means would not prevail, to protect the accuſed, and the Citie might have been in bloud had not *Genutius* died ſuddenly that very morning, no ſign of violence appearing on the body. This allayed the fury of the multitude, and the Sedition might have been quite appeaſed, had the Conſuls born their ſucceſſe with moderation, and conſidered what was fitting for the time. But making new Levies, they would force one *P. Volero*, who had before-time been an Officer, to go in the preſent expedition as a Common Soldier, and when he alleged that he ought not to be compelled ſo to ſerve, for that he had not deſerved it by any offence, they commanded him to be ſtrip't and beaten. He flying to the aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes* appealed to the People, wherewith they not being at all moved, he became a *Tribune* to himſelf, with blows repelling one or two Lictors: and when the Conſuls ſent all their Officers to take him, ſuch *Plebeians* as ſtood by calling one upon another reſcued him from their hands. This diverted mens minds from thoughts of Land, and raiſed a zeal for priviledge and liberty; the Patritians complaining that the Chief Magiſtrates ſhould be ſo contemned, and the *Plebeians* alleging it was a great breach upon their right for a *Roman* Citizen not to be heard when he appealed to the people, but ſcourged like a Slave: and they demanded Juſtice of the Senate againſt the Conſuls; with theſe ſtirs, without any other thing of moment, was their Conſulſhip paſſed over. For the following year *Volero* an impudent fellow, obtained, though a man of meaneſt condition, to be *Tribune*, having made himſelf popular by reſiſting that Office, which was once equal to the Kingly, and promiſing that he would clip the power of the great ones. He propoſed a Law for holding the Aſſemblies of *Tribes* at the Election of *Tribunes*, inſtead of the other of the *Curiæ*: betwixt which there was this difference. In the *Curiata Comitia* were ſuch things treated on, and confirmed by the ſuffrages of the *Curiæ*, as the Senate had firſt Decreed, and that with the *auſpicia*; for except the birds predicted good, the *Comitia* were null and fruſtrate. But the *Tributa Comitia* were managed without any conſulting of the Senate, without the ſuperſtitious obſervation of birds (called *Auſpicia*, and obſerved at the Election alſo of Patritian Magiſtrates) and all things were determined by the ſuffrages of the *Tribes* gathered apart.

A Law propoſed for Creation of *Tribunes* in the Aſſembly of Tribes.

73. When the day for determination of the queſtion was come, great endeavours were uſed on both ſides; the whole time conſumed in ſpeeches, for, and againſt the Law. The *Tribunes* then put it off till the *Trinundinum*, againſt which time the Patritians improving all their intereſt, *Volero* reſolved by force to keep them from the *Comitia*, and the Conſuls from diſwading the thing, becauſe they carried it mighty highly, and with their friends, and Clients, took up a great part of the Forum. He was prevented by a grievous plague, which like a Torrent carried away multitudes, ſo as his year being out before he could accompliſh his deſign, by his great promiſes he obtained to be *Tribune* again, as alſo his two Collegues who ſided with him in this enterprize. The Fathers to ballance him procured to be made Conſul *Appius Claudius*, the ſon of *Appius*, abſent, againſt his will, and to their own prejudice. His Collegue was *T. Q. Quintius Capitolinus*, of a contrary diſpoſition.

Appius and *Quintius* Conſuls.

Appius was all for Wars, that by expeditions the multitude might be diverted from Seditious attempts, the effects of idleneſſe; and *Quintius* contended that cauſes were not to be ſought for, leſt the ordinary ſort being forced to unneceſſary War, ſhould break out into rage, and trample Magiſtracy under their feet; and the Government being his, ſaith *Dionyſius*, this moneth, he prevailed. But *Volero* renewed his endeavour for the Law, and thereto added, that the *Ædiles* ſhould be Elected by the *Tributa Comitia*, as alſo whatſoever ſhould concern the Commons, might be tranſacted, and paſſed in them; which tended to no other than to tranſfer the power from the Senate to the people. *Appius* now earneſtly preſſed to make Levies, and undertake ſome expedition; but *Quintius* prevailed that they ſhould rather go about to diſſwade the people by reaſons, than to compell them by force.

SECT. I.

74. *Quintius* to this purpoſe made a ſeaſonable ſpeech in the Aſſembly, and ſo far prevailed, that the Law as unjuſt had been laid aſide, but that his Collegue uſed, though juſt and true, yet unſeaſonable words, ſpeaking to the Commons, not as free Citizens, who had an hand in making, and abrogating Laws, but as a rabble of baſe perſons. He upbraided them with unthriftineſſe, defrauding of their Creditors, revolting from the Conſuls, and voluntary Exile; as alſo perjury, and turning of the Weapons taken up in defence of their Countrey, into its bowels. He ſaid, it was no wonder that ſuch as they were ſhould proceed thus from one wicked act to another, inſtancing in their Seditious attempts for the gaining of the juſt power of the Patritians. Having ſpared no contumelious, or afronting language, he came to that which gave moſt offence: that the State would never be at reſt ſo long as the Tribunicial power remained; for as much as it was impoſſible that what took its Original from violence, iniquity, ſedition, fear of a Civil War, and other abominable things, could produce any profitable effects. He concluded with an aſſeveration, that as long as he was Conſul, he would neither ſuffer this, nor any other Law to paſſe without approbation of the Senate, and this he would ſtand by both with Words and Deeds alſo if need ſhould require; ſo that, if never before, they ſhould learn in his Office, of what force was the Conſulſhip. Then ſtood up *C. Lictorius*, the principal man amongſt the *Tribunes*, and in anſwer to his accuſations related what labours the Commons had ſuſtained before, and ſince the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*; how, for all this pain and danger, they were not made partakers of any thing which they had obtained by their bloud, till forced to ſeparate from the Patricians. That then they got this Office of Tribuneſhip, as a protection for the poor, with other Laws afterwards, as of judging the Patritians, and tranſlating the ſuffrages from the *Centuriata* to the *Curiata Comitia*, all which he accounted nothing. Then reproving *Appius* ſharply, he told him he would ſhew him of what force that Office was upon which he had trampled, and of the people called by him forbid, and without Houſe or Harbour. Having ſpoken this, he ſwore moſt ſolemnly that he would, and not live except the Law paſſed, and commanding ſilence, when all men expected earneſtly what he would do, he ſawcily required *Appius* to depart the Aſſembly.

Appius ſpoileth all.

Is commanded to depart the Aſſembly,

75. *Appius* not obeying, but incircling himſelf with a Company he had brought for that purpoſe, having made ſilence to be proclaimed by a Crier, he declared *that the College of Tribunes commanded the Conſul to be carried to priſon*, and therewith ſent an Officer to apprehend him. He was beaten back by the Lictors, whereat *Lictorius* himſelf exhorting the multitude to ſtick to him, went to lay hands on him. *Appius* being defended with a company of ſtout young men, a great and unſeemly Conteſt followed with railings and thruſtings to and fro: and at length it came to blows, and throwing of ſtones. The Conſul *Quintius* by his intreaties throwing himſelf into the middle, and the more grave Senators, hindred the tumult from proceeding to a further inconvenience, which was ended ſhortly after by the night.

And to be ſent to priſon.

Is defended.

SECT. I.

The People seize on the Capitol.

Several dayes were spent with mutual recriminations; but at length the Tribunes and People seized on the Capitol, and there kept watch night and day. The Senators very solicitous what to do, both in respect of the danger, and the difference betwixt the Consuls; for *Quintius* thought the Commons desiring no unjust thing, were to be gratified; but *Appius* would rather die than yield. *Quintius* taking great pains, at length procured the Tribunes to refer the Law to the discretion of the Senate, which after a long dissuasion

The Law passeth.

of *Appius*, and perswasion of the Tribunes, permitted it to be put to the question of the *Comitia*, wherein the Commons readily passed it. After this, the Consuls were sent out with the Armies; *Quintius* against the *Æqui*, whose Territories he wasted, and returned with honour, which his Soldiers were careful to purchase for him; but *Appius* going against the *Volsci*, bore himself so austerely towards his men, that they would not obey him, but out of hatred, and to procure him an ignominious retreat, when they came to fight, retired to their

Appius his Soldiers refuse to fight.

Camp without striking a stroak, and no more could he draw them forth against the Enemy, so that he was constrained to depart homewards, and in his way put to death such Centurions and Ensignes, as had been faulty, with every tenth man in the Army. Some were beheaded, and some knocked on the head with clubs: this decimation being an usual punishment amongst the *Romans*, of such as had forsaken or lost their Colours.

76. The following Consuls *Q. Valerius* again, and *Tib. Æmilius*, being both well affected towards the Commons (the former out of envy to the Patritians, for that they had denied his Father a Triumph, and the later because he would reconcile himself to the multitude, offended by him for accusing *Cassius* the Author of the *Agrarian* Law, when he was *Quæstor*) promised the Tribunes to promote in the Senate the division of publick grounds. The Tribunes in confidence of their assistance, came into the Senate, and spake very mildly in favour of the Law, which the Consuls would not contradict, lest they should seem to seek after contention, but asked the ancienter Senators their opinions. *L. Valerius* Father to the Consul, pressed the division of Lands; but *Appius* so severely and plainly withstood it by several invincible reasons, that he caried it against the other, for which the Tribunes

He crosseth the *Agrarian*, for which he is called to answer for his life.

set him a day to answer before the People for his life. The crimes were: That he gave ill advice against the Commons, raised Sedition, laid violent hands forsooth on the Sacrosanct body of the Tribune, and being General of an Army had received a defeat, and returned with ignominie. The Patritians exceedingly concerned, left nothing unattempted to save him, and desired him, that giving way to the time, he would take the habit agreeable to his condition; but he flatly refused to do any thing poorly, or unworthy of his Ancestors, adding, that he would die a thousand deaths rather than touch the knees of any, as was the custome of Suppliants. He forbad his friends to supplicate for him, saying, his shame would be doubled, if he saw any do that in his behalf, which he himself disdained to do. Giving out many such like speeches, he neither changed apparrel, nor his countenance, nor remitted any thing of his antient magnanimity, and when he saw the whole

Before the Trial he killeth himself.

City earnestly intent upon his tryal, a few dayes before the appointed time he killed himself. His friends gave out that he died of a natural death, and the body being brought forth into the Forum, his Son was there ready, and asked leave of the Consuls to commend him in a funeral Oration, according to the custome. The Tribunes commanded the body to be taken away without any ceremony; but the People were thereat displeased, and suffered the young man to perform this last and usual Office of honour to his deceased Father.

77. For this and the two following years the *Romans* fought successively against the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volsci*. From the later was taken *Antium*, being surrendred to *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the Consul, who placed therein a Garrison. In the following year, wherein were Consuls *Tib. Æmilius* again, and *Q. Fabius* (son to one of the three brothers, that with their Friends and Clients died at *Cremera*) the Tribunes made new stirs about the *Agrarian*,

SEC.

Agrarian, and *Æmilius* furthering the businesse, the Senate to gratifie the multitude, decreed that some part of the Lands lately taken from the *Volsci* and *Antiates*, should be divided. Yet not many would give their names, being unwilling to forsake their native Country, so that the Colony was made up out of the *Latines* and *Hernici*. The Consuls marched, *Æmilius* against the *Volsci*, and *Fabius* against the *Æqui*; both had successe; the later forcing the *Æqui* to beg Peace, the conditions whereof were left to him by the Senate. But the *Æqui* receiving the Fugitives of *Antium*, suffered them to make excursions into the Territories of the *Latines*, and refused to give them up, whereupon succeeded another War, though the *Romans* obtained a bloody Victory, in the third year after the making of the Peace. In the next Consulship which was executed by *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius Priscus*, fell a more grievous plague upon the City than ever before hapned. It first consumed almost all Cattel, and from the Country came

A most grievous Plague.

into the City, wherein it swept away an innumerable company of slaves, and a fourth part of the Senators, and amongst these the Consuls, with most of the Tribunes. *Livie* writeth, that the *Ædiles* supplied the place of Consuls. The disease began about the *Calends* of *September*, and continued that whole year, sparing no Sexe or Age.

78. When this was known by the neighbour Nations, the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, supposing the time of destroying the *Roman* Empire to be come, provided all things for a Siege, and to divert the *Romans* invaded the *Latines* and *Hernici* their associates. These sending to *Rome* for aid, *Eubutius* was already dead, and *Servilius* as yet alive, in small hope assembled the Senators, who were brought half dead in their Litters to the Court. They gave them liberty to defend themselves, which doing, when the Enemies had wasted their grounds at their pleasures, they marched for *Rome*, but contrary to their expectations, they found it sufficiently guarded, though with sick and feeble men. When the next Consuls were created, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius Geminus*, the Pestilence ceased; and all things being quiet at home (for the Tribunes making adoe according to the custome about the *Agrarian*, were commanded by the People to desist, and expect better times) they invaded those who had taken advantage at the publick calamity. They had good successe abroad, and better near home, when the *Æqui* in their absence came and thought to have surprized the City. For understanding the walls to be furnished with armed men, and four cohorts of 600 apiece to stand before the gates, they altered their course when they came to *Tusculum*; but *Lucretius* met and gave them battel, which they were hasty to imbrace before the coming of his Colleague. For a time they fought couragiously; but seeing a band of men behind them, which came from a certain Castle, they thought it had been the other Consul, and fearing to be inclosed ran away, having lost both their Captains, and many other valiant men. Afterwards without any let, the Consuls wasted the Territories both of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, and returned home at the time of the *Comitia*: *Lucretius* in full triumph, and *Veturius* in the other called *Ovation*, by decree of the Senate, *with the like pomp in all things, except that he entred on foot, and not in a Chariot*; which words conclude the ninth Book of *Dionysius* his *Roman* Antiquities.

War with the *Æqui* and *Volsci*.

79. For the year following (which was the first of the 80 *Olympiad*, wherein *Torymbas* the *Thessalian* was Victor, and *Phrasicles* Archon) *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus* were created Consuls, who having nothing to do abroad, imployed themselves at home in defending the power of the Patritians against the Commons, now much instigated against it by their Tribunes. They were come so far, as to assert, that it was most agreeable with the constitution of a free State, for the Citizens to have equal power in Government. The People now would have all things done by the prescript of Laws, whereof as yet there were none written, the Kings having judged according to their own discretion, and the Consuls by certain presidents of those Princes formerly in power. The least part was recorded in the

Dionys. l. 10.

Fresh stirs about new Laws.

A. M. 3545. *Ol.* 80. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 294. *Artax. Longim.* 5.

Books

SECT. I. Books of the *Pontifies*, which none could come at except the *Patritians*. *C. Terentius*, or *Terentillus Arſa* according to *Livie*, Tribune of the Commons the foregoing year, had endeavoured to circumſcribe within certain limits the power of the Conſulſhip; but left the matter unfiniſhed, becauſe the greater part of Citizens were imployed in the War; the Conſuls on ſet purpoſe drawing it out in length, till the Comitia. Now the whole College of Tribunes renewed the attempt by the procurement of *A. Virginius* one of the number; the whole City being divided about it. Much contention there was in the Senate, betwixt the Tribunes and the contrary Faction; but at length, not doing any good in that place, they called the People together, and propoſed a Law, that ten men might be choſen in Lawful Aſſembly, ſuch as were moſt eminent for age, prudence, and dignity, and who eſpecially reſpected their repute, and honour: that theſe men ſhould publiſh Laws both concerning private and publick buſineſſe, by which right ſhould be preſcribed, both to private perſons and Annual Magiſtrates. The Queſtion they put off till the *Trinundinum*, giving any one leave to ſpeak freely, either for or againſt it.

80. The Patritians extraordinarily moved, that the Senate's authority in this matter was utterly neglected, both by fair and foul means laboured to hinder the debate; caſting the meaneſt ſort like Slaves out of the Forum, who minded their private commodity more than the publick Peace. Amongſt thoſe ſticklers *Caſo Quintius* the ſon of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, was principal, one of great Nobility, beautiful in perſon, and very ſtout and expert in War. Him the Tribunes reſolved to make an example to all young men, and called him to anſwer for his life before the People. He refuſed to anſwer, except at the Tribunal of the Conſuls; but his Father earneſtly intreated for him, recounting the ſeveral eminent ſervices he had done for the State, and imputing this miſcariage to his youth, and indiſcretion. The multitude plainly declared by ſigns, that they were ready to gratifie him, which when *Virginius* perceived, knowing, that if *Caſo* eſcaped without puniſhment, the inſolence of the young Patritians would be intolerable, he procured *M. Volſcius*, one of his Colleagues, to tell feigned a ſtory, how in the time of the Plague he and his brother returning from a friends houſe in the night, were ſet upon by *Caſo* and his drunken Companions in the Forum, who killed his brother outright, and left *Volſcius* himſelf half dead. He added, that both the Conſuls dying of the Plague, he could have no ſatisfaction, and in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip, whenſoever he cited *Caſo* before the Magiſtrates (as ſeveral could bear witneſſe) he received nothing blows. This ſo inraged the multitude, that they had torn him in pieces, but that the Conſuls and ſome of the Tribunes kept them off. His tryal then was deferred, not without a great controverſie, whether he ſhould lye in priſon, or be our upon bail, the latter whereof at length was accepted by the interpoſition of the Senate, and he fled into *Hetruria*, leaving his ten ſureties to pay the money, which was exacted of them by the Tribunes, who alſo condemned him. His Father ſold the greateſt part of his eſtate to reinburſe the ſureties, and content with a ſmall quantity of ground beyond *Tiber*, and a little cottage, ſuſtained himſelf very laborioufly by the help of a few ſlaves; for grief and poverty abſtaining from the City and his Friends, and neglecting to divert himſelf with publick ſolaces.

Caſo Quintius called to an account.

Flieth and is condemned.

81. The Tribunes were much croſſed in their expectations. For the calamity of *Caſo* was ſo far from moderating the inſolency of the young Patritians, that they grew much higher, oppoſing the Queſtion both by words and deeds; ſo as in this Conſulſhip the Law could not be preferred. For the following year *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus*, were created Conſuls; and the Commons made the ſame Tribunes as the year before, who perceiving the Law was not by perſwaſion to be enacted, fought to terrifie both People and Conſuls. They cauſed various rumours to be ſpread, that Enemies had hatched a great conſpiracy againſt the Commons, then coming into the Senate, there affirmed it, pretending they had letters from ſome

A plot of the Tribunes.

ſome friends to aſſure them of it. They ſaid certain Senators were in the plot, but that the greateſt part conſiſted of the order of the *Equites*, which it was not ſeaſonable then to name; but they had deſigned in Conjunction with *Caſo Quintius* the Exile, to murder the *Tribunes* with others by night, and then at their leaſure to reſcind whatever had been granted by the Senate unto the Commons: In concluſion they deſired the inquiſition of ſo grievous a deſign might be committed unto themſelves. The Senate being very ſollicitous, *Claudius* the Conſul (who was fully perſwaded that what the *Tribunes* went about was the onely conſpiracy) by ripping up their deſigns concerning the *Agragrian* Law, and the bad ſucceſſe of their endeavours which put them upon this exploit, fully convinced the Fathers how the matter ſtood, eſpecially when they would neither name their friends from whom the Letter came, nor the Meſſenger: and though the *Tribunes* highly complained of him, and the Senate, unto the People, yet the moſt ſober amongſt the Commons were ſatisfied with his reaſons. Whileſt the heat of this contention remained, the Citie fell into ſuch danger from outward Enemies as never before, which, ſaith *Dionyſius*, had been foretold by *Sibyll*'s books that it would ariſe out of inteſtine diviſion, and was likewiſe ſignified by the prodigies of the foregoing year, when beſides ſtrange ſights and noiſes, it rained pieces of fleſh, of which ſome were devoured by all ſorts of birds before they fell to the ground, and the reſt continued long upon the earth, without either change of colour or ſmell.

SECT. I.

Diſcovered by the Conſul.

Ap. Herdonius ſeizeth on the Capitol.

82. *Ap. Herdonius* a *Sabine* with 4000 men ſeized upon the *Capitol*, and called the Slaves to their liberty. At this time of extream of danger, the *Tribunes* made what diſturbance they could, inſtigating the multitude not to fight againſt the Enemy, except the Patritians would ingage by Oath to Create ten men for the making of Laws, and ſuffer the Commons to live with them upon equal terms of privilege. *Claudius* would have wholely omitted them, and carried on the War by the Patritians, and their Clients onely; but *Valerius* thought it neceſſary to have a cloſure in the body before it ſhould go about to defend it ſelf from outward attempts, and therefore promiſed with an Oath, that if the people would chearfully carry on that War, as ſoon as peace was reſtored, he would permit the *Tribunes* to put the queſtion, and indeavour to ſatisfie the deſire of the Commons. *Claudius* then being appointed to look to the Citie, *Valerius* on all ſides ſet upon the the Capitol, which was taken by ſtorm, though he loſt his life, having omitted neither the part of an able General nor valiant Soldier; For though he had received many wounds, yet he gave not over, till climbing the Walls a great ſtone was tumbled down upon him, which took away his life. The War being ended, the *Tribunes* required of *Claudius* to make good the promiſe of his Collegue; but he deferred the matter by ſeveral pretences, and at length alleged he could do nothing of himſelf. He appointed then the *Comitia* for Creation of a new Conſul into the room of *Valerius*. The Patritians were very ſollicitous to get ſome choſen that would defend their intereſt, and reſolved upon *L. Quintius* Father to *Caſo*, lately baniſhed, who at the day appointed was choſen by all the Centuries of the firſt Claſſis, as well *Equites* as the other, ſo that the reſt of the Claſſes were not called. They that were ſent to fetch *Quintius* into the Citie, found him at Plow without as much as a Coat about him, onely in his Truſſe, and a Cap on his head. Seeing the company make towards him, he wondred what it meant, but being told by a Viator that run before, he put on other apparel, and in a ſeemlier habit preſented himſelf. Being ſaluted not by his own name, but by that of *Conſul*, inveſted with Purple, honoured by the Faſces, and other Enſigns of Magiſtracy, he was deſired to begin his journey, whereat pauſing a little he anſwered with tears: *Then for this year this little field ſhall be unſown, and we ſhall be in danger of want.* After this, taking leave of his Wife, and commending his houſhold affairs to her care, he departed for the Citie.

Which is retaken.

Quintius made Conſul.

83. *Quintius* reſtrained the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law, by denouncing, that except they were quiet, he would lead out all the Citizens againſt

SECT. I.

against the *Volſci*. When they ſaid they would not permit him to make Levies, he called the people, and put the younger ſort in mind of their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to the Conſuls to follow whitherſoever he would lead them, and not be wanting to the Majeſty of the *Roman* people. He affirmed they were all obnoxious to him by this Oath now he was Conſul, and ſware he would animadvert upon Offendors according to the Laws. Herewith he commanded the Standards to be moved out of the *Ærarium*, and told them that to make them know they ſhould have no leaſure for Tribunitial actions in his Conſulſhip, he let them underſtand, he would not return out of the Enemie's Countrey till his Office was at an end, and bade them prepare for wintring in the Camp. The multitude terrified hereat, deſired him to forbear this rigour, and he did it upon this condition, that they would not moleſt him for his whole time, but ſuffer him to ſpend it in adminiſtring Juſtice. He behaved himſelf with ſuch prudence, Juſtice, painfulneſſe, and courteſie, that the Commons thought they ſtood not in need now of any new Laws, and the Senate was deſirous to have him Conſul for the following year, to oppoſe him to the *Tribunes*, who executed that Office now the third time. But as he approved it not in them, ſo he himſelf would not commit the ſame fault as he counted it, and in the Aſſembly ſpeaking much againſt ſuch as would not quit their Office when their time was finiſhed, ſwore moſt religiouſly, that he would not accept the Conſulſhip till he had laid down his preſent charge. Having finiſhed a new Election, he betook himſelf to his little Cottage, and his former laborious courſe of life.

His carriage in his Office.

84. The year following, the *Æqui* ſurprized *Tuſculum*, which action cauſed a War betwixt them and *Rome*, wherein they were worſted, together with their friends the *Volſci*, and forced to beg peace. But in the next Conſulſhip they were drawn again to revolt, and making War upon the *Latines*, by *Gracchus Cluelius* their Captain, an induſtrious man, who had improved the power granted him by his Countrey almoſt to regality. He drew the *Roman* Army into ſo diſadvantagious a place, that it was thought convenient to make a Dictator, which was *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*. The Meſſengers found him newly dreſſed; for when he eſpied the company, ſuſpecting they came to him, he left the Countrey-work he was in hand with, and put on his better Clothes. Seeing himſelf made Dictator, by the trapped Horſes, the 24 Axes, the Purple, and other royal Enſigns, he was ſo far from being delighted with this honour, that he ſaid with indignation: *This year's Crop will alſo be loſt by reaſon of mine imployment, and my family muſt be famiſhed.* When he came to the Citie he incouraged the people, and named Maſter of Horſ-men, *L. Tarquinius*, a man of no great eſteem by reaſon of his poverty, but a good Soldier: Having gathered together the Forces, he gave *Cluelius* battel, and beat him into his Camp, which having beſieged ſome time, he forced the *Æqui* to give him up, with other incendiaries, to be puniſhed with death according to their deſerts, as alſo to paſſe under the Jugum (two Spears ſet in the ground, and a third laid over upon them in form of a pair of Gallows) in token of ſervitude; and becauſe they had the year following without any provocation plundred *Tuſculum*, to ſuffer him to deal in the like manner with *Corbio*. The choiceſt part of the plunder he cauſed to be carried to *Rome*; the reſt he gave to his own Soldiers, and thoſe of *T. Quintius* the *Quæſtor*, ſaying, that the other of *Minutius* the Conſul; who had been beſieged by the Enemy, ought to be content that they fell not as a prey into his hands. Having cauſed *Minutius* to lay down his Office, he returned to the Citie with a more illuſtrious Triumph than any Captain before him, (the General of the *Æqui*, and other Eminent priſoners in Chains preceding his Chariot) having overthrown a ſtrong Army, and plundred, and fortified a Citie of the Enemy within ſeventeen dayes after his Creation. That abſolute power which he might have kept for ſix moneths he preſently reſigned, having firſt given an account of his adminiſtration. And when the Senate and his private friends would have enriched him with publick Ground, Plunder, and Contributions, he utterly refuſed it, and betaking himſelf again to his

Dionyſius ut ſupra Livius lib. 3.

He is made Dictator.

He overthroweth the *Æqui*.

SECT. I.

his ſmall Cottage, preferred a laborious life before Kingly power, for that he pleaſed himſelf more in his poverty, than others in the abundance of their wealth.

85. The year following, the *Sabines*, whoſe grounds the other Conſul *Nautius* had waſted, as alſo the *Æqui*, were in Arms, having retaken *Corbio*, againſt whom when Levies came to be made, the *Tribunes* again withſtood them, being all new Created the fourth time. Hereupon the Fathers with weeping eyes ſignified to the People, that being forſaken by them, who hitherto had ſtiled themſelves their Children, they would go forth and fight againſt the Enemy in their own perſons, wherewith the multitude being ſore moved, and *Virginius* ſeeing that do he what he could they would give their names, he averred it to be the reſolution of the Commons to live and die with them; onely they deſired ſome reward for all their pains and danger, which was, that they might live in equal freedom. If this could not be granted, they waved it, and deſired another thing, which he was ſure would not intrench upon the Senate's privileges. The Conſul affirming the thing ſhould be propoſed if they would but refer it to the Senate, he deſired that the number of the *Tribunes* might be increaſed unto 10. The Senate debating the matter, *C. Claudius*, the ſon of *Appius* the Elder, ſpake againſt it, alleging, that the Commons would never be ſatisfied; but *Quintius*, who now bore the greateſt ſway, commended the opinion of *Appius*, that the * onely way to croſſe the deſign of the *Tribunes* was to ſet them one againſt another; and if ſo, it would make more for the intereſt of the Senate to have their number increaſed. Accordingly a *Senatus Conſulum* was drawn, that it ſhould be lawfull for the Commons to increaſe their College of *Tribunes* to the number of 10. and it was preſently confirmed by the People. After this the Sedition being appeaſed, the Conſuls levied Forces, and managed the War ſucceſsfully againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

* *Vide ſupra Parag.* 66.

The number of *Tribunes* increaſed to 10.

86. The enſuing year, being the ſecond of the 81 *Olympiad*, and the year of the Citie according to *Cato*, as the 298 after the account of *Varro*, had for Conſuls *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, who having nothing to do abroad, had too much employment in the Citie. Before this time, the *Tribunes* onely reigned in the Aſſemblies, neither taking upon them to call together the Senate, nor give their voices therein. But now they ventured to aſſemble the Fathers, by the procurement of *Icilius* principal of the College, an induſtrious, and eloquent man, who preſumed to make a further innovation in the State, requiring the *Aventine* Mount for the People to build upon, which being a mile and an half in circuit, was not as yet fully inhabited, but publick, and full of wood. The *Tribune* moving the Conſuls to procure a Decree of the Senate for his new project, and they deferring the matter, an Apparitor was ſent from the College to cite the Conſuls before it. He applying himſelf to one of their Lictors, was beaten, and ſent back, which ſo inraged the *Tribunes*, that apprehending the Lictor, they led him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Conſuls, though much troubled, not being able to reſcue him; for that none could hinder the execution of what the whole College reſolved; all they could do was to deſire ſome of the *Tribunes* themſelves to interpoſe. But this could not be effected, they having reſolved at the beginning not to diſſent from one another, that thereby they might preſerve their Authority inviolable. As concerning the Lictor, then they anſwered they were reſolved, yet they put not the man to death, giving his life to the intreaties of the graver ſort of Patritians, leſt that order ſhould be driven by juſt indignation to attempt ſomething extraordinary. Having then aſſembled the Senate, the Conſuls ſharply reprehended them, but *Icilius* excuſed what had been done to the Lictor, by the ſacred Laws, which forbade all, both publick and private, to croſſe a *Tribune*. By a premeditated Oration he endeavoured to ſhew, that he had not unjuſtly aſſembled the Senate, and when he had ſeemed ſufficiently to have anſwered the charge of the Conſuls, he mentioned the Law: That *what private men were poſſeſſed of, and was juſtly gotten, ſhould remain unto them; what ground by force, or fraud, was already furniſhed with*

A. M. 3350. *Ol.* 81. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 280. *Ant. Longim.* 10.

Their incroachments.

A Law for diviſion of certain grounds.

SECT. I.

with buildings, the expence of building be[illegible] considered by arbitration, ſhould be recovered to the uſe of the People, and what was yet publick be divided amongſt them. He ſhewed that this Law would be exceedingly profitable for the ſuppreſſion of all Agrarian Seditions, foraſmuch as the Commons would be ſatisfied with poſſeſſions at home. No man diſſenting, except *C. Claudius*, a Decree of the Senate paſſed for it accordingly.

87. The remainder of the year was ſpent in building. For the next were created Conſuls *T. Romulus* and *C. Veturius*; *Icilius* and his Colleague being continued in their Office: The civil diſſentions ſuppoſed to be removed by the late Law, were again revived, and the forein Enemies of the Commonwealth were in Arms, to the greater profit than diſcommodity of it. For ſuch a viciſſitude now there was, that Peace brought Sedition, and Warre procured Concord, which the chief Magiſtrates apprehending, wiſhed for nothing more than external motions, and when there was Peace abroad, ſought occaſion for War; as underſtanding the growth of the Citie's proſperity to be procured thereby. The preſent Conſuls were of this mind, being jealous of the beggerly and idle multitude. And their opinion was right, that they were to be diverted; but there they failed, that wheras in ſo ill a craſis of the State, they ought to have proceeded gently, they admitted the excuſe of none who deſired exemption from the War, but ſeverely inflicted penalties upon all; which gave occaſion to the Tribunes to make diſturbance, crying out, that they violated the privilege of their Office, by impriſoning ſuch as appealed to it. From mutual revilings ſometimes it came to blows, both parties being berounded with thoſe of their faction, and the People not fully complying with the Tribunes in their demands, they went into the Senate, where they required, that the Conſuls might either lay down their Offices, or anſwer their crime againſt the Sacroſanct Tribunitial power before the People. The Senate determined nothing, ſeeing it dangerous to diminiſh the power either of the Conſuls or Tribunes, at which the later much diſcontented, returned to the multitude. Some were for departing again from the Patritians; others more moderate, would expect the courſe of Law againſt thoſe who had violated ſo ſacred an Office; and a third (the moſt ſober party) diſliked this as well as the other, for that the Conſuls were the Supreme Magiſtrates; and thought it meeter to puniſh their abettors. If the Tribunes had not at length reſtrained their anger againſt Senate and Conſuls, the City that day had deſtroyed it ſelf, ſo intent were both parties upon Arms and War. But they ſet the Conſuls a day to anſwer before the People, and then were prevailed with to let the matter fall, telling the Commons, that they remitted what concerned themſelves for their ſakes whom they ought not to deny it, but would revenge the injury done to the whole, to prevent an ill example.

Diſſentions renewed.

88. This was by promulgating the *Agrarian* Law, which hitherto had layn dormant for thirty years, to which another was added of *equal right*, which the former year could not be paſſed. Having with an oath promiſed to prefer theſe Laws, they appointed a day for the Comitia, wherein having firſt themſelves ſpoken largely, ſeveral others related what good ſervice they had done for the Commonwealth, and laboured to ſhew how unworthy a thing it was for them to be defrauded of thoſe grounds, which by their labour and danger they had gained, and admitted to no part of reward. The multitude gladly hearing ſuch diſcourſes, none more affected mens minds than *L. Siccius Dentatus*, a man of admirable ſhape, 58 years old, and furniſhed with military eloquence, for a ſeditious attempt. He told them, he had ſerved his Country in the Wars forty years, and been an Officer thirty; ſometimes a Centurion, afterwards a Tribune. He was raiſed to that honour by *Sicinus* the Conſul, for defending the Enſign of his Cohort, when the Centurion was ſlain, for which he was alſo adorned by his fellow Soldiers with a golden crown. In another battel, wherein the Tribune of the Camp was ſtruck to the ground, and the Eagle (or Scandard) taken, fighting for the whole Legion, he recovered it and ſaved him, for which the Tribune

The *Agrarian* Law after 30 years with another of equal right publiſhed.

SECT. I.

Tribune would have given him his place, but he refuſed it, and the Conſul made him Tribune of the firſt Legion, which Office was then void. Having thus purchaſed himſelf honour; to maintain his credit he ſpared no labour, nor refuſed any danger, being ever rewarded by the Conſuls with ſpoils, crowns, and other rewards and honours.

89. In ſhort; during thoſe forty years, he had fought 120 battels, received 45 wounds, all before and none behind, whereof twelve that day wherein he fought againſt *Herdonius*, who ſeized upon the Capitol. As for rewards after the ſeveral battels, he had obtained fourteen *Civick Crowns* (which ſaith *Gellius*, were beſtowed upon him who had preſerved the life of a Citizen, and were made of Oake, becauſe the moſt antient meat was thought to be the fruit of that tree;) three *Murals* (which were given by the General unto him who firſt mounted the walls, and entred a Town, being adorned with an image of the batlements) and eight *Golden Crown*; beſides 83 *Golden Chains*, 60 *Golden Bracelets*, 18 *pure Spears*, which were Spears having no iron at the ends of them, being alſo called *Haſtæ donatiæ*, and *Haſtæ gramineæ*, and 23 *Horſe trappings*, whereof nine were for killing Enemies that he had challenged to ſingle Combats. To this relation of *Dionyſius*, *Gellius* addeth a Crown, called *Obſidionalis* (which was given to one who had freed the preſenter from a Siege) and increaſeth the number of *Bracelets* to above 160; that of *Spears* to 22, and the other of *Horſe trappings* to 25. He calleth him *L. Siccinus Dentatus*, and writeth, that for his incredible atchievements, he had the appellation of *Achilles Romanus*.

The atchievements of *Siccius Dentatus*.

Lib. 5. c. 6.

Lib. 2. c. 11.

90. *Siccius* proceeded, ſaying, that though he had fought ſo many years, ſerved in ſo many Expeditions, received ſo many Wounds, and helped to gain ſuch large Territories for the *Roman* People, yet neither he, nor his fellow-ſoldiers partakers with him in the ſame dangers, had received any portion of thoſe Lands, being poſſeſſed by others, who could neither ſhew title nor merit for them. After this, he accuſed the Patritians of having put *Caſſius* to death, for no other cauſe than favouring the Commons, as alſo of privily murdering *Genutius* the Tribune, eleven years after, which had terrified others ſince from ſuch attempts as his were. He mentioned the affronts lately made to the Tribunes, and concluded with an exhortation to the multitude, to free themſelves from this Tyranny of the great ones, by paſſing the Law without giving heed to the diſſwaſions of any. The Aſſembly was ſo moved by his words, that they ſeemed impatient of any thing to be ſaid againſt it; but *Icilius* riſing up, after he had excolled the worth of the man, ſaid, it was neither juſt, nor agreeable with the cuſtome of the City, to hinder any one from ſpeaking againſt the Law, eſpecially ſuch an one as aſſerted right, and oppoſed violence. He adjourned then the Comitia till the next day, when he comanded all to be preſent, who would ſpeak any thing againſt it. The Patritians meeting at the Conſul's houſe in the evening, reſolved, if they could not with words, by deeds to hinder the paſſing of the Law, and betimes in the morning took up the Forum, ſpreading themſelves all over to hinder the uniting of the Commons. The Comitia being full, thoſe that ſpake could not be heard, ſome incouraging, and others interrupting them with great clamours. The Conſuls proteſted againſt this carriage, and that if any violence ſucceeded, the Commons were the procurers of it; and the Tribunes anſwered, that they had heard long ſuch diſcourſes as they were now making. The day being far ſpent, the People required the ballots; but then the young Patritians hindred them from uniting in their Tribes, and ſnatched away the pots and ballots, beating out of the Forum the Officers attending for the gathering of Suffrages. The Tribunes crying out, and caſting themſelves into the throng, they gave way to them, where ever they went, but hindred ſuch as would have followed, and rendred their Office thereby unſerviceable. At length the Patritians prevailed againſt the paſſing of the Law, by the means of three Families eſpecially, *viz.* the *Poſthumii*, *Sempronii*, and *Cloelii*, moſt eminent for Nobility, Riches, and Clients, who alſo eſpecially hindred the confirmation of the *Agrarian* by a *Plebiſcitum*.

Tumults about the Law.

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91. The Tribunes conſulting how to vindicate their cauſe, the moſt moderate opinion prevailed, that neither the Conſuls, nor any other Patritians, ſave thoſe of the three Families now mentioned, ſhould be called to anſwer before the People; and not for their lives, but eſtates, for reſiſting the Tribunes in preferring the Law. The Patritians gave way to it, and having redeemed the eſtates, reſtored them to the owners. Afterwards, when the Tribunes again went about to prefer the Law, news came that the Enemy was on his march to *Rome*, as far as *Tuſculum*, which place onely ſtopped him, but could not long hold out. Levies now being to be made, according to a Decree of the Senate, the Tribunes endeavoured to hinder them, but another Decree being publiſhed, that the Patritians with their Clients, and ſuch as voluntarily came in, would undertake the War; ſome for ſhame, ſome for plunder, and others to gratifie the Nobiliry, gave their names; and amongſt the reſt *Siccius* himſelf, whom followed a Cohort of 800 old Soldiers to do him honour, though excuſed from warfare by the Laws. A ſtrong Army being preſently raiſed, the Enemies retired, and were followed by the Conſuls to *Antium*, where the Armies lying incamped one againſt the other, the *Æqui*, confident of their ſtrength, at length provoked the *Romans* to fight. *Romulius* having then the command, ſent for *Siccius*, as the ſtory goes, and gave him order with his Cohort to go a certain way, and fall behind upon the Enemies Camp; intending either to diſgrace him upon refuſal, or deſtroy him by ſo impoſſible an undertaking. When *Siccius* laboured to ſhew him that the thing could not be done, he upbraided him with his ſpeeches uſed in the Comitia concerning his own exploits, and objected to him pretended valour. Hereat he undertook the matter, and giving all to underſtand his caſe, departed with his men all weeping, to the regret of the Army, who expected of theſe 800 to ſee no man return alive. *Siccius* led them not the ſame way as the Conſul thought, which being mountainous, would have brought certain deſtruction to them aſcending, but another through a Wood, by which they came upon the Camp of the *Æqui*, where it was forſaken of the guard, now gone to behold the fight of the two Armies, before this time joyned. Falling in with a ſhout, the *Æqui* ſuppoſing the other Conſul preſent, forſook the Camp and fled, after which *Siccius* and his Cohort marched down towards the battel, whom the Enemy diſcovering on their back, and knowing their Camp to be taken, were alſo diſcouraged and fled: The *Romans* purſued them till night, and did great execution, but none ſo valiantly demeaned himſelf as *Siccius Dentatus*.

Diverted by War.

A plot againſt *Siccius*.

He eſcapeth as Conqueror.

92. *Siccius* having lodged himſelf and his men in the Enemies Camp, the next day ſet it and all the ſtuff therein on fire, and with haſte marched for *Rome*, on purpoſe to deprive the Conſuls of the honour they expected. Coming into the Forum, he related to the Tribunes and People the whole paſſage, how he and his old men being deſtined to ruine, had obtained the Victory. Hereby he not onely ingratiated himſelf with the People, but procured the diſpleaſure of the Senate alſo againſt the Conſuls, who were denied the honour of a Trimph. The Commons gratified *Siccius* in the higheſt meaſure they could, making him one of their Tribunes for the following year, wherein *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Ternius* (or *Thermus* rather as *Gellius* hath it) were Conſuls. The firſt he did relating to his Office, was to ſet the former Conſuls a day to anſwer before the People, for violating the power of the Tribuneſhip, and deviſing the deſtruction of him and his Soldiers: and ſo reſolved was the whole College, that the judgment paſſed without interruption intended by the Patritians, and they were both condemned in a pecuniary mulct. The preſent Conſuls were hereby rendred more inclinable towards the Commons; ſo that they procured a Decree of the Senate, and a Law paſſed in the *Centuriata Comitia*, that *All Magiſtrates ſhould have liberty to puniſh ſuch as violated their authority*, which was formerly the privilege of the Conſuls onely. But the mulct was not left to their diſcretion, proviſion being made, that it ſhould not exceed the worth of two Oxen, or thirty Sheep; which Law was long obſerved by the *Romans*. After this, the

He revengeth himſelf upon the Conſuls.

A new Law.

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Romulius perſwadeth the Senate to ſubmit to new Laws.

the *Tribunes* propounded to the Senate, that Laws might be made, which the Citie ſhould uſe for ever. After a grave debate, the advice of *Romulius* the late condemned Conſul prevailed, who contrary to the expectation of both parties ſpoke in behalf of the thing propounded. He ſaid, he was for the intereſt of the Patritians as long as there was any hopes of its continuance, but finding things in ſuch a condition, as it muſt neceſſarily decline, he thought it wiſdom to comply with that neceſſity, and adviſed that Ambaſſadors might be ſent to the *Greek* Cities in *Italy*, and to *Athens*, thence to fetch ſuch Laws as were moſt excellent, and befitting the Commonwealth. After their return was to be propounded to the People the choice of Law-makers, what their power ſhould be, for how long, and what other things ſhould appertain to them. *Siccius* extraordinarily affected with the mans ingenuity, ſaid he was now friends with him, and remitted his fine; but he refuſed to forbear the payment of it, becauſe already ſacred to their gods. A *Senatus Conſultum* being made, and confirmed by a *Plebiſcitum*, Ambaſſadors were

Commiſſioners choſen to fetch ſome out of *Greece*.

choſen to fetch Laws from the *Greeks*. Theſe were *Sp. Poſthumius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, and *A. Manlius*, to whoſe uſe Gallies were aſſigned, and furniſhed at the publick charge, as was ſuitable with the Majeſty of the *Roman* People.

92. For the following year, being the firſt of the 82 *Olympiad*, wherein *Lycus* a *Theſſalian* of *Lariſſa* was Victor in the courſe, *Charephanes* exerciſing the Office of principal *Archon*, the 300th year of the Citie being now ended (as *Dionyſius* computeth, following the account of *Cato*) *P. Horatius* and *Sext. Quintilius* were Conſuls. Now fell a greater plague than ever had been known, upon both Citie and Countrey, which ſwept away *Quintilius* the Conſul, and *Sp. Furius* choſen in his place, with four *Tribunes*, and many Senators. The ſucceeding Conſuls were *L. Menenius* and *P. Sextius*, who took care for Corn to ſupply the Citie, which laboured under a famine, by reaſon that the grounds lay untilled the former year. In their year the Ambaſſadors returned out of *Greece* with Laws, preſently after which the *Tribunes* required, that according to the Senates Decree, law-makers might be appointed. The Conſuls knowing not how to deny them, yet unwilling to weaken the intereſt of the Patritians, deferred the matter, ſaying, that the time of the *Comitia* was at hand, after which they would labour, joyntly with the Conſuls Elect, in the buſineſſe. The *Tribunes* were content; but when the *Comitia* were paſt, wherein *Appius Claudius*, and *T. Genutius* were choſen, they grew idle, and neglected the adminiſtration of affairs, as now belonging unto others; and *Menenius* was ſickly, pining away, as was thought, by melancholy; of which *Sextius* took advantage, prerending he could do nothing by himſelf. The *Tribunes* then betook themſelves to the Conſuls Elect, and though they had not yet entered upon their Magiſtracy, importuned them to gratifie the Commons, by propoſing great honours and rewards. *Appius* being elevated with the hope of a new kind of Magiſtracy, grew popular, and perſwaded his Collegue to a compliance, ſo that *Sextius* was forced to call together the Senate, and propound concerning Laws.

93. Many things were ſpoken, as well by thoſe that deſired a new model, as others, who thought it ſufficient to reſt ſatisfied in the cuſtoms of their Countrey. But the opinion of the deſigned Conſuls prevailed, which *Appius* the principal of the two delivered, being asked his advice, according to the cuſtom, before any other Senators. Their ſenſe was, that ten men out of the chief of the Senate were to be Elected, whoſe power continuing for a year ſhould be the ſame with that of the Kings and Conſuls, and all other Magiſtracies ceaſe till they might be renewed according to Laws: in the mean time the ten men, or *Decemviri*, were to adminiſter Juſtice to private men, and model the Commonwealth. When the day came wherein this *Senatus Conſultum* was to be confirmed by the People, the deſigned Conſuls reſigned their Office, for which they were exceedingly admired, and remembred in the choice. In the *Centuriate Comitia* were created *App. Claudius* and *T. Genutius*, late Conſuls Elect; *P. Sextius* Conſul for that preſent year, the three

Sect. 2. The Decemviri chosen.

three Ambassadors who fetched Laws out of *Greece*, *P. Posthumius. Ser. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius*, and one of the former year's Consuls *T. Romulius*, who had been condemned by *Siccius* the Tribune, and afterwards was the author of this popular act: besides these, out of the Senate *C. Julius. T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all of Consular dignity. The *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, and all other Magistrates were for a time devested of all power. Instead of *Horatius*, *Livy* mentioneth *P. Curiatius*.

SECT. II.

From the Creation of the Decemviri *to the War of* Privernæ, *which fell out the same year that* Darius Codomannus *died: the space of* 121 *years.*

The second change of Government when.

1. THe second change in the Government (from *Consuls* to *Ten men*, or *Decemviri*, as the first was from *Kings* to *Consuls*) hapned in the 302 year of the Citie, according to the account of *Varro*, and the 303 after the computation of *Iaurutius* and *Varro*, which fell in with the 2 and 3 years of the 87 *Olympiad*, the 14th of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, 449 before the *Æra* of Christ, A. M. 3554. and, as may be gathered both out of *Dionysius* and *Livy*, on the *Ides* of *May*. A.M. 3554. *Ol.* 82. *an.* 2. *V.C.* 302. *Artax. Longim.* 14.

The acts of the *Decemviri* for the first year.

2. The *Decemviri* having taken upon them the Government, in reference to a new constitution, agreed that onely one of them at one time should have the *Fasces* and other consular Ensigns. He assembled the Senate, confirmed the Decrees, and did other things agreeable with chief Magistracy. The rest (for to lessen envy) differed little in habit from private men, having onely an *Accensus*, or sort of Beadle, going before them, which *Livy* addeth to the relation of *Dionysius*. They succeeded by turns, for a certain limited time, till the year went about. The present Possessor of the *Fasces* onely saith *Livy*, but all of them as *Dionysius* seemeth to mean, judged private causes together with publick ones belonging to their subjects, and associates. All things they managed with such Justice and moderation, that the Commonwealth seemed most happy under them, having no need of appeal. *Appius* above the rest grew exceeding popular by his familiarity with the ordinary sort; so as in a manner he carried away the praise from the whole College, for that he had a further design than any of the rest.

3. At length having made a model out of such Laws as were brought out of *Greece*, and their own Countrey's customes, they proposed it to the view of all men in ten Tables, that any one might make exceptions; liberty being given to private persons to inform the Law-makers, who consulted much with the Nobility about the work. When all approved of them; a *Senatus Consultum* passed, *nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of these Laws, and the question being put to the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were confirmed most religiously in presence of the Pontifies, Augurs, and Priests. Then were they ingraven in brasse, saith *Dionysius* and others, in Ivory saith *Pomponius* the Lawyer, and proposed to the publick view in the most conspicuous part of the Forum, as *Minos* of old, according to *Plato*, and long after him *Solon*: caused his Laws to be written in Tables by the *Athenians* called * *Cyrbes* and *Axones*. The year being almost out, the *Decemviri* moved the Senate about the *Comitia*. After a great debate it was resolved to continue this kind of Magistracy for the following year; because something seemed yet wanting to the new model, through the shortnesse of time allotted to the work; but especially for that by this Office the Tribuneship was suspended, of which the Patricians had cause to be most jealous. The commons thought they had good reason to concur with the Fathers in this choice, and the day for holding the *Comitia* was appointed.

* Κύρβεις & Ἄξονες.

4. The

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The most antient and honorable of the Fathers stood for this Office, fearing that if turbulent spirits were possessed of it, they might have a great advantage against the State. Above all others was *Appius* extolled to the skies, the Commons labouring earnestly to retain him in his place, for that none had behaved himself better than he. He desired to be excused, pretending he had rather be discharged of so troublesom and ingratefull a work.

Appius obtaineth to be *Decemvir* the second time by cheating the credulous multitude.

At length overcome as it were by the intreaties of the people, he professed himself amongst the Candidates, and by accusing all others, as owing him ill will for his publick spirit, made way for himself and his friends. In the *Centuriate Comitia* he was made *Decemvir* the second time, and with him was joyned *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been Consul three times, a man hitherto of unblameable carriage: out of the other Patritians by the procurement of *Appius* were created *M. Cornelius*, *M. Servilius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *Manius Rabuleius*, persons of no great Eminency, and out of the Commons *Q. Petilius*, *Caso Duellius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, whom he took in, the more to ingratiate himself with the rabble, saying, it was just that the Commons should share in that Magistracy, which was to govern and command all.

4. *Appius*, a man more popular than any Magistrate that ever governed, either King or Consul, with his nine Collegues, entred his Office on the *Ides* of *May*, which saith *Dionysius* hapned in the full Moon, according to the course whereof moneths at that time were observed. The first thing the *Decemviri* did, was mutually *to agree and confirm by Oath to be of one mind, not to hold the Assemblies, but perpetually to retain the power in their own hands: to admit none into their number, and to be of equal power and authority amongst themselves: to make use of* Senatus Consultum's, *and* Plebiscitum's, *but rarely, and never except in case of necessity, acting most things by virtue of their own power.* On the first day (which to the *Romans* was ever Festival and Religious) after their superstitious Ceremonies were over, they all appeared with regal Ensigns, which exceedingly terrified the people, especially the Axes added again to the Rods, which *Poplicola* had laid aside, and none of his Successors the Consuls used in the Citie. By this fear they sought to procure themselves security, each of them getting about him a company of stout young men, such as were most addicted to him.

He and his Collegues labour to establish themselves.

Some preferring their private commodity before the publick good flattered them, and even amongst the Patritians themselves were not wanting, who though Eminent both for birth and estate patiently bore the oppression of their Countrey. The *Decemviri* indulging their pleasures, exercised now their authority with all licentiousnesse, nothing valuing the *Roman* Senate and people. Being both Legislators and Judges, many Citizens they unjustly put to death, and deprived others of their Estates, whose causes were all formally judged, that they might have some shew, and pretence of Justice, accusers being suborned out of their Dependents, each one affording all assistance herein to his Collegue. Such private persons as in their suits feared their cause were constrained to joyn themselves to the party of their Judges; so as it came to passe in a short time that most of the Citizens were also corrupted. Such as were offended with the extravagancy of the ten retired themselves, expecting the *Comitia* for the Creation of new Magistrates.

They add two Tables of Laws to the ten.

5. The *Decemviri* added two Tables of Laws to the ten that were made the year before. Amongst these new Laws there was one which forbad marriage betwixt the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, for no other cause as *Dionysius* conjectureth, than lest the families being joyned together, concord should ensue betwixt the two orders. These Laws thus by accident, saith (*a*) *Pomponius*, came to be called the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, being written by the *Decemviri*, through the perswasion of one *Hermodorus* an *Ephesian*, as some reported, then banished into *Italy*, concerning which person (*b*) *Cicero* and others are to be consulted. These Laws being established,

(*a*) *Lib.* 2. *Dig. de Origine Juris.*

(*b*) *Tusculan. lib.* 5. *Plin. lib.* 34. *& Strabo lib.* 14.

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blished, it followed, that disputations and controversies of the Court should be necessary, for as much as an interpretation was to be built upon the authority of the Learned. This disputation, or this unwritten Law, composed by the Learned, is not called by any peculiar name, as all other parts, but by the common one of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law* onely. Besides, out of these Laws, at the same time almost, were composed certain cases, wherein men contested one with another, which cases, lest the People should make them at their pleasure, were to be certain and solemn; and this part of Law is called *Actiones Juris*, or *Cases at Law*. Thus almost at the same time these three sorts of Laws arose, *viz.* the *Laws of the twelve Tables*; from these flowed the *Civil Law*: and from the same were composed *Cases at Law*. But the knowledge of expounding all these, and the Cases themselves, were kept by the College of *Pontifices*, who appointed yearly those that judged *Private Persons*, which custome the People used almost 100 years. Afterward, when *Appius Claudius* had propounded, and reduced these *Cases* into form, (*c*) *Gnaus Flavius* his Scribe, and the son of a *Libertine* (or of one whose father was once a Slave) stole the Book, and gave it to the People, which accepted so thankfully of the gift, that he was made *Tribune* of the Commons, a *Senator*, and *Ædilis curulis*. This Book was called *Jus Civile Flavianum*, as the other *Jus Civile Papirianum*. Yet *Flavius* added nothing of his own to the Book. The City increasing, and there being as yet wanting certain sorts of *Cases*, not long after *Sextus Ælius* composed other Cases, and gave a Book to the People called *Jus Ælianum*.

The Original of the Civil Law.

(c) *Consule Valer. Max. l. 2. c. 5. exemp. 2. A. Gellium Noct. Attic. l. 6. c. 9. & Cicero. pro Murena.*

6. There being now in the City, the *Lex or Law of the twelve Tables*, the *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*, and the *Cases of Law*, it came to passe, that the *Commons* disagreeing with and separating from the *Patritians*, appointed Laws of their own making, called *Plebiscita*. After their return, there being a great controversie about these, it was thought good to receive them also for Laws, and so it was enacted by a Law preferred by * *Hortensius* the *Dictator*; so though there was a difference in the form of making a Law (called *Lex*) and a *Plebiscitum*, yet the authority was the same. Then for that it was difficult for the People to meet, because of it's multitudes, necessity it self devolved the care of the Commonwealth upon the *Senate*. So the *Senate* began to interpose, and whatsoever it resolved was observed: and that Law was called *Senatus Consultum*. At the same time the Magistrates also administred Justice, and that the People might know what they would determine concerning any thing, and to fore-arm themselves, they published *Edicts*, which *Edicts* of the *Prætors* constituted the *Jus Honorarium*, so named from the *honour* and *authority* of the *Prætor*. Lastly, as the course of affaires reduced the making of Laws to fewer fashions, at length it came to passe throngh several Factions (*viz.* of *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*) that there was necessity of the Commonwealth's being governed by a single person. For the *Senate* not being able to govern all the Provinces, a *Prince* was ordained, and what he appointed was taken for Law. So that in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, all *Law* was either so constituted by a Law called *Lex*, as that of the twelve Tables; or properly called *Jus Civile*, which being unwritten, consisted in the interpretation of the Learned; or *Cases of Law*, which contained the form of Pleas; or a *Plebiscitum* made without the authority of the Fathers: or the *Edict* of a Magistrate, called *Jus Honorarium*: or a *Senatus Consultum*, which without a Law (*Lex*) was ordained by the sole authority of the Senate: or *Principalis constitutio*, which the Prince himself enacted.

How the parts of it came in by degrees.

* *Vide Livium, lib. 3. A. Gellium l. 15. c. 26.*

7. These things are written by *Pomponius* in this narrative of the Original of Law; for the better understanding whereof, it is to be noted, that the word *Jus* signifieth all Law or right in general, and is that genus whereof *Lex* is but a species, being defined by (*a*) *Justinian* the *Emperour* to be that *which the People of Rome upon the question put by a Senatorian Magistrate* (for example a Consul) *did enact*. As for the twelve *Tables*, they were furnished with Laws, partly borrowed from the *Gracians*, partly added at the discre-

(*a*) *Seu Scribonianus Institut. l. 1. Tit. 2.*

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discretion of the Lawmakers, and partly the same as formerly were in use. Of the first sort were such especially as concerned private interests. Of the second was that which forbad mariage betwixt the Nobility and Commons. And of the third, that Law which from *Dionysius* we formerly mentioned to have been made by *Romulus*, giving power to a man to call together his wives kindred, and judge her for drinking wine, or dishonesty: this is attested to have been taken into the twelve Tables by (*b*) *Plinie*; and (*c*) *Gellius* also hinteth as much. From (*d*) *Ausonius* is observed, that these twelve Tables were divided into three parts, whereof the first contained what belonged to the Religion of the *Romans*, the second what concerned the publick, and the third the rights of private men. Great are the commendations which many give of them, but the most eminent is *Cicero*'s Encomium, that we name no more. Disputing under the name of *Crassus*, in (*e*) one place he thus speaketh: *If diversity of Studies please any, in the twelve Tables there is a great image of Antiquity: because the antient use of words is known, and certain kinds of actions declare the life and custome of our Ancestors. If any look at Polity, you shall find it all in the twelve Tables, which describe all the interests and parts of the State: or if any one be taken with this glorious Philosophy, I will speak more boldly, these are the fountains of all his disputes contained in the Civil Law* (Jure Civili) *and Laws* (Legibus.) *Though all be displeased, I will speak what I think: that little Book of the twelve Tables alone, in my opinion excelleth the Libraries of all the Philosophers* (if one view the fountains and heads of Laws) *both in weight of authority and copiousnesse of advantage.* In another (*f*) place he writeth, that *when he was a boy, they were wont to learn the twelve Tables as some necessary Poem.* Lastly, a collection of the fragments of these Tables out of approved Authors (such especially as conduce to the explication of the Institutions, and of antient Law with deep Antiquities) hath been made by *I. Crispinus*, to which the Reader is referred.

(*b*) *Lib. 14. cap. 13.*
(*c*) *Lib. 10. cap. 23.*
(*d*) *Jus triplex tabulæ quod ter Sanxere quatenus Sacrum, Privatum, & populi commune quod usquam est.*
(*e*) *Lib. 1 de Oratore.*

Cicero his commendation of the 12 tables.

(*f*) *De Legibus lib. 2.*

8. But (to return) the *Decemviri* at the usual time of the *Comitia* bidding farewel to the customs of their Country, and the new Laws, neither regarding the approbation of Senate nor People, continued themselves in power for the year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*, the first of the 83 *Olympiad*, according to *Dionysius*, wherein *Criso* of *Himera* was Victor, *Philiscus* being Archon at *Athens*. They so ordered the matter shortly, as even all the considerable part of the Citizens, (*Patritians* and *others*) they either killed, or forced to quit the City. This pleased them well enough, but the *Sabines* and *Æqui* thinking it a fit time to attempt some great matter against *Rome*, invaded the territories thereof, and of the *Latines*. The *Decemviri* much troubled hereat, after a consultation how to make resistance several wayes, found themselves constrained to assemble the Senate, wherein *Appius* with a premeditated Oration propounded the matter of the War. *L. Valerius Potitus*, the son of him that besieged the Capitol, and grandson of *Poplicola*, first arose, and though he was commanded by *Appius* to forbear, flew high against the tyranny of the present Usurpers. He being forced to silence, was seconded by *Marcus Horatius Barbatus*, great grandson of the Collegue of *Poplicola*, who having expressed great indignation, the *Decemviri* incensed with his biting words, threatned to cast him down headlong from the Rock. All the Senators at this cried out as at a breach of their privilege, and made a tumult, whereat the Ten repented of what they had done, and excused themselves, saying, they deprived none of speaking to the matter in hand, but interrupted Seditious Orations, which they might do by their power of Consuls and Tribunes received from the People, not for a year onely, nor any limited time, but till the work of Laws were finished, untill which time they were resolved to act, and then give an account of their administration. *Appius* having delivered this in the name of all, asked the opinion of *C. Claudius* his Uncle.

The *Decemviri* retain their power.

They assemble the Senate about War.

Stirs in the Senate.

9. *Claudius* beginning his Oration with the occasion of their meeting, fitly shewed what was the occasion of it. The War he demonstrated to be

SECT. 2. begun by no other inducements than what the preſent diſtempers of the State afforded, which were bred by the arbitrary and tyrannical carriage of his Nephew, and his nine Companions. He made out what theſe diſtempers were, and by virtue of his relation to *Appius*, took upon him, after a ſharp reproof, by the nearneſſe of their blood, their Anceſtors, and the *Decemvir*'s Father, with all that was dear and religious to them both, to conjure him, that putting a ſtop to his ambitious courſe (deſtructive to himſelf as well as the publick) he would reſign his uſurped power, and reſtore the Commonwealth to it's former government and liberty. *Appius* anſwered him not a word, which ſo moved him, that with tears he ſignified he would depart to *Rhegillum*, the ſeat of his Forefathers, and there continue till that fell upon the *Decemvirate*, which he gueſſed would happen in a ſhort time; for as much as he could not endure to behold his Nephew degenerate ſo much from the antient worth of their Family. As concerning the War, he adviſed the Fathers to reſolve nothing, till the accuſtomed Magiſtrates were firſt created. The graver and more eminent ſort of Senators that ſpake after, were all of this opinion, which made the Ten reſolve to ask none now according to their age, as the cuſtome was, but *M. Cornelius* called upon his brother *Lucius* to deliver his opinion. He attributed all that had been ſaid againſt the *Decemviri* to envy, ſaying, it was becauſe the ſpeakers themſelves could not compaſſe the Office, and laboured to ſhew, that it was moſt fooliſh counſel to reſolve upon new elections, which would require time, and defer the War that threatned ruine and deſolation. By preſſing the danger very cloſe, and urging what neceſſity there was of committing the War to the management of the *Decemviri*, he drew almoſt all the younger ſort to his party, there being many even in the Senate from whom fear wreſted compliance. After all theſe, the *Decemviri* gave *Valerius* leave to ſpeak, whom firſt of all they had interrupted. He profeſſed he was of *Claudius* his judgement as to the whole, and anſwered all the reaſons of *Cornelius* by one propoſal; that a *Dictator* might be inſtantly named, ſhewing, that if they miſſed of this opportunity, they could not expect again to bee aſſembled by the *Decemviri*.

10. Few that delivered their opinions after him remained unconvinced, and many were changed from the ſenſe they had before delivered. He required then of the Ten, that the n atter might be further conſidered of, and all might have liberty to recall their votes, which cauſed a great conteſt betwixt him and *Cornelius*, who deſiring that the *Decemviri* might have the command in the War, cried out, that the thing was already decided in a legal manner, and deſired the parties might be counted. Much heat being ſhewed by both, the *Fathers* were alſo divided, which advantage the Ten took to do what they pleaſed. *Appius* then formally declaring for what cauſe they had been aſſembled, told them they were divided according to the three ſeveral opinions of *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and *Valerius*, every one having had liberty to ſpeak his mind freely: and ſeeing that moſt had approved of what *Cornelius* had propounded, he declared his partie to have overcome. Then commanded he the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus Conſultum*, whereby power of raiſing Forces, and commanding them, was given to the *Decimviri*; and therewith the Senate was diſmiſſed. They were by this kind of victory rendred more confident, and imperious, as having now in their own thoughts eſtabliſhed themſelves, by having an Army at their command, which *Valerius* had adviſed the *Fathers* earneſtly to beware. *Horatius* and *Valerius* made proviſion for their own defence, by gathering together their Clients and dependents, and *Claudius*, as he had ſaid, departed into the Country of the *Sabines*, whoſe example multitudes following, left their native ſeat, with their wives and children departing into voluntary exil. The *Decemviri* troubled hereat, endeavoured at firſt to hinder them by ſhutting the gates, but again fearing they might out of fury atrempt ſome dangerous thing, they let them depart, but ſeized on ſuch goods as they left behind, having accuſed them of defection. Theſe things being added to the former miſcariages, incenſed much more both

They make uſe of the Senate to their own advantage.

both *Patritians* and *Plebeians* againſt them. Yet had they proceeded no further in ſuch like outrages, they might probably for a much more longer time have ſecured their power, through that influence which the mutual emulation of theſe orders afforded. For the *Plebeians* were glad to ſee the high ſpirits of the *Patritians* dejected, and the Senate void of all power: on the other ſide, the Nobility rejoyced that the Commons had loſt their former liberty, having not the leaſt help, becauſe the *Tribunitial* power was taken away. But they neither uſing moderation in War, nor temperance at home, conſtrained all to unite for their deſtruction, which followed certain hainous offences committed againſt the Commons. SECT. 2.

They lead out an Army againſt the Sabines and Æqui.

11. They divided their Army into three parts, whereof one remained with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the Citie, the two other their Collegues led forth againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The later forced the *Romans* to forſake their Camp, and ſhamefully to fly, which cauſed great rejoycing in *Rome* amongſt the Enemies of the *Decemviri*, ſo that *Appius* fearing ſome attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, by one means or other to deſtroy their known adverſaries, which was effected upon diverſe. But at *Rome*, *Siccius Dentatus*, the Roman *Achilles* as he was named, amongſt others ſpake much againſt the Captains as Cowards and unskilfull, which *Appius* underſtanding, with good words perſwaded him to go as Lieutenant or *Legatus* to the Army then lying at *Cruſtumeria* againſt the *Sabines*. He not ſuſpecting what was deſigned, undertook the employment, for that the Office of *Legatus* was moſt ſacred and honorable amongſt the *Romans*, having the authority and power of a General, and the inviolableneſſe and veneration of a Prieſt. When he came to the Camp he was ſent out with 100 men upon ſervice, who had order to kill him. He fought with them all, ſlew fifteen, and wounded twice as many, ſo that finding it too difficult a task to kill him by hand-ſtroaks, they threw Darts and Stones at him, and thereby at length, and at a diſtance, performed what was injoyned them. Though the murderers according to agreement gave out he fell by the Enemie's hand, yet the Soldiers fetching him off to give him honorable burial, by ſeveral circumſtances plainly perceived the truth, and demanding Juſtice againſt the inſtruments, when that was put off, and they concealed, they eaſily underſtood who were the principal cauſe, and thought of nothing more than how to revolt.

Siccius Dentatus made away by them.

12. The Army lying at *Cruſtumeria* and *Fidenæ* being thus incenſed againſt the *Decemviri*, another wicked act of *Appius* cauſed the other which lay incamped at *Algidum* againſt the *Æqui*, not onely to think of, but fully to effect a revolt. There was one *L. Virginius* a *Plebeian*, who had a daughter the moſt beautifull of all *Roman* women. The maid being but young and at School near the Forum, *Appius* as he paſſed that way fell in love with her in ſuch a meaſure as by no means could he allay his bruciſh paſſion. Marry her he could not, being a *Plebeian*, neither could he hope to obtain her for his Concubine: there remained then no other way for him to enjoy her, than by procuring *M. Claudius* one of his Clients to challenge her as his Slave, ſo that the matter being brought before him to judgement, he might judge her ſo to be. *Claudius* laid his claim, by affirming ſhe was the true and natural daughter of his Slave, and that the wife of *Virginius*, now dead, her ſelf being barren, procured the Child, and brought it up for her own; which though he and others knew well enough, yet being young, he had not opportunity till now to right himſelf. The pretence was ſo impudent, as raiſed the indignation of all perſons no otherwiſe concerned than as in the publick liberty. *Numitor* the maid's Uncle by her mother, and *Icilius* the ſon of *Icilius* one of the firſt *Tribunes* of the Commons, to whom ſhe was already contracted, ſufficiently evidenced the truth; but *Appius* being bent upon his luſtfull deſign, would hear no reaſon, and had not a tumult hapned out of the indignation of the multitude, would have given her up in the hands of *Claudius*, till ſuch time as her father could be ſent for from the Army to defend her cauſe. Being hardly drawn to put off the matter till the next day, and not giving any more time, wrote to *Algidum* to hinder *Virginius*

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ginius from coming, bidding *Antonius* the Commander of that Legion to confine him, leſt he ſhould hear any thing of his daughter. But *Numitor*, and the brother of *Icilius*, prevented the Letters, and *Virginius* pretending the death of a near relation, getting leave to depart, through by-wayes returned to the Citie, fearing a purſuit after the arrival of the Letters, which accordingly hapned, but he thus evaded it.

13. *Virginius* then was preſent in the morning to the great aſtoniſhment of *Appius*, when his daughter was commanded to be brought forth. He proved the maid to be his own daughter, and no ſuppoſititious brood; but *Appius*, a man of no great natural abilities, beſides the brutiſh, corrupted by the greatneſſe of his power, and inflamed with the exceſſe of his paſſion, neither conſidered the defence of *Virginius*, nor was moved by the bitter tears of the Virgin, being angry at the pity of the ſtanders by, who apprehended the caſe of Father and Daughter no otherwiſe than as their own, as if he himſelf were more to be pitied, enduring more for her beauties ſake than ſhe herſelf. Interrupting thoſe that ſpake in her behalf, and commanding them ſilence, he told them, that this was not the firſt time he had had knowledge of this matter, for that *Claudius* his father being a Client to their family had committed him yet a Boy, when he died, to his protection. In the time of his Guardianſhip he ſaid it had been cleared to him how *Numitoria* had procured the Girl of *Claudius* his Slave, but he thought it more convenient to let the matter reſt till *Claudius* was grown up, either to take, or ſell her as he ſhould like beſt. Since he came into imployment he had not medled with his Clients affairs, but he himſelf it ſeemeth making an inventory of his goods, and having notice of this Slave, now challenged his right, and accordingly he both witneſſed, and judged him to be the right Lord and owner of her. Great outcries and lamentation being made, as well by the by-ſtanders as the Virgin's relations, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and gave order to *Claudius* to take poſſeſſion of his Slave. *Virginius*, ſeeing there was no way but to yield to the Tyrant's luſt if his daughter lived, deſired he might ſpeak with her a little aſide, as to take his laſt farewell, which being granted, he drew her, hanging upon him, and pitifully bewailing her condition, towards a Butchers ſtall, whoſe knife taking into his hands, he ſaid, *Daughter, I will ſend thee to our Anceſtors, both free, and of honeſt repute; for the Tyrant will not ſuffer thee to be either here; and therewith he ſtabbed, and diſpatch'd her.*

Appius his abominable practices for *Virginia*.

14. With the bloudy knife in his hand he ran through the Citie, calling the People to their liberty, and coming to the Gate, rode Poſt to the Army; a company of 400 *Plebeians* following after. In the ſame poſture he came to the Camp at *Algidum*, holding the knife, which together with his cloaths was all bloudy. Calling the Soldiers together, he took occaſion from his own misfortune to let them ſee in what condition their liberty ſtood, and with urgent reaſons perſwaded them to revolt from the ten, and redeem their Countrey. They being conſcientious, as to their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had ſworn not to forſake their Leaders, but follow them whitherſoever, he told them they were diſcharged from any Obligation, becauſe the Law for the Oath ſuppoſed the Captains ſhould be created according to the Laws, which the ten were not, having uſurped the power ever ſince the laſt time for the *Comitia*. Being ſatisfied herewith, the Army departed, ſome few Centurious onely remaining, and took up its ſtation in the *Aventine* Mount, and the next day fortifying the Camp choſe ten Captains, whereof *M. Oppius* was the Chief. Preſently there came a great party from *Fidena*, and joyned with them, being offended with the murther of *Siccius*, and they chuſing alſo ten men out of their body, to the twenty the whole matter now contended for was referred. *Appius* in the mean while having gone by force to ſuppreſſe the tumult he had raiſed in the Citie, was overpowered by the faction of *Valerius* and *Horatius* formerly mentioned, and now perceiving that moſt of the odium lay upon himſelf as the principal cauſe, he kept himſelf in his houſe. *Sp. Oppius* therefore aſſembled the *Fathers*, at which time came the Captains from *Fidena*, requiring that the revolters might be puniſhed. *L. Cornelius* accordingly moved that they ſhould all be remanded back to their charges, which if they obeyed, the Ring-leaders onely were to be puniſhed, but if they refuſed, the Senate then ſhould conſider how all thoſe might be dealt with, who had betrayed their truſt. But the Fathers were too ſenſible of preſent grievances, to hear the motion of ſuch corrupt intereſt, and were prevailed with by *Valerius* and *Horatius*, to make Peace with the Army (which by this time was departed to the *Holy Mount*) on condition that the ſame form of Government ſhould return, as was in being before the creation of the *Decemviri*.

Procureth the deſtruction of the *Decemviri*.

15. *Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Horatius Barbatus*, both inheritors of popularity, were created Conſuls in the *Centuriate Comitia*, who (according to their promiſe to the *Commons* when they procured them to lay down Arms, that they would by all means poſſible procure their benefit) preferred divers Laws to the regret of the *Patritians*. One was, that ſuch Laws as the Commons enacted ſhould paſſe in the *Comitia* of the *Curiæ*, wherein they were more prevalent than the *Patritians*, as thoſe in the *Centuriate*, by reaſon of their influence upon the *Equites*, and the richer ſort of Plebeians, were ever too ſtrong for the multitude, by reaſon of the diſtribution of the ſeveral *Claſſes* into *Centuries* formerly ſhewn. After this the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought fit to call the *Decemviri* to an account. *Virginius* being appointed the accuſer of *Appius*, inſiſted moſt, ſaith *Livie*, upon that Law, which commanded the defendant to have liberty till ſuch time as his or her ſlavery was proved, which *Appius* had gone about to violate in his daughter's caſe. Before the trial, being committed to priſon, for that no bail would be taken, he was there found dead, as ſome thought ſecretly made away by the *Tribunes*, but as they and others gave out, having hanged himſelf. After him *Sp. Oppius*, as next to him in guilt, was accuſed, and being condemned, died the ſame day in priſon by his own hands, ſaith *Livie*. The other eight baniſhed themſelves, and *Claudius* the pretended Maſter of *Virginius* was driven out after them: with which juſtice the State was ſatisfied, and indemnity given to all others. Things thus ſeeming to be ſetled, the Conſuls took the field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, againſt whom their ſucceſſe was ſuch, as deſerved a Triumph, but the Senate gave them a repulſe, being grieved at the Laws they had made in behalf of the Commons. *Claudius* alſo the Uncle of *Appius* accuſed them of the murther of his Nephew, and other violent courſes taken againſt the *Decemviri*, and their party, whereas all ought to have been (according to agreement) buried in oblivion. The Conſuls appealed to the People, and complaining much of the Senate, procured by the help of the *Tribunes* a Law to paſſe for their receiving the privilege of Triumph from the *People*.

The next Conſuls prefer Popular Laws.

16. The *Commons* by all the privileges already obtained, were but more inflamed with a deſire of greater, each morſel out of the prerogative of the *Patritians*, adding unto their appetite. After three years they required to be made partakers of the Conſulſhip, which hitherto the other had enjoyed, being elected in the *Centuriate Comitia*, wherein they themſelves had the power. The *Tribunes* provided a bill for making the People free, and at their own choice, whether they would create *Patritians* or *Plebeians* at every election, which thing the *Senators* bearing moſt hainouſly, as ſeeing their privileges utterly ruined thereby, thought all things to be endured, rather than the Law ſhould paſſe. The Allies of *Rome* now ſent for aid againſt the *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who invaded them, and news was brought that the *Veientes* and *Ardeates* would revolt; but the *Tribunes* thoſe Popular Tyrants hindred all Levies, ſuffering none, that refuſed to be liſted, to receive puniſhment; neither could the Senate prevail with them, to defer the matter till the Warre ſhould be ended. The *Conſuls* in ſo difficult a time held a private conference of certain Senators, whereof *Claudius*, according to the genius of his Anceſtors, was all for reſiſtance, urging that nothing was in this matter to be yielded

Yet the multitude being inſatiable and reſtleſſe demand the Conſulſhip.

Publick buſineſſe hereby hindred.

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yielded to the Commons, who went about to change the constitution of the State, and thereby were enemies to it. But *T. Quintius* shewed what inconvenience force and civil War might bring, and the rather, for that their Ancestors had made the *Tribunes* inviolable, by a curse laid upon themselves and posterity, in case their persons were hurt, or the conditions then sworn to in their behalf should be broken. When the rest were all of his opinion, *Claudius* proposed an expedient as seasonable in so great necessity. He advised by no means to suffer the Consulship to come into the hands of *Plebeians*; but to create certain Governours in the room of *Consuls*, six, or eight, whereof an equal number at least should be *Patritians*; for hereby they should seem not to take too much power to themselves, and yet not give up the other Office, wherein lay the secret of their prerogative, to be managed by base and unworthy men. When this project marvailously pleased all, that nothing might seem to be designed beforehand, he advised the *Consuls* not to ask them the graver men their opinions first, as the custom was, when the Senate should meet, but the younger and most popular: and hee appointed *T. Genutius* the *Consul*'s brother to propound this way of reconciliation as his private sence.

An exedient found out by *Claudius.*

17. When the Senate was assembled, *Canuleius* the Tribune, who chiefly prosecuted the matter in hand, without pressing it, inveighed against the *Consuls*, as holding secret meetings, and hatching clandestine designes against the State: and those Senators who had not been called took the thing in some disdain. But the Consuls protesting their innocence by an oath, said they would also by deeds declare it, and therewith gave any of the younger sort leave to speak, and when none rose up asked *Valerius* first of all his opinion. He advised the *Fathers* to favour the *Commons*, who had deserved so well both in acquiring dominion, and in getting and preserving liberty, and urged that the City could not be free if there were not an equality of right; yet for that the War was now urgent, he desired the thing might at present be forborn till that was finished, upon promise that then the Law should be propounded. *Horatius* being asked next, and others, seconded him; and at length *Claudius* being desired to speak, that he might conceal the design, according to his own custom, and that of his Family, flew out into invectives against the Commons, and advised that the Law might never passe, neither then nor ever after. A greater tumult following, *T. Genutius* was asked his opinion, and as of himself propounded the expedient, that six Governours might be chosen, three out of each order, who having Consular power, when the time of their Magistracy should be expired, then the Senate and People meeting together, might resolve whether they would have the same Office or that of Consuls for the following year; and what was concluded by most voices, should prevail at the end of every year. This was gladly embraced, both by *Senators* and *Tribunes*, and leave given to any *Plebeians* to stand for the new Office. But so fickle a thing is desire without reason, and so easily changing into the other extreme, especially of the multitude, that those who so earnestly before sought that the chiefest Magistracy might be communicated to their body, threatning else to leave the City as formerly, and take arms, when they had their desire, were glutted with it, and changed into the other extreme. For many *Plebeians* standing for the Office, and using their utmost endeavours to be preferred, they thought none of them worthy of that honour, but bestowed it upon eminent *Patritians* onely, who appeared as *Candidates*.

The fickle & inconstant humour of the multitude.

18. This third change of the Government at *Rome*, hapned in the third year of the 84 *Olympiad*, as *Dionysius* computeth, *Diphilus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*; but as others, in the first year of that *Olympiad*, which fell in with the 310 year of the City, and the 21 of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *M. Genutius* and *C. Quintius* according to him, but *L. Papyrius* and *L. Sempronius* according to them, being Consuls. These new Magistrates called *Tribuni Militum*, were *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Atilius Longus*, and *T. Clelius* (or *Cacilius*, as *Livie* hath it) *Siculus*. Thus at first they were

The third grand change of government to the *Tribuni Militum.*

A. M. 3561. *Ol.* 84. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 310. *Artax. Longim.* 21.

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were but three in number, afterward it arose to six, and at length to eight. *Pomponius* the Lawyer writeth, that sometimes there were twenty, and sometimes more, which seemeth incredible, no other Author agreeing with him herein, so that *Budæus* with reason thinketh the place to be corrupted from *Seni* to *Viceni*. This number of Collegues, together with the mixture of *Plebeians* who afterwards pressed in, procured, that although they had both the power and ensignes of *Consuls*, yet their privilege and dignity seemed unlike, whence a *Tribune* in way of contempt called them a *Proconsular image*, and *P. Manlius* the Dictator, shewing that a Master of horse-men was inferior to a *Consul*, compareth his power to that of theirs. Having been for some years created, and for others laid aside, at length in the 388 year of the City, they were quite cast off, at what time *Q. Sextius* a *Plebeian* was admitted to the Consulship. But these first Tribunes having held their Office 73 dayes, then were constrained to lay it down, for that the Augurs found some flaw in their election, and the Government returned into it's former course, the Senate naming *T. Quintius Barbatus*, who in the *Comitia* created *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, although it be doubtful, to say truth, whether there were *Tribunes* onely, or *Tribunes* and *Consuls* both for this year.

L. 2. ff. de Orig. Juris.

Another change after 73 dayes to Consuls again.

Consuls.

19. But to be sure, for the year following the People having it in their power whether to elect *Tribunes* or *Consuls*, resolved upon the later, and created in *December*, the Moon being then full, *M. Geganius Macerinus* the second time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fifth. This year were the *Censors* made, Officers who being but contemptible at the beginning, rose to great dignity and power. Their original and power might have been more clearly discovered, but that *Dionysius* his History is here in the beginning of this story broken off, the remaining part being lost, to the great dammage of the studious in Antiquity. For not to speak of his smooth style, and the Attick purity thereof, he hath therein delivered the Antiquities of *Rome* from the first Original, with such diligence, that he seemeth in this respect to have excelled all Writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*. For what *Latin* Authors have neglected, as vulgarly known amongst themselves, as Sacrifices, Games, Triumphs, Ensigns of Magistrates, the universal discipline of the *Roman* Commonwealth, the *Census*, *Auspicia*, *Comitia*, that difficult distribution of the whole People into *Curiæ*, *Classes*, *Centuries*, and *Tribes*: further, the authority of the Senate, and Commons, with the Power of Magistrates, he of all others hath delivered most accurately. That these things may be better understood, he compareth them with the customs of *Greece*, as where he speaketh of *Clients*, he occasionally maketh mention of this relation amongst the *Athenians* and *Thessalians*, as *Cæsar* also writeth it to have been ordinary amongst the *Galls*. He compareth the *Roman* Dictator with the *Harmostes* of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Archons* of the *Thessalians*, and the *Æsymnetes* of the *Mitylenæans*. The Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius*, had perished but for him, as also the knowledge of the Original of *Rome* in a great measure: and so choice are all his Collections, that they rend, as to the instruction of the Reader in the depth of State mysteries, so also to his acquiring or retaining a religious awe of Providence. Such is his History (saith * one well able to judge) that if it had been kept intire (for it consisteth of twenty Books, as *Photius* informeth us) there would have been no cause of bewailing the losse of *Varro*'s treasures, with whom he was very familiar, as well as *Pompey* the *Great* and *Tubero*; and from whom he seemeth to have derived his choicest Antiquities. These things render a sufficient account, why he is made use of in the History of *Roman* matters, rather than any other.

The Censors, and here *Dionysius* his history is broken off, the following part being lost.

It's commendation.

* *Bodinus Method. Histor. cap.* 4.

20. *Servius Tullius* the sixt King of *Rome* first instituted the *Census*, as was shewn before, and did the work himself, without any peculiar Officer, as also did the Consuls untill this time. But now in the 66th year from the banishment of *Tarquinius*, and the 311 of the City, there having been no *Census* for seventeen years, for that the Consuls were necessarily diverted from

Sect. 2. from that work by more urgent businesse, the Senate procured out of their own order two peculiar Officers to be created, who were called *Censores*, because according to their *Censio* or *estimation* the People was cessed, saith *Varro*, or because every one accounted himself worth so much, *quanti illi censuissent*, as they judged, or estimated, according to *Festus*.

21. At the beginning they were created for five years, because according to *Servius* his constitution the People were to be cessed at ever *Lustrum*, which contained so many. But their dignity and power so increasing, that they seemed of too long a continuance, nine years after, in the 320 of the City, by a Law which *Mamercus Æmilius* the Dictator preferred, the duration of their Office was confined within the term of one year and an half. Though their Office at first was onely to take an estimate of mens Estates, and describing all publick and private riches, to distribute the People according to their wealth into *Classes* and *Centuries*; yet within a while they came to have inspection into manners also. For they upon misdemeanour *put out of the Senate, took away publick horses*, and *cast out of the Tribes*. The former kind of punishment was inflicted upon *Senators*, the second upon *Equites*, and the last upon meer *Plebeians*. Their removing *Senaters*, was by passing them by at the new election. For, such *Senators* saith *Festus*, as were passed by in former times, were lyable to no disgrace, because as the Kings chose and substituted whom they pleased, so after them the Consuls and Tribunes Military, such as they had greatest interest in; first *Patritians*, and then after *Plebeians*, till by the *Tribunitial* Law of *Ovinius*, it was ordained, that the *Censors* out of every order or rank, should (*curiatim*) elect the most worthy into the Senate, whence it came to passe, that such as were passed by or removed, were noted with ignominie. This note out of *Festus* hinteth to us the antient power of the *Roman* Kings in making Senators, one of the greatest supporters of the Throne of their Empire.

The duration of the Office of Censors.

Livius lib. 3.

Their power.

In voce Præteviti.

22. As for the disgrace which they put upon *Equites*; It was the custome for every *Eques* at the publick *Census* to appear before the *Censors* with their Horses in their hands. If they approved of them, they bade them passe by and lead away the Horse; if they determined otherwise, they took away the Horse, and commanded him to be sold. The third note of disgrace concerned the *Plebeians*, whom they either removed from their own Tribe into another lesse honourable, according to *Livie*, or made them *Ærarii*, and registred them in the tables of the *Carites*, whereby they were deprived of their *Centurie*, and remained Citizens onely in this respect, *ut pro capitibus suis tributi nomine æra solverent*, as writeth *Asconius Pedianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* against *Q. Cæcilius*, called *Divinatio*, which disputeth who ought to be admitted the Accuser of *Verres*. *Gellius* telleth us what was meant by the *tabulæ Caritum*. The *Carites* (inhabitants of *Cære* in *Tuscany*, once called *Agylla*) *we understand to have been first of all made Municipals, without any right of suffrage: and it was granted them that they might receive the honour of being free of Rome, without any trouble or burthen, for that they received the Sacra (or idols) of the Romans, and preserved them in the* Gallick *War*; that is, when *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*, as *Livie* hath the story also in this fourth Book. *Hence were those called* Tabulæ Cæritum, *vice versa, wherein the Censors caused such to be registred as they deprived of the right of Suffrage.* Although these several sorts of punishment respected the several rancks of men, yet sometimes those of higher degree tasted of all or most of them, so that *Senators* might not onely be passed by, and *Equites* deprived of their Horses, but lose their Tribes also, and be reduced to the condition of *Ærarii*.

Vide Plutarchum historiam narrantem in Pompeio.

Livium lib. 29.

Festum in voce censio.

Lib. 16. cap. 13.

Livie lib. 4.

23. This Office being committed to the prudent management of able persons, became effectual to the repression of such vice, as fell not under the particular cognisance of penal Laws. Private faults, and domestick miscariages were by them noted, with such actions sometimes as now would not simply incur the censure of precise illegallity or indecency. Some of their questions

The effects of it.

questions upon oath were such as these: (a) *Hast thou a wife according to thy mind?* to which one once making a jesting answer, was made an *Ærarius*. A certain man yawning before the *Censors* had been punished in that sort, but that he swore he did it unwillingly, being troubled with that disease which the *Romans* called *Oscedo*. *P. Scipio Nasica* and *M. Pompilius* being *Censors*, and finding a certain Knight very fat and compt, whose horse was exceeding lean and ill favoured, they asked him the reason of that difference, to which he answered: *Because he looked to himself, but* Statius *to his horse*; for which irreverent answer he was registred amongst the *Ærarii* according to the custom. Now *Statius* was a servile name, given by the antients to most Slaves, whence *Cæcilius* the famous Writer of *Tragedies* was called *Statius*, though it was afterwards as it were turned into a surname, and he called *Cæcilius Statius*. They were wont also to take away horses from very big and corpulent men, as unfit for service, but (b) *Gellius* observeth, that this was no punishment, as some thought, but a taking away of the employment without ignominy. This *Census* was managed in the *Campus Martius*, and it being compleated, the *Lustrum* was made, with prayers for the publick safety, and a sacrifice of the *Suovetaurilia* formerly mentioned. Besides these imployments, the *Censors* (c) let to farm the customes, and sent (d) out their constitutions throughout the Provinces, called *Leges Censoriæ*. They erected (e) publick buildings, made other publick works, and took care for their repair, as also of the high-wayes, in, and about the Citie more early; and in other places afterward: they also provided for the expence of publick sacrifices. But not onely were there *Censors* at *Rome* (as the *Gracians* also used the *Census*) but the Colonies also had their *Subcensors*, who gave account to the other, what numbers of men, and what wealth they found in the several places, which upon information was registred in the publick Tables.

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(a) *Lege A. Gellium, l. 4. cap. ult.*

(b) *Lib. 7. c. 22.*

(c) *Liv. lib. 39.*

Cicero de Legib. l. 3.

(d) *Idem ad Attic. Ep. 1. & fili passim.*

(e) *Liv. lib. 42. Festus in voce Produit, ubi meminit Legis censoriæ. vid.*

24. The power of the *Censorship* remained untouched (although the power of the *Censors* was weakned by restraining their time to a year and an half, though they were named every fifth year) untill the Tribuneship of *P. Clodius*, who by a Law which he preferred (a) forbad any Senator to be passed by, or any of the other Ranks to be noted with ignominy, except lawfully accused, and condemned by sentence of both the Censors. He took an advantage (as it seemeth from (b) *Pedianus*) at the hatred which had possessed the multitude against the severity of the Office, which procured it to be intermitted for certain years. But afterwards (whether by reason of the corruption that was crept amongst Judges, or for other reasons) *Metellus Scipio* the Consul procured *Clodius* his Law to be abrogated, and so the antient Vigour of this office returned. *Lipsius* writeth, that under the Emperours it was diminished, and lay for dead till the time of *Decius*. But *C. Cæsar* the Dictator, that he might better execute the *Census*, went to every ones house; and because the principal part of the Office consisted in forming of manners, he called himself *Magister Morum*, not *Censor*. Then the form of the State being changed after the victory of *Actium*, *Augustus* having the care of manners committed to him by the Senate, looked to nothing more diligently than the *Census*, for thrice he performed it, not onely in reference to *Roman* Citizens, but all Subjects of the Empire, with such care and diligence as none ever before him. Under *Tiberius* and *Caligula* the *Census* was not observed, but under *Claudius* the 74th *Lustrum* was celebrated. Being intermitted during the reign of *Nero*, *Vespasian* renewed it, and celebrated the 75 *Census*. *Domitian* named himself amongst his other titles *Perpetual Censor*, but made no *Lustrum*, so that for 160 years the *Census* was intermitted till *Decius* the Emp. created *Valerian* Censor with unlimited power. After this the *Censorship* was utterly omitted to the great detriment of the *Roman* Empire, which being at length broken into Eastern and Western, the Emperours of the former (*Greekish* Emperours) made use of it, as others also of later times, and it appeareth that in the intermission thereof, in the dayes of *Trajan*, particular Provinces and Towns had their *Censors*, who made choice of

(a) *Asconius Pedianus in Orat. Ciceronis cont. L. Pisonem.*

(b) *In Divinat.*

The various fortune of the *Censorship.*

Diod. lib. 54. pag. 527.

Idem in Domitiano.

Sueton. in Augusto.

Trebellius.

Consule Bodinum de Repub. lib. 6. cap. 1.

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their Senators. Laſtly, the *Cenſors* during the popular Gouernment were of *Conſular* dignity, ever after the ſecond *Punick* War, though it was otherwiſe ſometimes before. The ſame perſons were never created twice. And in caſe one of them died in his Office, his Collegue continued not therein, neither was any put into the place of the dead, becauſe in that year wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Galls* it had ſo hapned; whereupon it was counted ominous, and a Law made againſt it for the time to come. Their dignity was exceeding great, they being therein though not in power above the Conſuls, and having all other Enſigns the ſame with them except *Lictors*. *Liv. l.5.*

25. The *Fathers* rejoyced they had got theſe Officers Created out of their own body, and the *Tribunes* counting that power inconſiderable, which at firſt was pretended to, gave way unto it. But the Commons egged on by the continual complaints of the later, proceeded in their grudge againſt the Patritians, taking it in ill part that marriage was forbidden betwixt the two orders, and breathing after no leſſe than equal power in the State. This animated *Sp. Melius*, a rich Knight, by his large bounty towards the poorer ſort in time of a great dearth, to hunt after popularity, and through it to aſpire to the Soverainty. He was hereof accuſed by *L. Minucius*, to whom the care of proviſions was committed, and the Senate affrighted with the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, by the advice of *T. Quinctius* the Conſul, commanded a *Dictator* to be named. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* now 80 years old was the man, who choſe *C. Servilius Ahala* for his Maſter of horſ-men. The *Dictator* ſummoning *Melius* to appear, when he would not obey, *Ahala* killed him in the Forum, and was juſtified for ſo doing by *Quintius*, who commanded his goods to be ſold, and his houſe razed. It ſhould ſeem from *Livy* that *Ahala* eſcaped without puniſhment: But *Cicero* and *Valerius* on the contrary affirm, that he was baniſhed by the incenſed multitude. This hapned in the 315th year of the Citie after *Varro*'s account. *Valerius* and *Livy* ſay, that the Area of his houſe for a memorial of his puniſhment had the name of *Æqui-Melium*.

Lege Liv. l.4. Val. Max. lib.5. cap.3. Excmp.2. & Lib.6. c.3. exemp. 1. Florum lib.1. cap. ult. Ciceron. pro domo ſua & pro Milone.

Sp. Melius his attempt for the Soverainty blaſted.

26. The *Tribunes* inraged about the death of *Melius*, procured for the year following *Tribunes Military* with Conſular power to be created now ſix years after their Inſtitution, hoping that into the number of ſix ſome *Plebeian* might creep, which thing would give them an opportunity to revenge the death of *Melius*: But three onely were created, and their expectation unanſwered thereby. This year *Fidena*, a *Roman* Colony, gave up it ſelf to *Tolumnius* King of the *Veientes*, and by his Inſtigation murdered the Ambaſſadors ſent thither. For this war *Mamercus Æmilius* was named *Dictator*, who overcame the Enemies in battel, wherein *Cornelius Coſſus* a *Tribune* in the Army, ſlew, and ſpoiled *Tolumnius*, thereby obtaining *Opima Spolia*. *Varro* thought they were called *Opima ab opibus* for their riches; but *Plutarch* thinketh rather *ab opere*, becauſe the conſecration of them was granted to a Captain, who with his own hand ſlew the General of the Enemy. They were conſecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſo called, becauſe the Trophy was carried in a *Feretrum*, or certain little carriage, as ſome thought, at that time there being many *Greek* words in uſe with the *Latines*, or a *Feriendo*, from *Jupiter* his ſmiting with Thunder-bolts, or elſe from the blows given in battel. This honour of carrying in Triumph the *Opima Spolia* hath onely thrice hapned to *Roman* Captains ſaith *Plutarch* untill our time. Firſt to *Romulus*, who ſlew *Acron* King of *Canina*; ſecondly to *Cornelius Coſſus*, who killed *Tolumnius*, (the *Etruſcan* in one place he calleth him, and the *Tyrrhenian* in another) and thirdly to *M. Marcellus*, who ſo killed, and ſpoiled *Britomartus* (in one place, but *Virdumarus* in another) King of the *Galls*. A controverſie there was of old, whether any but a General from a General could take *Opima Spolia*, which maketh *Livy* Apologize for what he writeth in honour of *Coſſus*; but *Varro* wrote, as (*) *Feſtus* witneſſeth, that a Manipular Soldier might rightly be ſaid to take them, ſo it were from a General of the Enemy.

In Romulo & Marcello.

* *In Voc. Opima Spolia.*

The *Tribunes* ſeek to revenge his death by bringing in *Tribunes Military* again.

The ſecond *Opima Spolia.*

27. Two

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27. Two years after this, *Fidena* was taken by another *Dictator*, *A. Servilius*, through the working of a Mine. But when the Conſuls had kept the power four years, they were forced again to give way to the *Tribunes Military*, for the Creation whereof, though the *Tribuni Plebis* prevailed, yet the Chief of the Commons miſſing all this while of being joyned with the Nobility in the honour, were much offended. At the end of two years the Senate took occaſion from the War wherewith the *Æqui* and *Volſci* threatned *Rome*, to bring in Conſuls, which alſo gave way to a *Dictator*, *A. Poſthumius Tubero*, againſt their wills, through the power of the *Tribunes*. He finiſhing the War ſucceſsfully, laid down his Office. And in this year wherein *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the ſon of *Lucius*, and *Cn. Julius Mento* were Conſuls, *Livy* by a groſſe miſtake would have the *Carthaginians* to have paſſed over into *Sicily* the firſt time, by an occaſion of the diſagreement of the Iſlanders amongſt themſelves. After five years the Commons prevailed to have *Tribunes Military* created the fifth time, four in number, who ſhewed how unprofitable the equal command of many in an Army is, and gave occaſion to the making of a new *Dictator*. For, *Fidena* having now again revolted, and joyned with the *Veientes*, three of thoſe *Tribunes* were ſent againſt it and them, and the fourth left to Govern the Citie. When they came to ingage with the Enemy, One cried *fight*, but another ſaid *Stay*, and each one being of a ſeveral mind, matters were at length brought to that paſſe, that the *Roman* Army fled. The Citie was ſtruck with great amazement at the report, and was in an uproar, which cauſed *Mamercus Æmilius* the third time to be named *Dictator*, though the *Cenſors* had removed him from his Tribe, for that in his ſecond Office (to which he was called, becauſe of the ſtirs made by the *Hetruſcans* upon the taking of *Fidena*) he confined their Office to the term of one year and an half. *Æmilius* being named *Dictator*, appointed for his Maſter of horſ-men *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who obtained the *Opima Spolia* of *Tolumnius* King of the *Veientes*.

Lege Liv. l.4. Val. Max. lib.5. cap.3. Exemp.2. & Lib.6. c.3. exemp. 1. Florum lib.1. cap. ult. Ciceron. pro domo ſua & pro Milone.

After four courſes of Conſuls *Tribunes Military* again.

Tribunes Military again.

A paſſage ſhewing the excellency of Monarchy.

28. By the prudence & valour of theſe two *Fidena* was retaken, and ſacked after the *Hetruſcans* were overthrown; and the *Dictator* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office when he had held it 17 dayes. For three years the *Tribunes Military* continued, at the end whereof the Senate took occaſion at the War which threatned from the *Volſci*, and at their abſence, to bring in the Conſuls again, notwithſtanding the *Tribunes* of the Commons oppoſed it. But *C. Sempronius*, one of the Conſuls, managing this War very careleſſy, the *Tribunes* thence took advantage, and the *Tribunes Military* again reſumed the Chief power. This was for one year, at the end whereof the Senate again procured Conſuls to be made. When this year was expired, there was ſo great contention about two *Quæſtors*, which the Commons would have created out of their body, that the State fell into an *interregnum*. *L. Papirius Mugillanus* being *Interrex* for a Compoſure procured the *Tribunes Military* to be again admitted, and four *Quæſtors* for the following year to be created, either out of *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People ſhould think fit in their *Comitia*; but this ſatisfied not the *Tribunes*, nor the better ſort of *Plebeians*, not one of this order being preferred (though ſome ſtood) either as *Tribune Military* or *Quæſtor*. In the ſecond year after this, the Slaves conſpired to ſet fire on the Citie, and ſeize upon the Capitol; but the plot was timely diſcovered. The *Tribunes Military* held the Government for ſeven years, and then another *Interregnum* becauſe of the Contention following, *Fabius Vibulanus* the *Inter ex* brought in Conſuls again.

Conſuls.

Tribunes Military.

Conſuls.

Tribunes Military.

Conſuls.

Diſturbances made by the *Tribuni Plebis*, the Grand Popular Tyrants.

29. The *Tribuni Plebis* according to their cuſtom made a bid conſtruction hereof, and having now and then mentioned the diviſion of publick grounds, preſſed it earneſtly with an extent now to all that at any time had been gotten by War. The *Patrutians* no leſſe vigorouſly oppoſed it, and the *Tribunes* hindred the Levies of Soldiers, ſo that with much ado, and upon extream neceſſity onely could the Conſuls procure any to oppoſe the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who now made incurſions. In the fifth year the Com-

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Commons being croſſed in their intentions by the Senate, of reſuming the *Tribunes Military*, created three of the *Quaſtors* of their own rank, and the chief amongſt them deſigning to be created *Tribune Military* for the next year, ſtickled hard for that kind of government. The Senate at length was conſtrained to yield; elſe no oppoſition could be made againſt the former Enemies, who now again made inrodes into the *Roman* Territories, and by confederacies exceedingly ſtrengthned themſelves. For this cauſe alſo, though much againſt the mind of the *Tribunes*, a *Dictator* was named, who overthrowing the Enemy in one battel, waſted his Country and returned. In the third year after this, the two orders were ſomething reconciled, by the plunder of a Town taken from the *Volſci*, and eſpecially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick pay of the Armies (with braſſe money) before which time every one bore his own charges in the War. But ſuch was the contentious diſpoſition of the *Tribunes*, thoſe grand incendiaries, that they drew this into *odium*, as grievous to ſuch who had formerly maintained themſelves in the Wars, and now were to pay others. They effected, that for a time the pay was denied, and after three years they procured one Plebeian (*P. Licinius Calvus*) to be choſen amongſt the *Tribunes Military*, wherein they mightily applauded themſelves, and readily permitted the pay of the Army to be gathered. *Licinius* caried himſelf ſo well in the Office, that for the year following all the *Tribunes Military* ſave one, were *Plebeians*.

Tribunes Military.

The firſt *Plebeian* amongſt the *Tribunes Military*.

30. For theſe ſeveral years the War abroad was carried on with the *Hetruſcans*, with various ſucceſſe, and *Veii* the principal of their Cities was beſieged, no leſſe in compaſſe than *Athens*, and exceeding wealthy, being within twenty miles of *Rome*. It's Inhabitants, called *Veientes*, had in behalf of the *Fidenates*, waged War with *Romulus*, afterwards being conquered, hid ſeven times rebelled, and ever perfidious in time of Peace, alwaies waſted the *Roman* Territories. They compelled the *Fidenates* alſo to rebel, perſwaded them to kill the Ambaſſadors, and the *Romans* thither ſent to inhabit, for, they vied with the *Romans* themſelves for power and riches. They had moreover injured the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and not once procured *Hetruria* to riſe againſt the State; wherefore the People offended with ſo many injuries, reſolved utterly to deſtroy *Veii*. Whereas the Soldiers untill this time, were wont in Summer onely to be abroad in War, and winter at home in the City, now were they conſtrained both Winter and Summer to continue the Siege. The ſeventh year thereof drawing towards an end, the *Tribunes Military* were blamed of remiſneſſe, ſo that for the following year new ones were created in their rooms. Amongſt them was *Furius Camillus*, who having got much credit in the battel fought with the *Æqui* and *Volſci* under *Poſthumius Tubertus* the Dictator, was honoured other wayes, as by being created Cenſor; in which Office he cauſed the Bachellors to mary the Widdovvs of ſuch as had loſt their lives for their Country, and firſt of all others obliged Orphans to pay Tribute, for that the depending Wars, eſpecially the Siege of *Veii*, vvere very chargable to the State. Being novv *Tribune Military* the ſecond time, he did nothing againſt *Veii*, it having fallen to his lot to repreſſe the *Falerienſes* and *Capenates*, vvho diſturbed the *Romans* in their enterprize. At length in the tenth year of the Siege, they created him *Dictator*, as the moſt fit perſon they had to finiſh it.

Furius Camillus.

Plutarch in Camillo.

Made Dictator.

31. *Camillus* appointed *Cornelius Scipio* to be his Maſter of Horſe-men, and firſt overthrowing in a great battel the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, went againſt *Veii*. Finding it full of difficulty to take a place of ſuch ſtrength by ſtorm, he wrought a mine up into it, through which his Soldiers iſſuing, he eaſily ſurprized it. Being elevated by ſo great an atchievement, whereby he had thus ſubdued the corrival of *Rome*, in the tenth year of the Siege, he triumphed in a Chariot drawn by four white Horſes, which his Country-men thinking proper onely to the King and Father of their gods, were much offended at it: and indeed no man neither before nor after him (ſaith *Plutarch*) aſſumed to himſelf ſo much honour. Being offended with this cariage, they found themſelves as much concerned in another matter. The Tribunes

Surprizeth *Veii*.

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bunes of the Commons propoſed a Law for dividing aſunder the Senate and People, whereof the one ſhould ſtay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*; this parting as they thought, being a ready means for the enrichment of both, by the poſſeſſion of two ſuch conſiderable Cities. The *Plebeians* now many and rich vehemently preſſed it, and the *Patritians* judging it would prove the overthrow of the State, as earneſtly oppoſed the Law, betaking themſelves to *Camillus*, who put it off by diverting the multitude into other courſes. Having contracted an alienation of mind from them upon theſe accounts, another thing caſt him into an abſolute hatred, and that if not upon a juſt, yet a plauſible pretence. He had made a vow, that if he took *Veii*, he would dedicate the tenth part of the plunder to *Apollo*, but when the City was taken, either becauſe he was unwilling to diſpleaſe the Soldiery, or forgot it, the thing was omitted. After he had laid down the Office of Dictator, he moved the People in it, and the Prieſts reported that the ſacrifices portended the anger of their gods, which muſt be appeaſed by gifts; ſo that the Soldiers who had already ſpent what they had got upon their neceſſary uſes, were forced upon oath to reſtore the tenth part, wherewith a preſent was made to *Apollo*. Becauſe there was litle Gold in the City, the women contributed their ornaments, in way of requital whereof the Senate decreed, that at their burial they ſhould alſo be commended by funeral Orations, which before this had not been in uſe.

Incurreeth the diſpleaſure of the multitude, for hindring the ſeparation of Patritians and Plebeians, and otherwiſe.

32. The Tribunes again moving for a ſeparation, the War with the *Faliſci* opportunely fell out to divert the multitude, for which *Camillus* was choſen *Tribune Military* with five others. He beſieging the *Falerii*, who inhabited a ſtrongly fortified City, the School-maſter thereof drew out his boyes into his Camp, and offered to give them up into his hands, which treachery he ſo far deteſted, as to cauſe the Pædagogue to be ſtripped, and put rods into the hands of his boyes, wherewith they drove him back into the Town. Herewith the *Falerii* were ſo affected as they yielded, and the Senate referring them for conditions to *Camillus*, he onely fined them a ſum of mony, and received them with all the *Faliſci* into friendſhip. But the Soldiers who hoped to have inriched themſelves with the plunder of this place, inveighed grievouſly againſt him, and now the Tribunes preſſing again the Law for ſeparation, he uſed ſuch freedom in oppoſing it, that they out of revenge accuſed him of having pilfred the plunder in the *Hetruſcan* War, whereof ſome brazen dores had been, as they ſaid, ſeen in his houſe. The multitude now upon ſeveral accounts exaſperated againſt him, reſolved to ſhew their ſpleen. So that not having any way to evade their diſpleaſure, he went into exile, lifting up his hands towards the Capitol, and praying, that if he was unjuſtly and meerly by the luſt and malice of the multitude baniſhed, they might ſodainly repent it, and that it might appear to all men, how much the *Romans* ſtood in need of and deſired his preſence. Being gone, he was fined 15000 *Æra*, which ſum in Silver made up 1500 *Denarii*. For *Æs* or braſſe was then uſed for money, and *Denarius* thence had the name, for that it contained ten *Aſſes* thereof. But within a while it fell out, that *Camillus* was both miſſed and deſired, according to his wiſh.

He goeth into exile.

33. Many thouſands of the *Galls* called *Celtæ*, finding their own Country too narrow for them, with their wives and children left it, to ſeek out new ſeats. Some of them paſſing over the Sea, pierced as far as the *Riphæan* mountains, and placed themſelves in the utmoſt limits of *Europe*, others took up their habitation betwixt the *Pyrenæans* and the *Alps*, near the *Senones* and *Celtorii*. Theſe a long time after having taſted of ſome *Italian* wine, were furiouſly tranſported with a deſire of inhabiting ſo rare a Soil, as brought forth ſuch fruit, and paſſing over the *Alps*, got into their power all that Country once belonging to the *Etruſcans*, and which reached from the *Alps* to both the Seas: for, that the *Etruſcans* once inhabited all this Country, *Plutarch* proveth thence, that the Northern Sea was named *Adriatick*, from *Adria*, one of their Towns, and the Southern, *Tyrrhenian*, from the *Tyrrheni* the ſame with *Hetruſci*. At this time the poſterity of thoſe *Galli Senones*

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The *Galls* besiege *Clusium*.

Senones under the conduct of their King *Brennus*, besieged *Clusium* a City of *Hetruria*, whose inhabitants sent to *Rome*, desiring of that State to interpose, by sending Ambassadors and Letters to their unjust oppressors. The Senate performing this neighbourly part, the *Galls* required part of the Territories of the *Clusini*, who were, as they said, unable to manage them all, and *Brennus* not condescending to any other conditions, the Ambassadors (all three of the *Fabian* family) in great anger went into *Clusium*, and caused the Inhabitants to make a sally out against the besiegers. It hapned, that in the fight *Fabius Ambustus* one of the three killing a *Gall*, whilst he disarmed him, was discovered; whereupon *Brennus* conceiving just indignation, broke up his Siege, and marched towards *Rome*.

Defeat the *Romans* at *Alia*.

34. Yet because he would not seem to proceed unjustly, he sent thither, requiring that the Ambassadors might be given up to him, as having broke the Law of Nations. But favour so far prevailed above equity, that the matter being referred from the Senate to the People, no satisfaction could be had from either: nay the Ambassadors on the contrary, were with three others created *Tribunes Military*, for carying on the Warre. *Brennus* then continuing his march, and breathing revenge, was met by the *Tribunes* at the River *Alia*, eleven miles from the City, who scarce striking one stroak, quickly betook them to their heels, and their Army after them. The *Galls* persued them, being amazed at the flight and cowardize of those who had already obtained for their valour a great name in the World; but were astonished when they found the gates of *Rome* open, and none upon the walls to make resistance; for it had been resolved to quit the City and secure the Castel. The greater part of the People departed into the adjoyning Country; the rest possessed themselves of the Capitol, all but certain old men of Senatorian degree, who in their robes placed themselves in the Forum, resolving to take such quarter, as the disposition of the Enemy would afford them.

Come to *Rome* which is forsaken all but the Capitol.

Brennus at first fearing some stratagem, after he perceived all to be clear, entred the City. His Soldiers were amazed, to see the grave Senators sitting without fear in the Forum, and hurt them not, till one handling the long beard of *M. Papirius*, the old man struck him with his staff upon the head, whereupon the *Gall* slew him, and then all the rest were killed, with all of both Sexes and all ages that were found about the City, which was also now burnt to the ground, and the Capitol closely besieged.

35. While the *Galls* lay before the Capitol, they carelesly demeaned themselves, as secure of any Enemy, and were scattered into the Country adjoyning. *Camillus* at this time living in exile at *Ardea*, procured the Inhabitants of that City to issue out upon them, and killed many; which the *Romans*, who lay at *Veii*, understanding, chose him for their General, desiring him to forget injuries, and succour his distressed Country. He objected his condition of banishment, and refused to act, except by commission from those in the Capitol, whom he considered to be the body of the *Roman* State yet surviving. There was one *Pontius Cominius*, who undertook to procure him leave from their friends in the Capitol, whither by a strange adventure he got, passing by the Enemy, and swimming the River till he came to the Rock, which then he made a shift to climbe, and having procured the Senate to pronounce *Camillus* Dictator, returned in the same manner. By this time as well the besiegers as besieged were well wearied, both parties for want of provisions, and the *Galls* by reason of a Plague which raged amongst them; so as (having once attempted to surprize the Castel, by climbing up the Rock, they were discovered by the crying of the Geese, consecrated to *Juno*, and repelled by the valour of one *Manlius* especially) they agreed for fifty pounds of Gold to rise and depart. Yet so covetous were they, that they took out the Gold as it was weighing, and added to the weight, which being complained of, *Brennus* cast in his Sword also, crying *Væ victis*, which afterwards became a proverb. But in the mean time came *Camillus*, and nulling this compact, as made without his consent, who before was Dictator, and therefore alone had power of making Peace, overthrew them in fight, and

A. M. 3615. *Ol.* 97. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 364. *Artax. Mnem.* 15.

Camillus made Dictator.

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Overthroweth them & rescueth *Rome*.

and did such execution upon them in pursute, as what remained of them, was overpowered and cut off by the Country. Thus *Rome*, which was unexpectedly taken by the *Galls* about the *Ides* of the moneth *Quinctilis*, was more unexpectedly recovered about the *Ides* of *February*, so that as *Plutarch* writeth, the *Barbarians* held it seven moneths, in the 365 year of the City, and the sixteenth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Hindereth the multitude from departing to *Veii*.

36. The Tribunes now renewed their importunity about removing unto *Veii*, which caused the Senate to procure *Camillus* his holding of the Office of Dictator, though contrary to the custome, for the whole year. He with gentle language appeased the multitude, shewing them, how unworthy a thing it was to forsake the seat of their Ancestors, and of their Country rites (which were appropriate to the same place) for to inhabit a conquered and enslaved City. Then was *Rome* rebuilt in great haste, whereby afterwards it became rather an heap of houses than a well ordered Town, and that the watercourses formerly laid in the streets, now ran for the most part under private houses. *Camillus* having laid down his Office was forced the year following to reassume it, because of the *Volsci*, who now took Armes, as also the *Æqui* and *Etruscans*, all which he overthrew, and forced the *Volsci* to yield themselves after the War had continued with them for 70 years. In the third year after this he overcame them again, and with them the *Hernici* and *Latines*, whereof the later had ever from the battel at the *Rhegillan* Lake been trusty and faithful until now: and from the *Etruscans* he recovered two Towns which they had taken from the Allies of *Rome*. This he did being *Tribune Military*, though envied by *M. Manlius*, who having done special service in the Capitol, by repelling the *Galls*, obtained the Sirname of *Capitolinus*. Being naturally haughty and ambitious, he was herewith puffed up, so as to extenuate the deserts of *Camillus*, and by ingratiating himself with the common sort, through paying their debts, and railing against the great ones, plainly to aim at the Soveraignty. This, together with the War depending with the *Volsci*, which was also aggravated by the defection of the *Hernici* and *Latines*, caused the Senate to resolve that a Dictator should be created. *Livius lib. 6.*

37. This was *A. Cornelius Cossus*, as *Livie* writeth, though *Plutarch* nameth *Quinctius Capitolinus*, whom the other reporteth to have been Master of the Horse-men to *Cossus*. He triumphing over the Enemies from without, called also by the help of the Tribunes *Manlius* to account, and shut him in prison. The multitude much afflicted hereat, took mourning garments, and made such disturbance, that after some time he was set at liberty. But holding private meetings in the night, and growing more bold in his design, the Senate committed it to the care of the *Tribunes Military*, whereof *Camillus* was one, (as afterward in cases of great exigency to the Consuls) *to take care that the Commonwealth should receive no dammage*. Being then brought to his trial again in that place, whence a view of the Capitol might be had, he would ever point to it, and put the People in mind of what he had done there for them; whereupon *Camillus* caused his Judges to remove without the gate, into the grove called *Lucus Petelinus*, where being no sight of the Capitol, he was condemned. He was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock, the place both of his honour and infamie: and it was decreed, that none of the *Manlii* should afterward be called *Marcus*. *Plutarch in Camillo.*

Manlius thrown from the *Tarpeian* Rock.

38. After these things the *Latines* rebelling, and the *Volsci*, were severally overthrown without, and great tumults hapned within, by reason of the debts of the *Commons*, now again exceedingly increased. Their Tribunes incensed them against the *Patritians*, and the contest was sharpened by *Fabius Ambustus* one of this order, who having maried one daughter to a *Patritian* and another to a *Commoner*, this took such distaste at her husbands condition, being void of honour, that *Fabius* told her he would so order the matter, that the same dignity should be communicated to her house, as was to that of her Sister. From this time he consulted with *Licinius Stolo* her husband, and *L. Sestius*, about the preferring of a Law, for making one Consul out of the

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the Commons. These two being made *Tribunes* of the People, laboured so vigorously about it, that after long and great contention it came to that passe, that for five years they suffered no Supreme Magistrates to be created. Nine years this dispute continued, those two continuing *Tribunes* still, and the matter had come to another separation or worse, but that *Camillus* reconciled the parties. He was made *Dictator* the fourth, saith *Plutarch*, for this purpose, but finding the multitude too stubborn, which threatned to Fine him except he complied, he again laid down his Office. The Senate then caused another *Dictator* to be named, under whom *Licinius Stolo* preferred a Law, which forbad any man to possesse above 500 Akers of ground, and afterwards being found himself to have above, was punished by virtue of his own constitution. Whilest the Contention was on foot about the Consulship, news came that the *Galls*, many thousands in number, were marching from the *Adriatick-Sea* towards *Rome*, which composed the difference for the present, and made them cast their eyes upon *Camillus* as *Dictator* the fifth time. He being near 80 years of age refused not the employment in this time of so great danger, and perceiving the *Galls* to fight with swords, striking at the heads and shoulders of their Enemies without any art or dexterity, he furnished his men with light iron Helmets, and bound their Targets about with brasse, teaching them how to fence, and receive the stroaks. By this device he rendred the swords of the *Galls* so unserviceable, that giving them battel at the River *Aniene*, he easily overthrew them, in the 23th year after he had recovered *Rome* from their Countrey-men.

Wonderfull Sedition and confusion about the Consulship.

Camillus the fifth time *Dictator* again overthroweth the *Galls* at the River *Aniene*.

39. After this fight the *Romans* despised the *Galls* whom before they exceedingly feared, insomuch that wheras by a Law immunity from War was granted to Priests, an exception and Proviso was added as to that with the *Galls*. *Camillus* in his retreat had *Velitræ* given up into his hands; but having now finished all his warlike exploits, a very considerable one remained to be performed by him at home. For at his return he was received with fierce and impatient Contests betwixt the Senate and Commons about the Consulship, and retaining his power, that thereby he might serve the interest of the Nobility, an Officer was sent from the *Tribunes* to pull him down from his seat in the Forum, and bring him before them. His attendants repelling the man, such a noise and tumult followed as never before had been known, the multitude crying out, *pull him down*. He laid not down his Office, but departing to the Senate-house, had a serious debate with the Fathers about the matter, and after a great and various Contention, that party prevailed which granted to the Commons that one of the Consuls might be created out of their body. For this they desired, and obtained of the Commons, to have a *Prætor* created yearly out of the Patritian order for administration of Justice in the Citie. By this agreement a good understanding being revived betwixt the parties, for as long a time as the firmity of the Government could bear, a Temple was dedicated to *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed, moreover a fourth day was added to the *Latine Feria*, and the greater sort of Games were solemnized, which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons refused to manage, the young Patricians offered themselves, and the Senate procured also of the People that two Patritians every year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Chair called *Sella Curulis*, had the name of *Ædiles Curules*. What their Office was hath been shewn before. As for this Chair, *Gellius* writeth, that antiently such Senators as had born a *Curule* Office, were for honour's sake wont to be drawn to the house in a Chariot, wherein was a Chair in which they sate, and which thence (from the Chariot or *Currus*) was called *Curulis*. But others think that both the Orthography of the word, and the dismension of the thing crossed this derivation, and that it was called *Curulis* from *Cures*, a Town of the *Sabines*. The form of it upon old Coins represents that of *Spanish Chairs*, used by Princes as Chairs of State: It had also crooked feet, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* describeth it; several ascents there were to it: it was covered with Ivory, as several Authors shew, and carved or ingraven, according to *Ovid*.

Procure to the Commons the Consulship, and the Offices of *Prætor* and *Ædilis Curulis* to the Patritians.

Unheard of Seditions.

Lib. 3. cap. 18.

What the *Curule* Chair was

40. But

What the *Prætorship*.

40. But as for the *Prætor*, there were two causes of the Creation of this Officer; *Æmulation* and *Use*. The former was wrought in the Patritians by the Commons, who now had wrested into their own hands the Consulship. The later was brought about by reason that the Consuls were for the most part imployed abroad in Wars, and therefore there was a necessity of a Magistrate, whose peculiar work it should be to administer Justice in the Citie. The *Prætor* was so called a *præeundo*, as write both (*a*) *Varro* and (*b*) *Cicero*, and agreeably with this Etymology it was once the name of (*c*) Consuls also, as we shewed before, and of all, or most other Magistrates, Civil or Military. It is probable, that this name, as the other of *Dictator*, *Ædilis*, and *Duumvir*, might come out of *Hetruria*, there being such Officers there of old, as *Spartianus* seemeth to hint, and otherwise may be gathered. There being but one created at his time, *viz.* in the 388 year of the Citie, afterward about the 500 year another was added, who administred Justice unto strangers, so that for distinction the one was called *Prætor Urbanus*, and the other *Peregrinus*, the former being in Dignity above the other, and his Constitutions called *Jus Honorarium*, as we shewed before out of *Pomponius*. This same Author (having shewn, that after the bringing in of this *Prætor Peregrinus*, the *Decemviri* for judging of Causes, the *Triumviri* for coyning of Brasse, Silver, and Gold, the *Triumviri Capitales* for keeping of Prisons, and the *Quinqueviri* for both sides of *Tiber* for executing what belonged to Magistrates in the evenings (at which time they were not to be abroad) were created by degrees) writeth further, that *Sardinia* being made a *Roman* Province, after that *Sicily*, then *Spain*, and after *Norbonensis*; so many *Prætors* were made as there were Provinces, who partly governed at home, and partly abroad. *Lipsius* more particularly affirmeth, that, in the 520 year of the Citie, *Sardinia* and *Sicily* being both made Provinces, there were two added, who as the former two assisted the Consuls in administring of Justice, so these in the government of the Provinces. When *Spain* (*Hispaniæ* in the plural number) was subdued, in the year 557. two more were added. So there were in all six *Prætors*, whereof two onely remained in the Citie, and the other, as soon as declared, departed into the Provinces, as they fell to them by lot: this order continued till the examinations called *Quæstiones Perpetuæ* were appointed, at which time the Senate resolved that all the *Prætors* for the year of their Office should continue in the Citie, and judge some controversies, either publick or private.

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(*a*) *Prætor dictus qui præiret jure & exercitu. A quo Lucilius, Ergo Prætorum est præire. De Ling. Lat. lib. 4. p. 22.*

(*b*) *Vide Cap. hujus Sect. 1. Paragr. 1.*

(*c*) *Veteres enim omnem Magistratum cui parerent exercitus Prætorem appellaverunt unde & Prætorium tabernaculum ejus dicitur, & in castris porta prætoria, & hodie quoque præfectus prætorio. Asconius Pedianus in Verrem de Prætura urbis.*

41. *Pomponius* proceedeth, saying, that *Cornelius Sulla* appointed other publick Examinations or Inquisitions: As, for example, *De falso*, *De Parricidio*, and *de Sicariis*, for which he added four *Prætors* more; but *Lipsius* saith he is mistaken in the number, proving out of *Cicero* that he made but two. *C. Julius Cæsar* appointed other two, as also two *Ædiles* called *Cereales*, and afterward 16 *Prætors*, as appeareth from *Dio*, who also relateth the *Triumviri* with greater liberty to have made 64. *Augustus* filled up the number to 16. saith *Pomponius*, though first *Lipsius* will have him to have confined the number to 12. *Claudius* added two, who where to judge onely concerning *Fidei Commissa*, as the Law term is. *Titus* took one from the number: but *Nerva* restored and appointed him to hear and determine Causes betwixt the Exchecquer and private persons. Another was appointed by *M. Antonius Philosophus*, called *Prætor Tutelaris*. So, in all there were 18. till, as the Empire decreased, they decreased also in number, and at length were reduced to that of three by a Law of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*. As for the Office of *Prætors*, the *Prætor Urbanus*, who was also called *Præfectus Urbi* (though the *Præfectus* was afterward onely chosen for the Latine *Feria*) in the absence of the Consuls executed their Office in the Senate and *Comitia*. But three things especially belonged to them: *Games*, *Sacrifices*, and *Judicature*. The former onely continued to them in a manner when the Empire decayed. Their Judicature was either in publick or private matters. Private causes concerning *meum* and *tuum*, two onely handled, *viz.* the *Urbanus* and *Peregrinus*; Publick or Criminal matters were managed by all the

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rest, who yet had their several and distinct Crimes, one or two, which they judged; and yet sometimes in their Provinces they managed Civil matters also. They had the same Ornaments and Ensigns of power as the Consuls; onely but six Lictors apiece, whereas the other had twelve. In respect of their power and honour, as also because they were created by the same *Auspicia*, *Livy* calleth them the *Collegues of Consuls*.

42. The first Consul out of the body of the Commons was *L. Sextius*, by whose Law the privilege was obtained; the first *Prætor Sp. Furius*, the son of *Camillus*, and the first *Ædiles Curules* were *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. To *Sextius* was given as Collegue from amongst the Patritians *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and so the Consuls again returned after 23 years, these being the 88 pair as they are found in *Livy*, and the *Tribunes Military* were for ever laid aside after 48 courses of that Office, and fifteen changes from the Consulship to it, and from it to the Consulship. Besides these changes of Government in *Rome*, there were the two Grand ones from Kings to Consuls, and from Consuls to the *Decemviri*; and to this time from the first of these alterations had intervened 20 Dictatorships, besides the several *Interregnums*. The first *Interregnum* was extraordinary, being betwixt the reigns of *Romulus* and *Numa*, when the Senate governed for the space of a year: the other were ordinary, and continued but for five dayes under particular men, at the end whereof another was Elected, and called *Interrex*, having for that time the power of Consuls. All these charges of Government, except the *Interregnums* betwixt the reigns of the Kings (whereof none but one is considerable) hapned to the Commonwealth of *Rome* within the space of 134 years, scarce so many having compleatly passed from the banishment of *Tarquinius*, to this alteration in the Consulship. It is not in vain to have made these observations, that the Reader may plainly see the ridiculous fickleneſſe, weakneſſe, and danger of the *Roman* Government after that it came to be Antimonarchical.

Liv. Lib. 7.

The many alterations in the Roman Government.

43. In the beginning of the year, news came of the *Galls* their meeting together, who had before been dispersed through *Apulia*, and of the intended revolt of the *Hernici*; but all preparations were deferred by the Senate, because it troubled them that any thing should be done by a *Plebeian* Consul, and there was a great silence with a general intermission of busineſſe as in some great Vacation. Onely the *Tribunes* were not silent, because that for one *Plebeian* Consul the Nobility had got three Patritian Magistrates, who sate as Consuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætexta*: especially were they concerned about the *Prætor*, who administred Justice, was a Collegue of the Consuls, and created by the same *Auspicia*. Modesty therefore suffered not the Fathers to create both the *Ædiles Curules* out of their own body; so that it was agreed first that every other year they should be chosen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were Elected promiscuously. The year following fell a grievous plague upon the Citie, which took away, besides great multitudes of the common sort, One *Censor*, one *Ædilis Curulis*, and three *Tribunes*: And who was more than all, *Camillus* himself now died, having born the Office of Consul more than once, been five times Dictator, having Triumph four, and done such things as he deservedly was written the second founder of *Rome*. The plague raging both in this and the following year, gave place to no means that were used, so that all mens minds being superstitiously bent, the Stage-playes were brought up to appease their impure gods. The Actors were sent for out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which Countrey *Hister* signifying a Player, thence was derived the *Roman* word *Histrio*: these playes were very barbarous and antick at the first. Two years after this the ground cleaving asunder in the Forum, *M. Curtius* is said to have rode into the hole, and so being swallowed up, purchased conquest for his Countrey, according to the Declaration of their gods. After this there was action abroad with the *Hernici* and the *Galls*. One of these provoking any one *Roman* to a single Combat, *T. Manlius* accepted of the challenge, and killing his Enemy took

Camillus with many others dieth of the plague.

M. Curtius.

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Torquatus. took a *Torques* or chain from his neck, whence he and his posterity obtained the Sirname of *Torquatus*. In this fight the *Galls* had the worst, so also three years after, and eight years after that, when *M. Valerius* a young man, and Tribune of the Soldiers, fighting with another *Gall*, as *Manlius* did, had the same succeſſe. As he was fighting a Crow came, and sitting upon his head, with beak and wings assisted him in his combat, whence he had the Sirname of *Corvinus*. At this time also were several Victories obtained against the *Latines* and *Hetruscans*.

Corvinus.

44. But, (that we may joyn domestick affairs with those of the Camp) after the Commons had enjoyed the Consulship nine years, the Patritians took it from them again, out of disdain that the year before *C. Martius Rutilius* a *Plebeian* had been Dictator. Hereat the multitude was so inraged, that at the end of three years more, the Senate was forced to restore the Office, and because Usury was again grown exceeding burthensom to the poorer sort, they appointed five men to order the payment of debts out of the Treasury. For the following year also one of the *Censors* was chosen out of the Plebeians. Hitherto were the Wars of the *Romans* as it were at their gates: now they were removed further off, and henceforth continued longer: For in the 412 year from the founding of the City, and the 46 from it's restauration, began the War with the *Samnites*, a People of *Italy*, * descended from the *Sabines*, from whom also they had their name, or from *Saunia* or *Sannia*, which in the *Greek* tongue signifie *Spears*; or from the hill *Samnium*, where, as they came from the *Sabines*, they seated themselves, according to *Festus*. They had the *Sabines*, *Peligni*, and *Æqui* on the West, the *Picentini* and *Apuli* on the East, on the South the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and on the North the *Marucini*, *Dauni*, and *Apuli*, as is observable out of History, saith * *Joh. Stadius*. It was the custome of the *Romans* by helping others to espouse quarrels. The *Samnites* having unjustly molested the *Sidicini* with War, they betook themselves to the *Campanians* for succour. These being luxurious and effeminate, were easily worsted, and sent to *Rome* for aid, their Ambassadors imploring it with tears, and giving up themselves and Country into the hands of the Senate and People. The Senate was at first unwilling to use any force, for that the *Samnites* were their friends in confederacy; but upon the importunate cries and prayers of the Ambassadors, and the scornful denial of the *Samnites* to abstain from the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, their request was granted, and the Consuls sent forth, the one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*, where the *Samnites* were overthrown in both places, and many thousands of them slain: For, in *Campania*, *Valerius* after a bloody battel became Master of their Camp. In *Samnium Cornelius* having unwarily led his Army thither where they lay in wait for him, *P. Decius* a Tribune in the Army, possessed himself of an hill above the Enemy, who much wondring thereat, applied themselves thither, and so gave liberty to the Consul to draw forth his men into a more convenient place. Then brake he through, though besieged, whereat the Enemy was so much astonished, that the Consul falling on obtained so great a Victory, that 30000 of the *Samnites* were slain.

A Plebeian Dictator made which causeth great discontent.

Strabo l. 5. p. 228. c.

The War with the Samnites.

** In Florio l. 1. c. 16.*

45. This defeat, together with inroades made upon them the next year, drew them to make a peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their mercy. They desired that the *Latines* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to assist the *Sidicini*; but because the Senate would not deny that these Nations were under their command, and were also afraid to provoke them, so ambiguous an answer was made, as the *Samnites* being left but dubious, the *Latines* and the other thought themselves so far disobliged as to rebel. *T. Manlius Torquatus* now Consul the third time, with *Decius Mus* his Collegue, was sent to chastize the *Latines*. Upon dreams which they both had, that one General on the one part, and the Army on the other, belonged to the *Dii Manes* and *Tellus mater*, they agreed, that in what part the *Roman* Army should be distressed, he under whose command it was should devote himself, and that strict discipline should be observed, so that all were forbidden to fight without orders.

SECT. 2.

Decius Mus devoteth himself.

ders. The Army being sorely put to it in *Decius* his wing, he devoted himself, and rushing into the midst of his Enemies, after great slaughter made, lost his life. *L. Manlius* the other Consul's Son, passing with his Troop, before the battel, near the Camp of the Enemy, was challenged by *Geminius Metius* Captain of the *Tusculans*, whom when he had slain and stripped, his Father for a reward caused him to be put to death; whence cruel Commands were wont to be called *Manliana Dicta*. Of the manner of the Combat * *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius* is to be consulted. The *Latines* being overthrown were wholly subdued, and begged Peace; which being given to them, though not with the same conditions to all, *Manlius* returned, and was met by antient men onely, the young ones refusing to do him that honour, who ever after both hated and cursed him in reference to his son.

A. M. 3666. *Ol.* 110. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 415. *Ochi* 23. *Philippi* 22. *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 13.

46. After his return, the *Antiates* and *Ardeates* made incursions into the *Roman* Territories. Being by sickness rendred unfit for War, he named *L. Papyrius Crassus* for Dictator, who appointed *L. Papyrius Cursor* his Master of Horse-men; but nothing memorable was done. The Consuls for the following year, *T. Æmilius Mamercus* and *Q. Publius Philo*, overthrew the *Latines*, who had rebelled because of the grounds taken from them. *Publius*, by whose conduct and *auspicium* the Victory was obtained, receiving into amity such Cities as had been worsted, *Æmilius* led the Army against *Pedus*, which received supplies from several places. Though he had the better in all skirmishes, yet the Town holding out, and he hearing that his Colleague was returned home to his deceed Triumph, he also left the Siege, and departed to demand that honour. The Senate was offended, and denied to permit him the honour, except *Pedus* was either taken, or surrendred, which caused him out of revenge all the year following to joyn with the Tribunes against the Fathers, his Collegue not opposing it, because a Plebeian. The Senate having a desire to be rid of them, commanded a Dictator to be named, but it belonging to *Æmilius* to name him, he whose were the *Fasces* for this moneth, named his Collegue, who appointed *Junius Brutus* his Master of Horse-men. And his Dictatorship was very grievous to the Nobility, being full of invectives against them, and the procurer of three Laws, whereof the first altered the very constitution of the State. This was, that the *Plebiscita* should bind all the *Quirites*, or the whole People, comprising all rankes, and degrees. The second, that such Laws as passed in the *Centuriata Comitia*, should be proposed by the Fathers before the Suffrage. The third, that one of the *Censors* at least should be a *Plebeian*, whereas now it was come to that passe, that both might be such. Thus did the Government of *Rome* devolve fast to a Democratical temper, the interest of the *Patritians* being now quite broken by the force of the former Law (which proved as a *Lex talionis* to them, and as a punishment for their rebellion against their Kings) in the 416 year of the City, after *Varro*'s account, which fel in with the first of *Arses* King of *Persia*, and the 23 of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*.

The *Latines* overthrown.

The very constitution of the State changed.

47. In the following year, wherein *L. Furius Camillus* and *C. Manius* were Consuls, *Pedus* was taken by storm, and the Consuls in pursute of the Victory subdued all *Latium*, for which they triumphed, and had Statues on horseback set up in the Forum; an honour but rare in those dayes. The several People of *Latium*, had several conditions of Peace set them. To *Antium* was sent a new Colony, and the old inhabitants were forbidden the Sea, had all their long-ships taken from them, had leave to enter themselves in the Colony, and were made free of the City. The ships were partly brought into the *Roman* Arcenal, partly burnt, and with their *Rostra* or beaks was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations adorned, which was built in the Forum; whence that Temple was afterwards called *Rostra*. The year following *Minutia* a Vestal Nun was buried quick in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which I believe, saith *Livie*, *had it's name from Incest*; for so the fault of incontinency in those women was termed. And in this same year *Q. Publius Philo* was made the first *Prætor* out of the Commons; the Senate not regarding now what hapned in this kind, because they had been overpowered in things of greatest

All *Latium* subdued.

The *Rostra* at *Rome* whence so called.

greatest consequence. Now also a War arose betwixt the *Aurunci* and *Sidicini*, whereof the former were constrained by the other to forsake their antient seat, and depart to *Suessa*, which was afterwards called *Aurunca*. The *Aurunci* had given up themselves to the *Romans*, who thereupon ordered them relief, but the Consuls deferring it, this fell out in the mean time. But the next year the *Sidicini* and the *Ausones* who inhabited *Cales* were overthrown, and *Valerius Corvinus* now the fourth time Consul for the following year, and the greatest *Roman* Captain of this time, took *Cales* also, where a Colony was placed. In the second year after the taking of *Cales*, the Census was solemnized, and two Tribes added, *Metia* and *Scaptia*, for the newly admitted Citizens: the *Acerrani* were also made free of the City, without the privilege of Suffrage, by a Law preferred by *L. Papirius* the *Prætor*.

SECT. 2.

48. In the year following, above 170 women were put to death for the art of poysoning, being discovered by a she Slave, whereas heretofore there had been no inquisition made after this crime, which therefore was counted such a prodigie, that a Dictator was made for fixing of a nail, which they had read in their Annals to have been a remedy for the distempers of the State, when the Commons separated from the Patritians. For the two succeeding years a War was managed against the *Privernates*, who were drawn into it by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a man of principal note amongst the *Fundani*. In the first year they were overthrown, in the next he was either taken or delivered up, and *Privernum* either stormed or surrendred, both being affirmed by Writers, of whom *Livie* is to be consulted: the principal actors were together with *Vitruvius* put to death, and the rest of the Inhabitants made free of the City. The first year of this Warre fell in with the last of *Darius Codomannus*, the last King of *Persia*, being the 424 of the City, when *L. Papyrius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plautius Venox* (or *Veuno*) were Consuls.

War with the *Privernates*.

A. M. 3675. *Ol.* 112. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 424. *Darii* 7. *Alexandri* 7.

AN

AN INSTITUTION OF General History.

The First Part.

BOOK III.

Of the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and Affairs of the World Contemporary with it.

CHAP. I.

From the beginning of the Monarchy of Alexander *to his death, containing the space of six years and ten moneths.*

Alexander bewaileth Darius.

1. ALexander riding hard after *Darius*, came a little after he had expired, saw the body, and bewailed his death with tears: he cast his own Garment over him, and sent him to his Mother to be royally interred amongst his Ancestors. His brother *Oxyathres* he received into the number of his own friends, and maintained him in his former Dignity. Then did he begin to pursue *Bessus*; but finding that he was fled far before into *Bactria*; he left off his pursute, and returned to *Hecatompolis* in *Parthia*, where his Soldiers being tickled with a rumour that the *Macedonians* should

Curtius lib. 5. cap. 14. Diodorus ad Olymp. 112. ann. 3. & 4.

should have leave to return home, rouzed him up from his idleneſſe and luxury, to which now he began to give way after the *Perſian* faſhion: but they were at length quiered, and perſwaded by him to perfect the work thus far carried on in *Aſia*. Leaving then *Craterus* in this Countrey with ſome Forces, he marched into *Hyrcania* which *Nabarzanes* had ſeized on, who yielded it up, and himſelf to him. After this he invaded the *Mardi*, a neighbouring people, who, not being wont to be thus provoked by any, made reſiſtance with 8000 men, and intercepted *Bucephalus* his moſt beloved horſe, which, being given him by *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, when unſadled would ſuffer none to come on his back, and when adorned, none but the King himſelf, whom to receive he bowed down. *Alexander* exceedingly moved with the loſſe of him; after he had ſlain, and taken moſt of theſe men, cut down all the Trees, and threatned the Nation with utter deſtruction in caſe they did not reſtore the horſe, ſo that for fear they did it, and with him ſent their Preſents, and asked pardon, by 50 Meſſengers.

Curtius lib. 6. Capp. 2, 3.

Marcheth into *Hyrcania*.

A.M. 3676. *Ol. 112. an. 4. V. C. 425. Alexand. 8.*

2. Returning back, he received 1500 men which had been ſent out of *Greece* to *Darius* with 90 Ambaſſadors. Over this party he made Captain *Adronicus*, who brought them to him, and then went on to *Zadracarta*, the principal Citie of *Hyrcania*, where he ſtaid fifteen dayes. Hither *Thaleſtris* Queen of the *Amazons*, is ſaid, with 300 vvomen, to have come to have iſſue by him, which ſtory, though it be delivered for a truth by ſome, yet is there better ground to ſuſpect it, ſeeing that neither *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus*, who was then with him, and wrote his Acts, neither any other good Author of thoſe times approved of it: and *Alexander* himſelf in his Letters to *Antipater*, wherein he gave him an account of his affairs, mentioned how the *Scythian* King offered to him his daughter in marriage, but not a word of this matter. After this, he returned into *Parthia*, and purpoſing now to go againſt *Beſſus* (who in *Baltria* had taken upon him a royal Robe, and the name and ſtile of *Artaxerxes King of Perſia*) he thence removed into the Countrey of the *Arii*. *Satibarzanes* the Governour thereof meeting him at the City *Suſia*, he confirmed him in his place, but after his departure he revolted from him, whereby the King was conſtrained to march back againſt him, which he hearing fled with 2000 men towards *Beſſus*; ſo as *Alexander* following him ſome time, but in vain, reduced the Countrey to obedience, and returned to his former expedition. Then came he into the Countrey of the *Zarangæi*, which was governed by one *Barſaentes*, who having had an hand in the murther of *Darius*, now fled into *India*, whence he was afterwards ſent, and put to death. Here in this Land of the *Zarangæi* (or *Drangæ*) was a conſpiracy againſt *Alexander* diſcovered; firſt by *Dymnus* to *Nicomachus*, who, though he ſwore ſecrecy, communicated it to *Zeballinus* his brother. *Zeballinus* (or *Ceballinus*) acquainted with it *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, who, delaying to tell it to the King, either through heedleſneſſe, or on purpoſe, thereby procured the deſtruction of himſelf and family.

Whether the Queen of the *Amazons* ever came to him.

Conſule Plutarchum in Alexandro & Arrianum lib. 7.

He cometh into the Countrey of the *Arii*.

That of the *Zarangæi*.

3. For, *Ceballinus* ſuſpecting him to be in the plot, becauſe of his delay, diſcovered the matter to *Metro* a young Nobleman, and Maſter of the Armory, who acquainting the King therewith, he preſently cauſed them all to be apprehended. *Dymnus* knowing wherefore he was called, killed himſelf. *Ceballinus* caſt all the blame upon *Philotas*, who denied not that he had been told of ſuch a buſineſſe, but ſaid he revealed it not to the King onely through neglect, and becauſe he eſteemed it of no conſequence. Being brought to the Rack, he either confeſſed the thing as it was, or feigned a ſtory, and wrongfully accuſed himſelf to eſcape the extremity of a torment; after vvhich he vvas put to death. Now vvas *Parmenio* his father, a man of 70 years of age, Governour of *Media*, one vvho had done eſpecial ſervice for the King, and his father *Philip*. *Alexander*, either for that he feared he vvas privy to the conſpiracy, or thought it not ſafe that he ſhould outlive his ſon, ſent one away vvith ſpeed, vvho delivering a counterfeited Letter to him as from *Philotas*, ſlevv him as he read it. Amongſt others that vvere ſhot to

Lege Curtium lib. 6. & 7. Plutarch. & Diodorum ut priùs. Arrianum lib. 3.

Philotas put to death for Treaſon,

And Parmenio his Father.

to death for this conſpiracy, was *Alexander Lynceſtes* the ſon-in-law of *Antipater*, who had conſpired the deſtruction both of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and for his treaſon been kept in durance now three years. This being done, the King proceeded in his Expedition againſt *Beſſus*.

4. Though the Soldiers condemned *Parmenio* and his Son while living, yet they pitried them when dead, and conceived great indignation againſt their Judges. *Alexander* underſtanding this, that he might know their ſeveral minds, gave out, that he was ſending into *Macedonia*, and whoſoever would, might have an opportunity thereby to write to their friends. By their Letters, all which he caus'd to be opened, he knew who were diſcontented and ready to Mutiny, and all thoſe he gathered into one company, leſt they ſhould corrupt the reſt, ſetting over them one *Leonidas*, an intimate friend of *Parmenio*. The King in his March came to the Country of the *Arimaſpi*, or *Agriaſpæ*, called alſo *Energetæ* by *Cyrus* the Great; for that when he went againſt the *Scythians*, they furniſhed him with Proviſions in his great neceſſity. He uſed them very curteouſly, beſtowing upon them Mony, and as much Ground as they would ask, which was not much: And here he heard that *Satibarzanes*, being returned from *Beſſus*, had withdrawn the *Arii* from obedience. Againſt him he ſent 6000 Greekiſh Foot and 600 Horſe, under the command of *Erygius* and others, who joyning Battel with him, he pulled down his Helmet, and challenged any one to a ſingle Combat. *Erygius* accepting of the Challenge, ſlew him in the place, and then his Soldiers, who had followed him rather by conſtraint, than out of any good will, yielded themſelves. *Alexander* having ſtaid among the *Euergetæ* 60 days, paſſed on, and in his way ſubdued the *Gedroſians*, the *Drangi* and *Dragogi*, as alſo *Arachoſia*, where he got that Army into his power of which *Parmenio* had the command, conſiſting of 6000 *Macedonians*, and 200 Gentlemen, beſides 5000 other *Greeks*, and 600 Horſe.

Diodorus ut priùs. Curtius lib. 7. cap. 3. Arrianus.

The King marcheth againſt *Beſſus*.

5. The next People he paſſed through were the *Paropamiſadæ*. This being in the Winter-ſeaſon, his Army ſuffered extreamly through the coldneſſe of the Climate: Thence he came to the Mountain *Caucaſus* or *Paropamiſus*, (as that part of it was call'd) which he paſſed in 17 days, and built ſome Cities about it. *Beſſus* had now in *Baltria* about 8000 of the Inhabitants up in Arms, who thinking that *Alexander* would rather turn towards *India* than come againſt them, kept with *Beſſus*, till they plainly perceived that the King invaded their Country: Then they all betook them to their own homes, and *Beſſus* with his other followers paſſed over the River *Oxus* into the Country of the *Sogdians*, being ſtill accompanied with *Spitamenes* and *Oxyartes*, in whoſe fidelity he confided. But *Alexander* invading *Baltria*, after he had taken divers Cities, had the whole Country yielded to him; after which he paſſed to the great River *Oxus*, but in his way was ſo diſtreſſed for water, that his Army languiſhed; and when it came at the River, ſo many drunk intemperately, that he loſt more men thereby than he had formerly done in any Battel. Ere he paſſed the River, he ſent home 900 *Macedonians* and *Theſſalians*, the former being old and wounded; and the later the remnant of the Volunteers: thoſe he rewarded, and gave thanks to ſuch of the reſt that remained as were willing to ſerve in the Wars yet behind. He paſſed over the River upon Skins and Bladders joyned together, wanting materials to make a better Bridge, and came to the place where he heard *Beſſus* lay with all his Forces. *Beſſus* was now forſaken by his friends; for *Spitamenes* conſpiring againſt him with *Dataphernes* and *Catanes*, ſnatched the Diadem from his head, tore *Darius* his Roab from off his back, and gave notice to *Alexander*, that if he would ſend any of his Captains with ſome Forces they would deliver him up. *Alexander* ſent *Ptolomie* the ſon of *Lagus*, and one of his Guard, who brought him to his preſence in an Halter, whence he was delivered to *Oxyartes* the brother of *Darius*, to be tormented to death in that place where he had moſt wickedly ſlain his Soverain, his Lord and Maſter.

Paſſeth the Mountain *Paropamiſus*.

A. M. 3677. Ol. 113. an. 1. V. C. 426. Alexandri 9.

Invadeth *Baltria*.

Beſſus delivered up to him.

6. About this time he utterly deſtroyed the City of the *Branchidæ*, with all its Inhabitants, in revenge for a fault committed 150 years before. For,

Curtius l. 7. Strabo l. 11, & 14.

He destroyeth the *Branchidæ.* *Xerxes* flying out of *Greece*, they betray'd the Treasures of *Didymæan Apollo* into his hands; and for this, not daring to stay behind, they left *Miletus* and followed him, who gave them this place, where their Posterity dearly paid for their fault. After this, he marched to the River *Tanais*, (another than that which severeth *Europe* from *Asia*) falling down from the Mountain *Caucasus* into the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Here some of his Soldiers going forth to gather forage, were intercepted by the Enemy, which to the number of 20 or 30000 betook himself to an Hill, and thence was beaten down and wasted to 8000, yet with great difficulty, and hazard to the King himself, who received a wound in his thigh. Thence in four days he marched in a Litter to *Maracanda*, the chief City of *Sogdiana*, where leaving a Garrison, he over-ran the neighbouring Territories; and shortly came an Ambassage from the *Scythians*, called *Abii*, who thereby gave up themselves into his power. But in the mean time the Barbarians of *Maracanda* slew the Garrison of the *Macedonians*, being, together with the greatest part of the *Sogdians*, drawn back by those that took *Bessus*, who also drew to their party some of the *Bactrians* and *Susians*. *Alexander* sent to suppresse them *Spitamenes* and *Catenes*, who had delivered up *Bessus*; but they confirmed them in their Rebellion, and became Leaders in the Revolt, giving out, that the *Bactrian* Horse was sent for by the King on purpose to be made away. *Curtius & Arrianus.*

Cometh to *Maracanda.*

7. To reduce these Revolters, *Alexander* presently sent *Craterus*, who besieged *Cyropolis* the chief City, so called, because built by *Cyrus* the Great; and he himself besieged another called *Gaza*, which he took, and put all of ripeness of age to the sword, for a terror to their Country-men. After this he reduced several other Cities, and then went to the assistance of *Craterus* against *Cyropolis*, which was defended by 18000 men. Here he lost many a valiant Soldier, and by a stroak of a stone on his neck was fell'd down senseless; but this increased his natural vigor, so that out of indignation he set furiously on, and presently took the place. Eight thousand of the Inhabitants were slain, and the rest retiring into the Castle, shortly after yielded for want of water; and then one City remaining onely of seven, whither the Barbarians had fled, he reduced that also in a short time. *Spitamenes* now had shut himself up in *Maracanda*, where he besieged the *Macedonians* in the Castle. Against him he sent a Party, and began to build a City upon the River *Tanais*, which being raised in few days, with a wall six miles in compasse, he called after himself *Alexandria*. His design was to have a convenient Fortresse for the Invasion of *Scythia*, which the Scythian King, inhabiting beyond the River, suspecting, sent his brother with a party of Horse to beat away the *Macedonian* forces, and demolish it. Comming to the narrowest place of the River, they not onely cast over their Darts, but opprobrious speeches, which so incensed *Alexander*, as though he was extream ill, and for some time had not been able as much as to speak to his Soldiers, yet he resolved to passe over against them. *Curtius ut supra Justin. l. 12. Arrianus l. 4.*

Marcheth against the *Scythians.*

8. With admirable industry he got over his men, partly in Boats, and partly upon Bladders, notwithstanding the earnest opposition of the Enemy, whom he put to the Rout, and though he was very much indispos'd in his own person, pursued them 80 furlongs, then fainting, he commanded his men to follow the chace as long as the day would permit. The want of water in this place was such, that the Army was thereby exceedingly distress'd, and the King himself drinking of some that was corrupt, fell into a Diarrhea. But not long after the Scythians sent to excuse themselves, denying that the War had been undertaken by their general consent, but onely by a certain party that lived upon robbery. Giving themselves up into his hands, he dismiss'd the Ambassadors courteously, and with them the Prisoners he had taken. By this time *Spitamenes* had cut off the party sent against him, which *Alexander* understanding, in three days time marched 1500 furlongs to *Maracanda*, whither he had notice that he was returned; but hearing of the Kings comming, he fled amain, and was pursued for some time, but to no purpose. *Alexander* then dividing his forces, over-ran the Country which had

CHAP. I. had revolted, and gave command, that all of ripe age should be put to the sword, for a terror to others, by which severity fell 120000 of the Inhabitants of *Sogdiana*. Leaving *Pancolaus* there with 3000 Foot, he departed to *Bactra*, (a City so called from the River *Bactrus* which runneth through it, being otherwise named *Zariaspa*) where he caused *Bessus* to be brought to the head of his Army: Here he made his nose and ears to be cut off, and then sent him to *Ecbatane* to be judged and executed by Sentence of a Council of *Medes* and *Persians*. Thus *Diodorus* relateth the the story; but *Plutarch* writeth, that by *Alexanders* command, the boughs of two Trees being first drawn together, and he made fast to them both, they then were suffered to return to their natural site, and he was thereby pulled assunder.

Cometh to *Bactra.*

Bessus punished for his execrable Treason.

9. Having much encreased his forces by the comming in of fresh supplies, he once more over-ran the Country of the *Sogdians*, as yet not fully subdued, and the five parts of his Army afterwards met and united at *Maracanda*, whence he sent *Hephastion* to lead out Colonies into the Cities of *Sogdiana*, as *Canus* and *Artabazus* against the *Scythians*, for to them he heard that *Spitamenes* was fled, who with a company of *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, and about 800 Horse of the *Massagetes*, got a Castle near *Bactra* into his hands; then came against *Zariaspa*, or *Bactra*, & by an Ambush cut off many of the Defendants in their Sally out against him. Upon *Canus* his approach the *Massagetes* fled, but he pursued & killed many of them. *Alexander* having subdued more of the *Sogdians* returned to *Maracanda*, whither the King of the *European Scythians* inhabiting above *Bosphorus*, sent to him, offering him his daughter in marriage; or if this liked him not, he desired, that the principal *Macedonians* about him might contract affinity with his Nation; moreover he offered to come in person and receive his commands. After this, *Alexander* hunted in the Forrest of *Bazaria*, which had been untouched for four Ages. Herein a Lion coming upon him, *Lysimachus* (who afterwards reigned, and had slain a Lion ere this) went about to stave him off; but the King forbad him, and receiving the Beast, slew him at one stroak. Four hundred Beasts more being killed, he feasted his whole Army, and again repaired to *Maracanda*, where he slew *Clytus*. *Arrianus.* *Curtius lib. 8. cap. 1.*

Alexander killeth a Lion.

10. In a Feast (to which he had invited him) being heated with Wine, he fell of commending his own acts, and therein soared so high, as to speak scornfully of the things performed by his father *Philip*. *Clytus* having also drunk sufficiently was nettled with this, and defending *Philip*, in his replies plainly reproached *Alexander*; who therefore ran him through and killed him outright, having a little before designed him to the Government of *Sogdiana* in the room of *Artabazus*, who excused himself by his old age; For being the son of *Dropis*, and brother to *Hellanice Alexander's* Nurse, he had done good service to both Kings, and was now an old Soldier. *Alexander*, when he came to himself, considering what he had done, would have made way for following him by his own hands, and when he was hindred by his friends from violent attempts, would have done it by fasting four days. On the fifth, his attendants brake into his Tent, and comforting him, caused him to eat. The *Macedonians* judged *Clytus* rightfully put to death, and decreed he should not be buried; but he commanded this last office to be performed to him. Leaving a good Guard with *Canus* to defend *Sogdiana*, and take *Spitamenes* if he should come that way in Winter, he marched to *Xenippa*, where, after a sharp Encounter, he received the *Bactrian* Exiles, who having revolted had betaken themselves to that place, lying upon the confines of *Scythia*. In the Spring following, being the 10th. year of his Reign, he set upon a Fort in *Sogdiana*, situate upon a Rock, so strong by Nature through its excessive heighth, that the Defendants counted it invincible, (many having fled thither out of the Country) and upon his summons, *Arimazes* the Governor, who held it with thirty thousand armed men, demanded if the *Macedonians* could flie? But he proposed large rewards to such as would first mount it, whereby certain young men being animated, made a shift to climb and help one another up, and being got to the top, the besieged were amazed, and thinking their number greater than it was, yielded the place. In this Fort amongst others *Item. ibid. Arrianus lib. 4. Cicero Tusc. Quæst. 4.*

Killeth *Clytus.*

Cometh to *Xenippa.*

A. M. 3678. Ol. 113. an. 2. V. C. 427. Alexand. 10.

Marieth *Roxane.* was *Oxyartes* the *Satrapa* or Governour (who had revolted from *Alexander*) with his wife and children. Of his daughter *Roxane* the King was so enamoured, as he shortly after maried her, and perswaded the great ones about him to take them wives out of that place.

11. He thence departed into *Nauta* (or *Parataca*) where he understood that many *Barbarians* had possessed themselves of another Fortresse, situate as the former, and fortified moreover with an exceeding deep ditch. This yielded to him through the perswasion of *Oxyartes*, and then with his Horse he cleared the Country of the revolters. About the same time *Spitamenes* coming into *Sogdiana* was encountred by *Cœnus*, who drew from him the naturals of the place, and the *Bactrians*, so that he had onely left him a Company of *Massagetes*. Those flying with him into the Wildernesse, when they heard that *Alexander* pursued them, cut off their Captains head and sent it to the King, though some write, that his own wife cut it off, and presented it to *Alexander*, who detesting the treason, commanded her to depart his Camp. After this the *Daha* who had revolted by the procurement of *Dataphernes*, delivered him up, and returned to obedience, and *Craterus* with *Polysperchon* having finished the War against the revolters in a short time, they all met at *Bactra*. *Alexander* was now so puffed up, as to require divine honours from his followers; which *Callisthenes* the Philosopher stifly refusing to give him, felt the effect of his ambition. *Arrianus. curtius.*

12. It hapned that the King hunting on a time, one *Hermolaus* a Gentleman of his guard, and Scholar to *Callisthenes*, killed a wild Boar, which *Alexander* himself intended to have struck, for which he was beaten by his Command. The young man bearing the disgrace most heavily, as also *Sostratus* his inward friend, they conspired with others of the Guard to kill the King, which to perform, they agreed that one night they would all watch together. It was long ere they could so change their courses as to bring this about, but at length having done it, it chanced that the King fate up drinking all that night, so then the matter being frustrated, was revealed by one of them, and they were all stoned to death. Now whether any of them accused *Callisthenes*, as some reported, or *Alexander* did it himself, he was made away, though as to the manner of his death, they who were present themselves agreed not in their relation. *Callisthenes* was the Scholar of *Aristotle*, and the son of his Cousin germane, of so severe a temper, that he could not order himself according to his Master's directions, who when he sent him to *Alexander*, advised him, *Either very pleasantly or very rarely to converse with him, that so he might be either more acceptable for his discourse, or safe by his silence.* *Aristotle* also himself seemeth to have been threatned in a letter written by the King to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*. *Curtius ut supra. Plutarch in Alexand. Orosius lib. 3. cap. 18. Arrianus lib. 4.* *Callisthenes* put to death with others for treason. *Valer. Max. lib. 7. cap. 2.*

13. *Alexander* had ere this time resolved to make War upon *India*, and bound his Conquests with the East. That he might not leave any impediment at his back, he commanded 30000 men to be raised out of the Provinces, that he might have them both as Soldiers and Hostages. Out of a conceit of the glory of the Expedition, he adorned the shields of his Soldiers with silver plates, their Horses with golden bridels, and their Armour was set out with gold and silver. Leaving then *Amyntas* in *Bactriana* with 3500 Horse, and 10000 Foot, he set forwards in the Spring, leading an Army of 120000 men. In ten dayes he passed over *Caucasus* and came to *Alexandria*, which he had caused to be built in the Country of the *Parapomisadæ*, whence he marched to the River *Cophenes*, and sent to *Taxiles* to meet him, who came with such presents as *India* afforded. Dividing now his Army, with one part of it he sent *Hæphestion* and *Perdiccas* another way, with command, that when they came at the River *Indus*, they should provide things necessary for passing over it. He with the other invaded the *Aspians*, *Thyreans*, and *Arasacans*; and crossing the River *Choë*, the first City he came at opposed him. He himself and *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus* were wounded in the storm, but he took the place, and putting all the Inhabitants to the sword, burnt it. In the Country of the *Aspians* he got a booty of 40000 men, *Alexander* marcheth for *India.*

men, and 230000 head of cattel, whence marching toward the *Gurœans*, with difficulty he passed over the River *Gurœus*. Invading the *Assacenians* he took the City *Massaga*, the King whereof being lately dead, his mother *Cleophis* reigned, and by the prostitution of her body to *Alexander*, procured a confirmation in the Kingdom. *Curtius. Justin lib. 12.*

14. After this, he took *Bazira*, and *Nora* was forsaken by it's defendants, who betook themselves to a strong rock called *Aornos*. This place was exceedingly fenced by it's wonderful height, and the River *Indus* which ran by one side of it; as also by deep pits and craggie rocks, by reason whereof the report went, that *Hercules* himself attempted, but could not take it. The story of *Hercules* inflamed the King with a desire to master it, who having first taken several other places, brought his forces, and by means of an old man who shewed him the onely passage, closely besieged it. By incredible diligence he filled up the ditches, so as he could bring his men to fight, but yet he was not able to storm the Rock, and therefore resolved to starve them out, leaving a way for their escape; and they seeing his resolution, took the advantage, but many were slain in the persute. Taking order then for the full clearing of the Country, he passed on to the River *Indus*, near to which he hunted Elephants, and continuing in the plains thirty dayes for the refreshment of his Army, sacrificed to his gods, and celebrated games and exercises. Now *Hephæstion* and *Perdiccas* had finished all things necessary for passing the River; and not of this onely, but others also with one (almost) and the same labour. For, divers Rivers runing through *India* (as besides *Cophenes*, *Coes*, and *Indus*; *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*, *Hyarotis*, *Hyparus*, and *Ganges*,) they so framed the boats, as they might easily be taken in pieces, and being conveied in cariages, be as easily, upon occasion, again joyned together.

15. In the eleventh year of his reign, and the fourth after the death of *Darius*, in the Spring, *Alexander* passed over the River *Indus*, and was received above his expectations. For, *Omphis*, or *Mophis*, King of the Country, had perswaded his Father when yet living to submit himself, and now having succeeded in the Kingdom met him in the way, and gave it up into his hands, who restored it to him, and permitted him to assume the name of *Taxiles*, common to all Kings of that Country, of what family soever. Coming to *Taxila* the Metropolis, he was sumptuously entertained, and receiving great gifts, gave also very liberally, to the disdain of those about him, of whom *Meleager* in his cups congratulated with him, that at length in *India* he had found a man worthy to receive from him in way of free gift 1000 Talents. *Alexander* remembring how he had repented the killing of *Clytus*, contained himself, but not impertinently answered him, that *Envious men are nothing else than their own torment*: The next day *Abisarus* King of the *Indians* inhabiting the mountains, and who together with *Porus* had wars with *Taxiles*, by Ambassadors gave up himself and Kingdom. *Alexander* leaving a Garrison in *Taxila*, marched towards the River *Hydaspes*, beyond which reigned *Porus*: Thinking by the terror of his name to affright this Prince into obedience, he sent to him beforehand, willing him to pay tribute, and meet him on the frontires of his Kingdom, to which he answered, that he would do the later onely, and that armed. Near unto *Porus* reigned another of his name, and his Nephew, who out of hatred to him, sent Ambassadors, and gave up all he had into the hands of *Alexander*. Crosseth the River *Indus* A. M. 3679. *Ol.* 113. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 428. *Alexand.* 11.

16. The boats formerly spoken of being conveyed from *Indus* to the River *Hydaspes*, *Alexander* with *Taxiles*, several other great persons of the Country, and 5000 *Indians* more came thither: *Barsaentes* the Governour of the *Drangæ* being presented to him in his way, whom he afterwards put to death for his treason towards *Darius*. On the opposite bank of the River lay *Porus* with an Army very great indeed, though the dissention of Writers about the numbers almost equalize the bigness of it. He had his Elephants ready to affright the Horses, and keep the Army from landing, which *Alexander* perceiving, made as if he intended to passe the River at the place *Curtius ut prius. Diodorus. Arrianus l. 4. Orosius l. 3. c. 19. & Plutarch in Alexand.*

over

And *Hydaspes.* over against which *Porus* stood, leaving some there to make a noise, as if he still remained, and in a dark and rainie night got into a little woody Island, which lay lower down the River, whence in the morning, though with much difficulty (through the rising of the water by abundance of rain) recovered the further bank, where he defeated a Party led by *Porus* his Son, who by some is said in this ingagement to have lost his life. *Porus*, understanding this, drew down his battel in the form of a City, whereof the Elephants, being many in number, were as walls. They grievously distressed the *Macedonians* for some time, and the *Indians* continually retired to them as a bulwark; but at length being driven up close together, they made great slaughter of the *Indians* themselves, whom *Alexander* also encompassing with his men did great execution upon them. *Porus* himself, a person terrible to encounter (his height, as is said, being five cubits, and his bredth such as his Armour extended it to the proportion of two lusty men) fought himself most valiantly, and encountering *Alexander* hand to hand, slew his Horse under him, so that he was saved meerly by the interposition of his Guard, many of his men having fallen at his side.

17. *Porus* gave not over as long as he had any to stand to him; when all had left him, he retreated on his Elephant most stately to behold. As many of the *Indians* were slain in the chace as had been in the battel, by reason that *Craterus* and others, who had been left behind, came over afresh to the pursute. *Alexander* having a great desire to save their King, out of respect to his great valour, sent after him *Taxiles* the *Indian*, whom perceiving to come towards him, he ran at him with his lance as his ancient Enemy. But others being still sent, and amongst the rest *Meroes* an *Indian*, *Porus* hearing his voice, and being sore distressed by thirst, stood still, and then alighted from his Elephant. *Alexander* coming on spake to him first, and asked him what the thing was which he desired, to whom he answered, that *he might be used like a King*. The other replied, that this should be done for his own sake, and bad him ask for his own commodity what he pleased, to which he made answer, that *all things were contained in his former demand*. With this the Conquerour was so well pleased, that he received him into the number of his friends, and restored to him his Kingdom, inlarged with new Territories. *Alexander* hoping that by his late Victory all *India* was laid open to him, intended to sail into the Ocean; and perceiving there was in this place much wood, he caused such a quantity to be cut down, as might suffice for the building of ships. He gave order also for the building of two Cities: one in the place where the battel was fought, which he called *Nice*, and another on the other side of the River, named after his Horse *Bucephalus*, who here died, being about thirty years old.

Overthroweth and taketh *Porus.*

18. Leaving *Craterus* to perfect these Cities upon the River *Hydaspes*, he marched into the Country adjoyning to that of *Porus*, which having subdued he bestowed on him, and also the Kingdom of the younger *Porus*, who out of fear of his Uncle had now fled, with as many as he could draw after him to the *Gangaridæ*. After this he subued several Nations beyond the River *Hydraotes*, and invaded the *Cathæans*, who together with the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli* opposed him, of whom in the siege and storming of the City *Sangala* perished 17000, and about 70000 were taken Captives. These *Cathæans* had a Custome, that when any man died, his wife was to be buried with him, to which the wickedness of one woman that poysoned her husband gave occasion. The City *Sangala* was destroyed, and their Lands given to certain *Indians*, who lived in the form of a Commonwealth, and had formerly given themselves up into the hands of the Conquerour. This severity made other Cities without any resistance surrender themselves. Then advanced he into the Kingdom of *Sopithes*, who meeting him with his two Sons, with a Rod of Gold adorned with precious Sones, delivered up into his hands himself, his children, Kingdom, and all he had. Having received back his Kingdom, he magnificently entertained *Alexander* and his whole Army. Amongst several other presents, he gave him 150 Dogs begotten of Tigers,

Curtius lib. 9. cap. 1.

Sopithes yieldeth.

Ælian Hist. animal. l. 8. c. 1.

Tigers, as is reported, and of strength and activity, as appeared by four of them which were let out upon a Lion extraordinary for strength and bigness.

19. Ere *Alexander* stirred from this place, *Hephæstion* returned to him from his expedition, (having subdued *India* in a great compasse that way he was sent) whom he received with honor suitable to his worth. Afterward he departed into the Kingdom of *Phegeus* (or *Phegelus*) who also submitted himself, and receiving the Conqueror, entertained him very magnificently. After two days he marched toward the River *Hyphasis* (or *Hyparis*) taking *Phegeus* and *Porus* along with him. At the River side he enquired of *Phegeus* what Countries lay beyond it? He answered, That there was a vast Wilderness of 11 or 12 days journey, and next to that ran the River *Ganges*, beyond which inhabited, besides others, the *Gangaridæ*, over whom reigned *Agrammes* (or *Xandrames*) provided of 20000 Horse, 200000 Foot, above 2000 Chariots, and about 4000 Elephants. These things seeming incredible to the *Macedonians*, he asked *Porus* of the truth of them, who confirmed what the other had said as to the strength of that King, but withall added, That being by a Barber begotten on the Queen, who had killed her Husband that he might reign, he was for this cause despised by his People. *Alexander* now considered the labors and perils undergone by his Soldiers, who from the beginning of his reign had followed him eight years; withall, how of late for 70 days together they had been sorely distressed by Rain, Thunder, and Lightning; that he might oblige them, he gave them the plunder of the enemies Country, being very rich, and in their absence gratifi'd their wives and children. Then after their return to the Camp, with a premeditated Oration he laboured to perswade them to undertake the War with him against the *Gandaridæ*, but in vain.

Curtius lib. 9. Diodorus. Arrianus.

The River *Hyphasis* the Eastern limit of his Expedition.

20. For, *Canus* the son of *Polycrates*, answered him in such a manner, as he might easily perceive how contrary the affections of the Soldiers were to the Expedition. After which, as *Arrianus* writeth, he kept himself close in his Pavillion for three days, and would admit none of his friends to his presence. Then sending for his Officers, he told them, That seeing the minds of his men were averse from proceeding any further, he intended to return home; yet, ere this, he had sacrificed for passing over the River, but finding that the Intrals of the Beast were not lucky, he setled himself in a purpose to retreat. He caused twelve large Altars of fifty cubits heighth, like to some warlike Towers, to be erected near the River, whereon he sacrificed according to the custom of his Country, and he celebrated Games in the grounds adjoyning. After this he caused to be made a Ditch 15 foot broad and 10 foot deep, whereon, of the earth, he raised a considerable Wall, making the compasse of his Camp seem three-fold larger than indeed it was. He commanded the Foot, that each one in his Tent should get two Bedsteads of five cubits apiece, and the Horsemen to make theirs with the Mangers of their Horses as big again as they were wont to be. He caused Arms, Bridles, and other things to be framed after the same proportion, to amuse posterity with a false appearance of a Gigantick proportion of his own person and his followers.

He retreateth.

21. He returned the same way he came, setling the Government of the Provinces in his passage, till he arrived at the River *Hydaspes*. Ever since his departure hence, the weather had been rainy, which spoiled much of his new City *Bucephalæa*; but he caused it to be repaired; and here died *Canus* his trusty and faithful friend, but one who had grieved him by his Answer to his late Oration. Down this River *Hydaspes* he resolved, according to his former purpose; to sail into the Southern Ocean, and therefore providing for such places as he should leave, he reconciled *Porus* and *Taxiles* by affinity contracted betwixt them, and made the former King, not of that Country onely lying betwixt *Acesines* and *Hydaspes*, which formerly he had given to him, but also of such free Nations, as lying betwixt *Acesines* and *Hyphasis* he had lately subdued. Having increased his Army by a new supply sent him out of the West, he divided it into three parts, whereof two he committed to

to *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion*, commanding them to march on either ſide the River, down which he ſailed with the third in a Fleet of 1000 Veſſels.

He ſaileth down the River *Hydaſpes.*

Looſing from ſhoar about the beginning of *November*, he firſt landed upon the coaſts of the *Sibari*, who being reported to be deſcended of thoſe *Greeks* that with *Hercules* attempted the ſtorming of the Rock *Aornos*, claimed kindred of him, and ſubmitted themſelves. Making excurſions into the neighbour Countries, he deſtroyed many thouſands of the Inhabitants that would not yield; and then returning aboard, haſted againſt the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, who, as he heard, had carried their wives into their ſtrong Towns, and intended reſiſtance.

22. Comming down thither where *Hydaſpes* and *Aceſines* meet, the Chanel being narrow, and the Stream exceeding great, two of his talleſt Ships miſcarried, and he himſelf miſſed narrowly of being Shipwrack'd: Here his Soldiers alſo began to murmur that they ſhould begin a new War, but he quiered them eaſily by a Speech. The *Indians* having gathered together 80000 Foot and 10000 Horſe, ſhewed themſelves near the River, having choſen their General out of the *Oxydracæ*, who made many fires, and uſed other vain attempts to affright the *Macedonians*; yet as ſoon as theſe began to Arm, either out of fear, or by reaſon of diſſention amongſt themſelves, away they fled to the craggy Mountains. *Alexander* then marched with all ſpeed, through a large, drie, and barren Country, againſt the *Malli*, to defeat them ere they ſhould joyn with the other; and coming unexpectedly upon them, many he ſlew, both in the Country, and thoſe ſtrong places which he ſtormed. After this he marched to the River *Hydraotes*, where he killed many of them, and thence to a City of the *Brachmans*, whither he heard that ſome of them had fled: This he took, with the Caſtle into which they retired, as alſo the chiefeſt City of the *Malli*, whence they fled beyond the River *Hydraotes*, on the bank whereof they drew up into a Battalia. He followed, and with his Horſe skirmiſhed a little, not thinking it fit to engage with them in Battel, being 50000 in number, till the Foot came up. Then they betook themſelves to the next fortifi'd Town, where by his hardineſſe he ran into extream danger.

Curtius & Diodorus ut priùs. Arrianus lib. 6. Plutarch ut ſupra, & Oroſius.

He fighteth againſt the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ.*

23. *Demophoon* his Prieſt acquainted him, how that by his art great danger was portented to his perſon, and therefore he adviſed him, either to omit, or at leaſt to defer the ſiege. But he rebuked the man, becauſe hereby he weakned the valor of his Soldiers, and dividing them into two parts, ſet upon the Town, whereat the Defendants left it and fled into the Caſtle. The King with thoſe about him broke open a Gate, and entred firſt; Then he commanded Ladders to be ſet to the Caſtle wall, which being but ſlowly performed, he took one from a *Macedonian*, and rearing it mounted himſelf: after him went up *Peuceſtes*, who bore uſually his Shield before him, (which being taken out of the Temple of *Pallas* at *Ilium*, he would always have ſo carried) and after him *Leonatus* by the ſame Ladder, and one *Abreas* by another. The *Argyraſpides* alſo, (or thoſe who uſed the ſivered Shields) ſollicitous for the Kings ſafety, mounting haſtily broke the Ladders, and thereby hindred others as well as themſelves. The King upon the Wall was laid at with Darts on every ſide, and when his left arm was wearied with holding his Target, his friends would have had him leap down again unto them, who were ready to receive him in their arms. But by an unparallel'd attempt he leaped down on the other ſide into the Fort; where if he had not by good chance light upon his feet, he might preſently have been ſlain or taken. But caſting himſelf to fall upon them, and ſeeing a Tree hard by, he applied himſelf to it, ſo as he had it on his right hand, and the wall on his left.

24. None of his enemies were ſo hardy as to come near him, onely they plied it with Darts afar off, whereof the greateſt part being kept off by the boughes and leaves of the Tree, the reſt he received on his Target. But the *Indians* drawing nearer, threw ſhowers of Darts upon him, and with ſtones broke his Helmet. Being ſpent, and not longer able to ſtand, he fell upon his knees, whereupon deſpiſing him they came to him; and yet he ſo received them

Caſteth himſelf into extream danger.

them with his ſword, as two fell down dead before him, and after this he killed their General who boldly ſet upon him; then none would venture to approach nearer, but plied it with Darts afar off. By this time thoſe three that mounted the wall after him were got down, and fought ſtoutly for him, of whom *Abreas* was ſhot in the face and fell; the King alſo in the breaſt with an Arrow, which piercing through his Armor near his Pap, ſome affirmed, that blood and breath iſſued together out of the wound, and he ſwooned, being covered by *Peuceſtes* with his ſhield. Now the *Macedonians* brake into the Caſtle, and put all to the ſword, ſparing neither Sex nor Age. They carried their King out on a Target, not knowing whether he was alive or dead; but ſhortly after he came to himſelf, and his wound was dreſſed, (ſome ſay by *Critobulus* the Phyſician, others by *Perdiccas*) out of which much blood iſſuing, he ſwooned again, and that very thing ſtaunched the bleeding. While he ſtayed a little in this place, a report flew to the Army then lying with the Fleet at the meeting of the two Rivers *Hydraotes* and *Aceſines*, that he was dead, and it gained ſuch belief, that the Letters he ſent were taken but as counterfeit. Therefore he haſted to the Camp, where he preſented himſelf to the view of them all there.

25. Having eſcaped this great danger amongſt the *Malli*, (for amongſt them it was, and not amongſt the *Oxydracæ* as ſome have miſtaken.) and returned to his Fleet, he ſailed down the River, and on the fourth day came to a place forſaken of its Inhabitants, but convenient for to make ſome ſtay in. Here he reſted many days for the better curing of his wounds, and employed his men this while in building of ſhips. Hither the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ* ſent to ask pardon, and ſubmit themſelves. After which he ſailed further, and came to the confluence of *Hydraotes* and *Aceſines*, the former whereof loſeth it ſelf in the later. Proceeding further, he came through *Aceſines* into *Indus*, ſubduing a certain People in his way who lived in a Free State; and here he made *Philip* Governor of the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*, with all the Country down to this place, wherein he alſo gave order for a City to be built. Following on his voiage, he arrived at the Country of the *Sanbeſtæ*, (or *Sabracæ*) who living alſo in a popular way of Government, were very populous and ſtrong, and hearing of his coming had got together 60000 Foot, and near 8000 Horſe, but upon a ſight of his Fleet they let fall their courage, and ſent fifty of their principal men to ask peace. From this place on the fourth day he came to the ſeat of the *Sogdæ*, who alſo yielded themſelves; and here by the River *Indus* he cauſed to be built another *Alexandria*, which he furniſhed with convenient Havens and Arſenals. Thence he ſailed down with ſuch expedition into the Country of *Muſicanus*, that he was upon him ere he heard of his coming; therefore the *Indian* met him with ſuch gifts as his Country afforded, and gave up himſelf with all he had into his hands, acknowledging his fault that he had no ſooner done it.

Saileth into *Indus.*

Upon which he buildeth an *Alexandria*, and ſubdueth *Muſicanus*,

26. Having here commanded *Teryeſtes*, whom he had ſet over the *Paropamiſadæ*, to be put to death, for abuſing that People by a covetous and tyrannical Government, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed in the chief City of *Muſicanus*, wherein he left a Garriſon, becauſe the place ſeemed very convenient for keeping the neighbouring Nations in obedience. Leaving *Muſicanus* in his former power, though not authority, he ſailed down to the *Praſii*, another *Indian* Nation, over which ruled *Oxycanus*. Here he ſtormed two Cities, in one whereof their King being retired into the Caſtle, ſent to him to beg pardon, but too late; for ere the Meſſengers could come at *Alexander*, two Towers fell down, which made way for the *Macedonians*, who entring, killed *Oxycanus* amongſt the reſt; which being reported to the other Cities, they all yielded themſelves. After this he came into the borders of the *Brachmans*, whoſe King *Sabus* (or *Sambus*) cauſed the Gates of his principal City to be opened, but afterwards revolted at the inſtigation of his Subjects, ſome of whom paid dearly for it in a certain City wherein they were taken, *Sambus* himſelf with thirty Elephants eſcaping. Some of them were upon pain of death to anſwer to certain hard Queſtions, which

and *Oxycanus.*

having done, they were dismissed with rewards, as *Plutarch* informeth us. But ere this, *Musicanus* had revolted, against whom *Pithon* was sent, who overpowering him took him prisoner. He was Crucified in his own Countrey by *Alexander*'s Command, with all such *Brachmans* as had drawn him to revolt.

27. Returning to the River *Indus*, in the fourth day he came to a Citie of the *Brachmans*, called *Hamatelia*, the inhabitants whereof hearing that he was invincible, poisoned the heads, of their Arrows, trusting to their own valour, and the natural strength of the place. He sent a party, which by approaching their Walls, and then retreating, drew them forth, by which stratagem, of 3000 he took 1000. and killed 600. Many of his own men died, and those who survived were brought into extream danger, amongst whom was *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus*. He being almost ready to die, the story goeth, that *Alexander* in a Dream had an Herb shewed to him, which drunk, and outwardly applied, helped against the poyson; the truth being, that the virtue of this plant was by some declared to him, and this story feigned out of flattery. For all this, the besieged yielding, had indemnity granted to them, and then came *Mariš* King of the Island *Pattalena*, which he gave up into the Conquerours power. *Alexander* restored, and sent him back, commanding him to provide all necessaries for his Army; but sailing down thither he found that he had left the Citie, and retired to the Mountains, with all his subjects, both of Town and Countrey. *Alexander* sent some horse-men to perswade them to return, which accordingly diverse did. Then did he order *Hephæstion* to build a Fort in the Citie, and sent a party to dig Wells in that Coast of the Countrey which wanted water. The Enemy fell upon these men out of the Wilderness, and killed many of them, which forced the King to send others for a supply. Now had he sayled almost 10 moneths when he came to *Pattalena*.

Strabo lib. 15.

He sayleth to the Island *Pattalena.*

28. At this Island the River *Indus* parteth into two branches, whereof both retained the name as far as the Sea it self. *Alexander* taking the right hand sayled down that Channel, his Army being led according to the custom, near the Rivers side. The next day arose such a Tempest, as exceedingly distressed the Fleet, some ships being driven so far as scarcely could they be recovered; whereupon for some time the King stayed here at a certain Island, and sent men on shore to take up some Natives to be their Guides. Coming lower, where the Chanel was very broad, another Tempest forced them into a certain Creek, where as great a fear seized on them, and so much the greater, because they were unacquainted with the occasion of it. It hapned, that the Tide being exceeding high (as it is at this day at *Cambaia*, where the River *Indus* falls into the Sea) all the grounds near the River were overflown, except certain Hills, which appearing like so many Islands to them, the *Macedonians* swom, and left their Boats. When the water fell again, the Vessels were left on the drie ground, some being overwhelmed, and others turned upon their sides. But the River according to the course of the Tide overflowing again at the due time, such Vessels as stuck fast in the Mud were lifted up unhurt, but those that the water found otherwise placed, were either dashed against one another, or miscarried after some other fashion.

Is distressed upon the water.

29. Repairing his Navy, as he could, he sent before two Boats to make discovery of another Island below, by the *Indians* called *Cilluta*, but by him *Scillastis*, near which he must needs sayl down into the Ocean. Hearing that it was large, and very Commodious to harbour in, he gave order for the Fleet to go thither, but he himself proceeded further, to search whether there was easie passage at the River's fall for the whole Navy into the Sea. Having passed some 200 furlongs, he discovered another Island, and then returned to the Fleet, where having sacrifized to some gods, he went back, and performed this service to others after another fashion, saying, he was commanded so to do by the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. Sayling out of *Indus* into the *Ocean*, he sacrifized Bulls to *Neptune*, and after the burning of Incense cast out

Passeth into the Ocean.

out a Golden Vial with Golden Cups into the Sea, praying for a prosperous voyage to his Navy, (which he intended under command of *Nearchus* his Admiral should sayl through the *Ocean* into the *Persian* Gulf, and so up *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) and that no mortal after him might passe the bounds of his expedition. Then returned he up the River to *Pattala*, whither he found *Pithon* come with the Forces, purposing to leave half the Fleet at the Citie (to this day called *Patta'a* in *Cambaia*) he commanded *Hephæstion* there to make an Haven, and provision for shipping. He himself sayled down the stream on the left hand, which first lead him to a Lake, where he left *Leonnatus* with most of the Soldiers, and with 30 ships passed through this Mouth of *Indus* into the *Ocean*.

30. His design was to see whether the Fleet might not best sayl this way into the Sea; and he satisfied himself that it might. Then did he Travel up the shore, and caused Wells to be digged thereon to furnish the Navy with water. Returning then to *Pattala*, he sent part of his Army to dig more, and going to the Lake, he caused Havens to be made, and provision for shipping; he also left there a Garrison with necessaries for 8 moneths. At this time the *Etesian* winds in this Countrey blowing from the South (though in other places from other quarters) hindred Navigation, wherefore he was constrained to leave *Nearchus* at *Pattala* with the Fleet till they should cease. He journeyed through the Countrey of the *Arabitæ* (or *Arbitæ*) to the River *Arabius* (or *Arbis*) digging pits on the shore for the use of the Fleet in its passage by these Coasts. *Nearchus* and his followers were two moneths after *Alexander*'s departure, driven out by the Inhabitants of *Pattalena*, and compelled to begin their Voyage ere the season of the year well served. Coming to the mouth of the River, they were forced to cut through a Rock (for some way) such a Ditch as by the help of the Tide might convey their ships safe into the Ocean. The *Arabitæ* hearing of *Alexander*'s approach, fled into the Mountains, so that without opposition he passed over the River *Arabius*, and came into the Countrey of the *Oritæ*, of whom killing some, and taking others, (because they had not submitted themselves) he thence marched into the Borders of the *Gedrosians*, with whom the *Oritæ* had joyned, but upon his approach sent and begged peace, which he granted, on condition that they would depart to their dwellings. He set over them *Apellophanes* with whom he left *Leonnatus* one of the keepers of his body, with a party of horse and foot to expect the coming of the Fleet, and in the mean while to build a new Citie, and settle the affairs of the Countrey.

Nearchus the Admiral sayleth the Ocean.

31. In his passage through the Countrey of the *Gedrosians*, greate losse and damage hapned to him, than in all his expedition through *Asia* besides; because, what for want of water, by excesse of heat, ill diet and hunger, he carried not out the fourth part of those forces he brought into *India*. Yet was not this losse sustained through ignorance; for some tell us that he knew of the danger very well; but hearing that this Countrey had been formerly invaded both by *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*, whereof the former was forced to fly but with 30 Attendants, and the later with 7. he had an itching desire to passe through it, and in the glory of his adventure to excell them. After incredible trouble undergone, for 60 dayes, he came to *Pura* the chief Citie, where (as it was time) he refreshed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Hither news came that *Philip*, Governour of the *Oxydracæ*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the Mercenary Soldiers; but that his death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*; whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudemus* to take care of the Countrey, till such time as he could send one to succeed *Philip*. Coming into *Caramania* not far from *Persia*, he animadverted upon the Governour, as upon *Cleander* and *Sitalces*, who being sent to kill *Parmenio*, had after his death committed grievous outrages upon the people in those parts. He also punished *Ozines* and *Zariaspes*, who had solicited the *Persians* to revolt, and *Heracon*, who had rifled the Temple at *Susa*: here also he made *Peucestes*

Alexander passeth the Countrey of the *Gedrosians* with incredible difficulty.

one of the keepers of his body, they being before this ſeven in number. In the mean time *Nearchus* having paſſed the borders of the *Arabii*, *Orita*, *Gedroſians*, *Ichthyophagi*, came into the *Perſian* Gulf, and arrived at *Armuſia* (now called *Ormus*) where underſtanding that his Maſter was but diſtant five dayes journy, he went to him, and having made a report of his Voyage, returned preſently to the Fleet, with order to paſſe up to the mouth of *Euphrates*, and thence row unto *Babylon*.

He cometh to *Paſargada* in *Perſia*.

32. It being now very good ſailing, *Alexander* ſent *Hæpheſtion* by Sea into *Perſia*, with the greateſt part of his Army, and ſhortly after departed himſelf and came by Land to *Paſargada*, where he beſtowed money on the women, according to the cuſtome of the *Perſian* Kings when they came thither. Here he much lamented the violation of *Cyrus* his Sepulchre, which ſince his former being here, had been robbed of all it's riches, except a Litter, and a golden Urn wherein was the body; and this alſo was cut and mangled, the cover being taken away, and the body caſt out. He commanded the Urn to be repaired as well as might be, and the reliques of *Cyrus* being therein depoſited, the dore-place to be walled up. From *Paſargada*, now called *Chelquera*, he came to *Perſepolis*, the ſeat of the *Perſian* Kings, where great complaints being made againſt *Orxines* (who being deſcended from *Cyrus* and the ſeven Conſpirators, had contained the *Perſians* in obedience after the death of the Governour *Phraſortes*) he was crucified through the malice of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, *Alexander*'s minion, who hated him, upon no other account, than for that beſtowing great gifts upon the Courtiers at their return, he neglected him. *Phradates* alſo, who had been Governour of the *Mardi*, *Hyrcanians*, and *Tapyri*, was here put to death, for affecting Kingly power. But, *Peuceſtes* who protected the King among the *Malli*, and as a reward had been received amongſt the Keepers of his body, was now further made Governour of *Perſia*, and thereupon fully conformed himſelf to the faſhions of the Country.

Curtius lib. 10. *Diodorus*, &c. A. M. 3680. *Ol.* 113. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 429. *Alexand.* 12.

To *Perſepolis*.

33. *Alexander* had a great deſire to ſail through *Euphrates* and *Tigris* into the *Perſian* Gulf, to compaſſe about *Arabia* and *Africk*, and ſo to paſſe through the Straights leading into the Mediterranean (now called the Straights of *Gibraltar*) for which purpoſe he commanded wood to be cut down in *Libanus*, to be caried to *Thapſacus* in *Syria*, and being made into ſhips, thence to bee conveyed to *Babylon*. Not long after, *Nearchus* brought the fleet up *Paſitigris* to a bridge newly made for the paſſing over of the Land-army, where for the meeting of both the Armies, after ſix moneths ſail, *Alexander* ſacrificed, and celebrated games. Thence marching to *Suſa*: the Provinces by their Deputies there accuſed many of their Officers, beſides other offences, of violating their Temples. He cauſed them all to be put to death, without reſpect to any former friendſhip, and with them *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, whom he had formerly condemned in *Caramania*. This ſeverity noiſed abroad, netled many that knew themſelves faulty; Some ſcraped together much money and fled, and others that commanded the mercenaries revolted, which cauſed him to ſend up and down *Aſia* to disband the Stipendaries, who being thus put out of employment, robbed all over, and at length met at *Tenarus*, a Promontory of *Laconia* in *Greece*, whither many of their Captains fled to them. *Alexander* now married *Statira* the daughter of *Darius*, and gave her younger ſiſter *Drypetis* to his beloved *Hepheſtion*, having a great deſire that his children might be couſins to him. To ſome 80 more of his Commanders he gave wives of the daughters of the chiefeſt *Medes* and *Perſians*, to which he aſſigned dowers. He made one great wedding-feaſt for himſelf and them all: and to the other *Macedonians* that had maried wives in *Aſia* he gave gifts.

Arrianus lib. 7.

He marieth *Statira* the daughter of *Darius*.

34. Moreover he paid the debts they had contracted in *Aſia*, and becauſe they were unwilling by giving up their names to let him ſee how bad husbands they had been (for they ſuſpected him of ſuch an intention) he cauſed the mony to be given them, without taking accoune to whom, and this expence reached not fully 10000 talents (as appeareth from *Diodorus*, *Curtius*, and *Plutarch*; though *Juſtin* and *Arrianus* mention 20000) ſo that as *Curtius* obſerveth, this Army which had conquered ſo many Nations, brought more victory than booty out of *Aſia*. He alſo rewarded them ſeverally, as they had done him moſt eminent ſervice; and to *Peuceſtes*, *Leonnatus*, *Nearchus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Hepheſtion*, and other keepers of his body, he gave golden crowns. But this did not ſatisfie the *Macedonians*, ſo as to keep them from mutinying. For, having ſailed the River *Eulæus* to the Sea, thence to the mouth of *Tigris*, and up this River as far as *Opis*, he there calling them together, give liberty to all who were rendred unfit for ſervice, either through age or maimedneſſe, to return home, promiſing great rewards to ſuch as would voluntarily ſtay and finiſh the War with him. Though he intended hereby to gratifie them, yet they made a bad conſtruction of it, as proceeding from contempt of them and their ſervice, as counting them unfit for War. They called alſo to minde how he uſed the *Perſian* habit and cuſtoms, as did ſome of his favourites; that the barbarous Nations were admitted amongſt that Troop called his friends; and that he had lately cauſed 30 odd young men to be picked up out of the Provinces, whom trained up in the diſcipline of *Macedonia*, he called *Epigoni*, or his poſterity. Conſidering theſe things, and thinking that he now deſpiſed their perſons, faſhions, and Country, they all deſired to be disbanded, and bade him go alone to the Wars with his father *Hammon*, ſeeing he ſet ſo light by his Soldiers.

The *Macedonians* mutinie.

35. The King inraged, preſently cauſed thirteen of the ringleaders to be apprehended, and drowned in the River; and reviling the reſt bade them all be gone home. Then entering his Palace, for that day and the nexe he would admit none to his preſence. On the third, having confined the *Macedonians* to their tents, he called ſuch ſtrangers to him as followed his Camp. Their faithfulneſſe to him and the former Kings he commended, he related what favours he had ſhewed them, and told them he now took them as fellow Citizens, gave them the Arms of the *Macedonians*, and would have the Kingdom of *Europe* and that of *Aſia* the ſame thing. Out of them he choſe 1000 young men, to whom he committed the charge of his perſon in the Court; he beſtowed the commands of the Army amongſt them, and made choice of ſome, whom naming his kinſfolk, he permitted to kiſſe him. Theſe things cut the *Macedonians* to the heart, and made them ſeriouſly repent of their raſhneſſe. Coming to the Palace, they threw down their Arms at the gate, and with great lamentation deſired to be admitted, offering to give up the incendiaries, and deſiring him rather to kill than thus diſgrace them. He refuſed to admit them, but they continued ſtill two dayes and as many nights before the gates, profeſſing that they would not depart till he had compaſſion on them. On the third day, perceiving them thus humbled, he came forth to them, and *Callines* after mutual weeping, told him, that it troubled them to know others received into his kindred, and themſelves excluded from it. He anſwered, that he received them alſo, and ſo would call them thenceforth; then he offered himſelf to be kiſſed by as many as would. Being thus received again into favour, they returned with great joy to their tents, and afterwards were feaſted by him, together with *Perſians* and others, to the number of 9000 gueſts.

But having humbled themſelves he is reconciled.

36. He diſmiſſed now ſuch as were unſerviceable for the Wars (though ſome ſay it was not till a little before his death) to whom he paid not onely their arrears, but gave them money to bear their charges, and a talent to every man beſides. He ſent home with them *Craterus* his beloved friend to govern *Greece* and *Macedonia* in the room of *Antipater*, who was to bring over a ſupply of men. Then made he a progreſſe through ſeveral places, and came to *Ecbatane* the chief ſeat of *Media*, where *Hepheſtion* by drinking got a Feaver, and then impatient of a ſtrict diet, died of it in ſeven dayes. In the abſence of *Glaucus* his Phyſician (who was gone to the Theater to behold the ſports) he eat his dinner, and after it drank a cup of cold wine, which, as it was thought, increaſed the diſtemper. *Alexander* took his death moſt heavily, faſted three dayes, and refuſed to be comforted. He commanded the Phyſician

He cometh to *Ecbatane* in *Media*, where *Hepheſtion* dieth.

Physician to be crucified, beſpoke an univerſal mourning, wherein the Cities ſhared by the removal of their ornaments from the walls. He ordered *Perdiccas* to convey the body to *Babylon*, where he intended him a moſt ſumptuous monument, and refuſed to fill up his place of Captain of his Thouſand friends, leſt his name ſhould be forgotten, by which he would have the Company ſtill called. Then, for diverſion, he made War upon the *Coſſæi*, a People bordering on the *Oxii*, which having ſtood out againſt the *Perſians*, deſpiſed him alſo, in reſpect of their valour, and the ſtrength of their Country, ſituate upon the mountains of *Media*. Yet for all this, and the coldneſſe of Winter, he brought them under within 40 dayes.

37. Having a great deſire to ſail the *Caſpian* Sea, he ſent *Heraclides* with divers Ship-carpenters into *Hyrcania* to build ſhips, and then he took his journy towards *Babylon*. Being diſtant from the City two or three dayes journy, the *Chaldæans* ſent to warn him that he ſhould not come into the City, for they were told by their god *Belus*, that, if he did, it ſhould be fatal to him. He intended to follow their adviſe; but being perſwaded otherwiſe by *Anaxarchus* and other *Græcians*, at length he reſolved on the contrary. Then they deſired him that he would not enter with his face upon the Weſt; but it being difficult not ſo to do, by reaſon of the Fens about the City, having ſlighted their former advice, he alſo rejected this. Being arrived, he gave audience to Ambaſſadors ſent to him now from all parts, not onely out of *Aſia*, but from *Africk* and *Europe* alſo; Out of *Africk*, from the Nations ſituate upon the Sea-Coaſts as far as the *Atlantick* Ocean: from *Europe*, beſides the *Græcians*, *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Scythians*, from ſome Nations of *Italy*, as the *Brutii*, *Lucani*, *Tuſci*; from *Sicilie*, and *Sardinia*; as alſo from the *Spaniards* and *Galls*, then firſt known to the *Macedonians*; but as for the *Romans*, though ſome ranked them in the number, yet have we no reaſon to give credit to their report. At the celebration of the *Olympick* games, he cauſed it to be proclaimed, that all *Greek* Exiles might return home, except ſuch as were baniſhed for Sacrilege or murther, againſt which the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* onely made reſiſtance. Then celebrated he the funerals of *Hephæſtion* with vaſt magnificence, and ſacrificed to him as an Heroe. After this he made great preparations for ſhipping, intending alſo to invade and conquer *Arabia*, which, hearing that it was no leſſe than *India*, he ſent ſome to diſcover.

He cometh to *Babylon*,

A. M. 3681. *Ol.* 114. *an.* 1. *urbis conditæ* 436. *Alexand.* 13.

38. While theſe preparations were making, and an Haven in digging at *Babylon*, he paſſed through *Euphrates* into *Pallocopa*, a River, which being ſupplied with water from the former, thereby hindreth it from overflowing the Country. Here he opened the paſſages, made a new one towards the Lakes, and coming into the borders of *Arabia*, built there a City. Then deriding the *Chaldæans*, for that he had both entred, and failed in ſafety from *Babylon*, he thither returned, and liking the City exceedingly, intended to make it the ſeat of his Empire; though it was but for a ſhort ſpace, as it fell out. For, having ſate up feaſting and drinking very late one night, as he was departing to go to bed, he was again invited by *Medius* a *Theſſalian* to another carowze, where challenging, and being challenged, he drank ſo much wine as put him into a Feaver, whereof he died the eleventh day. Some have delivered that he was poyſoned by the procurement of *Antipater*, who ſuſpecting he was through the malice of *Olympias* called out of *Macedonia* for no good towards himſelf, ſent his ſon *Caſſander* with poyſon to be delivered to *Iollas* and his other ſons, that then waited on the King. Indeed *Caſſander* was not at all favourable, as he ought to have been, to the intereſt of *Alexander*'s poſterity, as neither to his reputation; and coming to him a little before his death, he did but little ſtrive to ſuit his humour. For ſeeing the *Barbarians* adore him, and being unacquainted with ſuch a ſight, he burſt forth into laughing, for which *Alexander* caught him by the hair, and knocked his head ſoundly againſt the wall, as *Plutarch* telleth us. But as for matter of poiſon, the long lying of his body in ſo hot a Country, during the contentions of his Captains, betraied no ſymptoms thereof, and therefore others give no credit to the report. Moreover, the courſe of his ſickneſſe preſenteth us with no ſuch ſymptomes, as it is deſcribed to us by *Plutarch* and *Arrianus* out of his Diaries.

Where he falleth into a Feaver.

Vide præter Plutarchum & Diodorum Senecæ Epiſt. 83. *Athenæum l.* 12. *c.* 17. *Macrobium Saturnal. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21.

39. *On the* 18th *day of the* (Macedonian) *moneth* Dæſius (*May the* 12) *he ſlept in a Bath, becauſe of his feaver. The day following he returned to his Bed-Chamber, and ſpent it with* Medius *at Dice: then being waſhed at night, and having finiſhed his devotions, he ſupped ſomething liberally, and all the night was much diſtempered. On the* 20th *day he waſhed, and having finiſhed a ſolemn ſacrifice, in the Bath heard* Nearchus *relate the ſtory of his Navigation, and of what he had ſeen in the* Ocean. *On the* 21th *having done the ſame thing his Feaver increaſed, and he had an ill night. The day after he was held with a ſharp Feaver, and was removed near the great place for ſwimming, where he diſcourſed with his Officers about ſupplying Vacant places in the Army with the fitteſt perſons. On the* 24th *his diſeaſe increaſing he ſacrificed, being borne out to the place, and commanded the principal of his Officers to ſtay in the Court, and the reſt to watch before the Gates. Being removed into the inner Palace on the* 25th *day he reſted a little; but the Feaver abated not, and when the Captains came to ſee him he ſpake not a word. So he paſſed over the* 26th *day, whereupon the* Macedonians *thinking him to be dead, came with great noiſe to the Door, and compelled his friends to let them in; ſo in their Coats every man of them paſſed by his bed's ſide. The ſame day* Pithon *and* Seleucus *were ſent to the Temple of* Serapis, *to aſk if he ſhould be removed thither, and received anſwer, that he ſhould continue where he was. On the* 28th *day towards the evening he expired.* Though he (*a*) fainted by the violence of his diſeaſe; yet leaning on his Elbow, he reached out his hand to all Soldiers that would touch it in their paſſage, and (which ſeemeth incredible) (*b*) continued in the ſame poſture he had ſet himſelf, till the whole Army had ſaluted him.

(*a*) *Val. Max. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. *Exter. Exemp.* 1.

(*b*) *Curtius lib.* 10. *cap.* 7.

40. The Soldiers being all gone, he asked his friends about him *whether they thought they ſhould have ſuch another King.* When all kept ſilence he ſaid, that *as he was ignorant hereof, ſo he knew, could Propheſie, and almoſt ſee with his eyes how much blood* Macedonia *would ſhed in this controverſie, with what ſlaughters and bloudſhed it would make him a Parentation when he was dead.* At length he commanded his body to be buried in the Temple of *Hammon*, and when his friends asked him to whom he would leave his Kingdom, he anſwered, *to the moſt Valiant.* Yet having taken his Ring from his finger he gave it to *Perdiccas*: whereby all conjectured that he commended his Kingdom to him till his Children ſhould grow up. Again, *Perdiccas* demanding of him when he would have Divine honours given to him, he replied, *then, when they (his followers) were happy:* which were his laſt words, and a little after he departed. He * lived 32 years and eight moneths, reigned twelve, and alſo eight moneths. He died ſix years and ten moneths after the murther of *Darius*, in the firſt year of the 114 *Olympiad*, A. M. 3681. 322 years before the *Æra* of Chriſt. *Siſygambis* the Mother of *Darius* having with ſome patience born the loſſe both of her Son's life and Empire, when ſhe heard of *Alexander*'s death refuſed to live any longer. So, refraining from all ſuſtenance ſhe died the fifth day after.

Juſtin lib. 12. *Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Curtius ut ſupra.*

Of which he dieth the eleventh day.

* *Juſtin. Curtius. Diodorus.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of such things as hapned after the death of Alexander *amongst his Captains, till their Cantonizing of his Empire into their particular Kingdoms, and their taking the Stile and Title of Kings upon them, containing the space of 17 years.*

Alexanders Issue and Linage.

1. ALexander, though he had taken several Wives, yet left but one Son already born of *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, and another in the belly of *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*. His Son called *Hercules* was despised upon his Mothers account by the Captains, who much scorned the Conquered Nations. He had a sister named *Cleopatra*, Widow to the King of *Epirus* and their Uncle, who was slain in *Italy*; and a base brother called *Aridæus* (begotten on *Philinna* a woman of *Larissa*) who married *Eurydice* the daughter of *Amyntas*, whom being the right Heir, and his Nephew, *Philip* kept from the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, after he had exercised the Office of his *Protector*, and on him bestowed a daughter of his own in marriage. This *Amyntas* bore patiently the want of the Kingdom all *Philip*'s time, but in the beginning of *Alexander*'s reign, with the losse of his life, attempted something. His title through the proweste of the two late Kings was utterly forgotten; *Cleopatra* (as a woman perhaps) was not thought of. *Aridæus* neither by birth, personage, or qualities was fitly endowed; yet upon him the election fell, for want of a better, because the Captains were at a losse what course to take.

Contention amongst his Captains about the succession.

2. For, *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus* (as he was called; but reputed the son of *Philip*, who, as it's said, having used the company of *Arsinoe* his Mother, put her off in marriage to *Lagus*, when great with Child) rejecting the title of the half *Persian* brood, though as *Alexander*'s Children they should have been considered, was for the Captains their taking the rule upon them, and deciding all things by Vote of the major part. But as he might think this course most likely to serve his own ambition, so *Aristonus* perhaps on the same grounds betook himself to the words of *Alexander*, which he interpreted as meant of *Perdiccas*, because, saying, that he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, at the point of death he delivered to him his Ring. He was seconded by many, who either bore good will to *Perdiccas*, or out of fear that he would carry it, would not venture to oppose him. But he would needs make a shew of modesty, thinking thereby the more to indear himself, where-at *Meleager* an envious man, and one who bore to him a particular grudge, took advantage to inveigh against him, and disturbed all Councils, by perswading the Soldiers that whosesoever was the Empire, they had the best title to the Treasure. During the uproar *Aridæus* was mentioned, and his name laid hold on by some peaceable spirits, who labouring betwixt the parties wrought a composure for the time, wherein yet *Perdiccas* had the better of his adversary. It was agreed, according to the desire of the Infantry, that *Aridæus* the base son of *Philip* should be King, and for as much as he was stupid and dull (rather through the practising of *Olympias* upon him, as some thought, than any Original indisposition) *Perdiccas* was made his *Protector*, and Commander of his Forces, who hereby in effect was King for a time, though that title, with the name of *Philip*, for a greater grace was conferred upon the other.

Aridæus declared King.

3. Then did the Officers distribute the Provinces of the Empire amongst themselves. *Macedonia* and *Greece* were left to *Antipater*, *Thrace* with the neighbouring Countreys was assigned to *Lysimachus*; *Egypt*, with all that which of *Cyrene*, *Africk*, and *Arabia* had belonged to *Alexander*, was set over to *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus*. *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were committed to *Laomedon*; *Armenia* to *Neoptolemus*; *Mesopotania* to *Arcesilaus*. In *Asia* the lesse, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, with the Countreys thereto adjoyning, which

The Provinces distributed amongst the Captains.

which *Alexander* had passed by in his Conquests, were assigned to *Eumenes*; *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the greater *Phrygia* to *Antigonus*; the lesser *Phrygia* as far as the *Hellespont* to *Leonatus*; *Cilicia* to *Philotas*, together with *Isauria*; and *Caria* to *Cassander*. *Menander* was confirmed in the Government of *Lydia* given him by *Alexander*. The Isle of *Cyprus* remained in the power of certain Governours to which he had granted it; and all that part of his Empire from *Babylon* Eastward continued in the state wherein he left it. Thus was his Dominions disposed of otherwise than he intended, for one telleth us that he made a Will, which he delivered to the *Rhodians*, and another affirmeth, that thereby all was given to one onely Successor. After this his Funerals were thought of, his body having lyen seven dayes neglected. Yet no corruption had seized on it, and it looked as fresh in the face as though it had been living, which as it's said made the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldæans* afraid to touch it; but having prayed that mortals might lawfully do it, they embalmed, and after that adorned it with royal Ensigns. The care of the burial was committed to one *Aridæus* (not the King, though some have so mistaken) another of the Captains, who spent two years in making preparation for it, which made *Olympias* tax the late ambition of her son, and bewail his misfortune together in the same speech, as * *Elian* observeth. For, the burial of *Alexander* was to be ushered in by the Funerals of many of his followers.

A. M. 3682. *Ol.* 114 *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 432. *Ante Christum* 321. *Ptolom.* 1.

Diodorus l. 20. *ad Ol.* 118. *ann.* 4. *Ammianus Marc. l.* 23. *Justin. Curtius l.* 10. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 114. *ann.* 2. & 3.

* *Var. Hist. lib.* 13. *c.* 30.

Ptolomy getteth possession of Egypt.

4. *Ptolomy* got possession of *Egypt* without any trouble, and setled himself therein, partly by his fair carriage towards the Inhabitants, and partly by the power of an Army, which he raised by the virtue of 8000 Talents. Hearing that *Perdiccas* had an intention to deprive him of his Government, he contracted affinity with *Antipater*, and making away *Cleomenes* his Lieutenant, because he was much addicted to the *Protector*, fortified the Countrey. *Antipater* was now imployed in the *Lamian* War against the *Athenians* and *Ætolians*, who refused to receive their Exiles, as was hinted before, and so distressed him in battel, that he was forced to fly to *Lamia*, a Citie of *Phthiotis*. Here *Leosthenes* the *Athenian* General besieged him; but when he perceived him forsaken by the *Ætolians* he issued out, and slew him in the charge, being an excellent Soldier, and one who had deserved well of *Greece*. *Leonatus* Governour of the lesser *Phrygia*, allured by promise of his daughter, came over to help *Antipater*; but marching through *Thessaly* was driven into a Fen by the *Gracians*, and there slain. At his mishap *Antipater* (who coming thither the day after, united his Forces with his own) is said to have rejoyced, because he had determined to make himself Master of *Macedonia*. At this time *Perdiccas* taking the King along with him, went against *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, whom getting into his hands he Crucified, and subduing those Countreys which *Alexander* had passed by, gave them to *Eumenes*, according to agreement. *Craterus* not long after passed over into *Macedonia*, to the assistance of *Antipater*, with 10000 *Macedonians*, and 150 *Persians*, which Force united to the Army of *Antipater*, overpowered the joynt strength of the *Gracians*.

The Lamian War in Greece.

Perdiccas subdueth Cappadocia.

A. M. 3683. *Ol.* 114. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 431. *Ptolom.* 2.

Civil Wars amongst the Captains.

5. After this begun the Civil Wars betwixt the Captains themselves. For, *Perdiccas* breathing after the Soveraignty, and knowing how able the other were to withstand him, grudged *Ptolomy* exceedingly the possession of *Egypt*, and through the perswasion of *Eumenes* procured much enmity, in that having married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, by his advice, he resolved to put her away, and take *Cleopatra* to wife, the daughter of *Philip*, and sister to *Alexander*. This being made known to *Antigonus*, he certified *Antipater* of it, and being calumniated by *Perdiccas* (who intended to make him away) he fled unto him, with *Demetrius* his son. *Perdiccas* consulting with his Officers what in this case was to be done, resolved first to set upon *Egypt*, lest *Ptolomy* during his absence in *Greece*, should seize upon *Asia*. And to keep *Asia* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, he left *Eumenes* with large power over the Provinces, joyning with him *Alcetas* his own brother, and *Neoptolemus*. *Perdiccas* taking along with him *Aridæus* the King, and

Perdiccas goeth against Ptolomy.

Diod. *Arrianus.* *Justin. l.* 13.

young *Alexander* now born of *Roxane* (who was eight moneths gone with child of him when his Father died) for a more ſpecious prerence, marched againſt *Ptolomy*. *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, hearing how things went, clapped up a Peace preſently with the *Ætolians*, and leaving *Polyſperchon* to govern *Macedonia* and *Greece*, paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and diſpatched away meſſengers to *Ptolomy* to enter into a league and ſociety with him. A. M. 3684. *Ol.* 114. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 433. *Ptolom.* 3.

6. *Alcetas*, with thoſe *Macedonians* he commanded, ſtatly refuſed to fight againſt them; and *Neoptolemus* envying *Eumenes* the chief command, plainly revolted. After this, ſome were ſent to feel *Eumenes*, but he anſwered, that he would rather die than betray his truſt, whereupon *Antipater* and *Craterus* divided their Forces. *Antipater* marched towards *Ægypt* to joyn with *Ptolomy*, and *Craterus* ſtaied to oppoſe *Eumenes*, with whom fighting in *Cappadocia*, his Horſe ſtumbled, and he was run through with a Lance, and after the fight died of the wound: *Neoptolemus* alſo grapling with *Eumenes* was ſlain by him. By this time *Perdiccas* with the two Kings came to *Peluſium* in *Ægypt*, where though *Ptolomy* purged himſelf of the crimes objected againſt him, yet he would purſue his enterprize, though contrary to the inclination of his Soldiers, his end being hereby to be brought about. Divers of his friends preſently forſook him; yet he ſet upon a Caſtel near the *Nile*, and not being able to gain it, marched away and came over againſt *Memphis*, where the River parting into two ſtreams, maketh an Iſland very convenient for the lodging of his Army. Endeavouring to bring his men into it, he loſt 200 in the Ford, for that thoſe who firſt waded over ſo removed the ſand at the bottom, that the River was too deep for ſuch as followed. Yet did he command thoſe who had got ſafe over to return; of whom part were drowned, ſome caried down the ſtream to the Enemie, and others being toſſed to and fro in the River were devoured by Crocodils. By this imprudent act the minds of his followers were ſo turned againſt him, that 100 of his chief Officers revolting, he was ſlain by certain Horſe-men, after he had continued in his power almoſt three years. * One reporteth, that he was ſlain at the River *Nile* by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*.

Eumenes left by him in *Aſia* getteth the better.

Perdiccas ſlain.

Idem, *Pauſan. in Atticis.*

* *Corn. Nepos in Eumene.*

7. *Ptolomy* came over to the Kings, whom with the Officers he magnificently entertained, and then an election being to be made of a new Governour for them in the room of *Perdiccas*, though he could eaſily have procured himſelf to be choſen, yet he got two others elected, viz. *Pithon* one of *Alexander*'s moſt intimate friends, and *Aideus*, who having the care of the funeral committed to him, had at the deſire of *Ptolomy* buried the King's body at *Memphis*, againſt the will of *Perdiccas*. The Army now being diſpleaſed at the death of *Craterus*, declared *Eumenes* an Enemy, and choſe *Antigonus* together with *Antipater* Generals for the ſubduing of him. But *Pithon* and *Aideus* held not their places long, for *Eurydice* the wife of *Aridæus* the King, being a woman of a notable ſpirit, would have nothing done without her knowlege, and grew ſo intolerable, that *Pithon* therewith wearied, and ſeeing the *Macedonians* too much addicted to her, called the Soldiers together, and laid down his Protectorſhip. Into his room then *Antipater* was elected with full power.

Pithon and *Aideus* choſen into his place.

And *Eumenes* declared an Enemy.

Pithon layeth down & *Antipater* choſen into his place.

8. Againſt him alſo *Eurydice* raiſed ſuch a Sedition in the Army, taking occaſion at the want of pay, that with much ado he eſcaped the danger of his life, by the means of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*. After this, he anew divided ſuch Provinces as he ſaw convenient, placing and diſplacing Governours. He created *Antigonus* General againſt *Eumenes*, ſending his own ſon *Caſſander* as Colonel with him, by whom he might be certified, in caſe he attempted any thing for his own eſtabliſhment; and then with the two Kings he marched for *Macedonia*, *Eumenes* having intelligence concerning theſe Councils, made all preparations poſſible for reſiſtance. In the Spring *Antigonus* came againſt him into *Cappadocia*, where he firſt attempted by Libels thrown into his Camp, to draw his Soldiers from their obedience, offering a great reward for his head. *Eumenes* gave his Soldiers thanks for their fidelity, but told them, that theſe Libels were feigned by himſelf to try them, which was a notable device (and of A. M. 3685. *Ol.* 115. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 434. *Ptolom.* 4.

He createth *Antigonus* General againſt *Eumenes*.

of ſuch he was full) to make them wary of giving credit to ſuch for the time to come. Yet ſome proved falſe to him, as one *Perdiccas*, who drew away a conſiderable party, but was purſued and taken, and being put to death, the Soldiers returned to obedience. But *Apollonides* his General of the Horſe did moſt miſchief, for being corrupted by *Antigonus*, when they came to joyn battel he paſſed over with his Troops to him, whereby *Eumenes* had the worſt of it, and loſt about 8000 men, with his Cariages.

Eumenes worſted through treachery.

9. *Apollonides* the Traytor he caught and hanged: then, flying a private way, he returned to the Camp, and there buried his dead, to the wonder and amazement of the Enemy, after which he could have plundred the carriages of *Antigonus* but for burthening his Soldiers with the booty. Being driven to and fro in this flight, at length he betook himſelf to a Caſtel called *Nora*, ſituate in the Confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, and diſmiſſed all his Army, except 500 Horſe-men, and 200 Foot, as alſo ſuch friends as were unwilling to undergo the hardſhip of a Siege. *Antigonus* before he would lay cloſe ſiege to the place, called him forth to a Treaty, requiring him to come to him a Superiour, to which he anſwered, that *he accounted no man his Superiour ſo long as he had a Sword by his ſide*. This parley, though managed with much reſpect, came to nothing, and *Antigonus* leaving a party ſufficient to carry on the Siege, marched againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, two of *Eumenes* his confederates, whom he ſuppreſſed. About this time *Antipater* died in *Macedonia*, and at his death more ſwayed by the Publick good than any ſelfiſh reſpect, left *Polyſperchon* (who after himſelf was the oldeſt of *Alexander*'s friends now living) Protector of the Kings, and Captain, with full authority. *Caſſander* his ſon ſtomached this very much, and conſulting how to advance himſelf to be chief, ſecretly entered into confederacy with divers Captains. Amongſt theſe was *Ptolomy*, whom he deſired that he would ſend him ſome ſhips out of *Phœnicia* (for all that Country, together with *Judæa*, hee had now got into his power) into the *Helleſpont*. But the death of *Antipater* ſtrangely alſo made way for the inlargement of *Eumenes*.

Beſieged in *Nora*.

A. M. 3686. *Ol.* 115. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 435. *Ptolom.* 5.

Antipater dieth and leaveth his place to *Polyſperchon*.

10. For, *Antigonus* now being left chief in *Aſia*, thought of no leſſe than getting it all into his power, and for that end ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with the ſeveral Captains. Judging that the conjunction of *Eumenes* might be of great advantage to him, he ſent *Hieronymus* his Country-man (who being an * Hiſtorian, wrote of the acts of *Alexander* and his Succeſſors) to deſire him, that forgetting the fight in *Cappadocia*, he would enter into ſociety with him, and receive a larger Province. He required that he ſhould take an oath, which, ſlightly paſſing over the Kings, he had framed to his own advantage. *Eumenes* unwilling to ſwear fealty to him, with the aſſent of *Hieronymus* and the beſiegers, changed the form of the oath, and ſwore to have the ſame friends and enemies, not onely with him, but with *Olympias*, and the Kings. Hereupon the Siege was raiſed after a years continuance, which he had born with admirable chearfulneſſe and prudence, and now being let looſe drew many followers after him, ſo that within a few dayes, beſides the 500 which had continued with him in the Caſtel, he had 2000 at his devotion. *Antigonus* was very angry that he had changed the form of the oath, and by Letters checked the beſiegers, for admitting of it, requiring them to beſiege him again; but it was too late. Thus, they were as far from cloſing as before; and ſtill were further ſet at diſtance by the affaires which now were on foot in *Macedonia*.

* *Vide Voſſium de Script. Græc. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

His death procureth the inlargment of *Eumenes*.

11. *Polyſperchon* having ſucceeded *Antipater* (as was before ſaid) recalled *Olympias* out of *Epirus*, whither her enmity with *Antipater* had driven her, inviting her to take the care of her young grand-ſon upon her. But *Caſſander* reſolving to venture for *Macedonia*, entred into confederacy with *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus*, the later whereof gladly promiſed him aſſiſtance, out of love to the memory of his father, as he pretended, but indeed deſirous that he ſhould be diverted by ſo great a Warre, whilſt he in the mean time might make ſure of *Aſia*. *Polyſperchon* to ſecure *Greece*, in the name of A. M. 3687. *Ol.* 115. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 436. *Ptol.* 6.

the Kings publiſhed an Edict for the aboliſhment of all ſuch Oligarchies, as ſince the paſſing of *Alexander* into *Aſia*, had been erected in any of the Cities, which by virtue hereof he reſtored to their former liberty, hereby to oblige, and keep them from yielding to *Caſſander*. In the ſame name he alſo wrote to *Eumenes*, upon whom he confirmed his former Government, and beſtowed more, beſeeching him, that together with himſelf, he would take upon him the protection of the King's houſe; if he pleaſed, in *Macedonia*, but rather in *Aſia* againſt *Antigonus*, who now had viſibly revolted from it: Moreover, he wrote to the Treaſurers in *Cilicia*, to furniſh *Eumenes* with money, and to the *Argyraſpidæ* (or the old Soldiers with Silver Shields) to obey him in all things. *Olympias* alſo by letters deſired his help, owning him as the moſt faithful of thoſe remaining, who could aſſiſt againſt the ruine and deſolation of her family.

Caſſander labours for Aſia and Europe, & Eumenes is ſtirred up to ſtand for the King's intereſt.

12. *Eumenes* not able to ſtay any longer in *Cappadocia*, becauſe *Menander* was ſent from *Antigonus* againſt him, haſted into *Cilicia*, where the *Argyraſpidæ* being 3000 in number joyned with him. Fearing the envy of the *Macedonians*, for that he was but a Stranger of the *Cherroneſus* of *Thrace*, he caried it with great civility towards all, and made himſelf but equal to the other Captains. To contain them in order, he feigned that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, ſitting upon his Throne, and commanding as formerly, in compliance wherewith, he cauſed a Throne to be erected in a Tent as for the King, whereon was alſo laid a Diadem and Scepter; and here the Council of Officers were alwaies to aſſemble: Then ſending his friends abroad he raiſed many men, the report of the largneſſe of his pay drawing Soldiers out of *Greece* it ſelf. *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* ſent to take off the *Argyraſpidæ*, and *Teutamus* one of their Captains was perſwaded by them, but was reduced to his former reſolution by *Antigenes* his Collegue, and the common Soldiers were quieted by *Eumenes*, who came upon them while yet they were in fear of *Antigonus*, who threatned, that except they would deliver him up, he would come and deſtroy them with his Army. After this, *Eumenes* marched into *Phœnicia*, intending there to provide ſhipping, that if need were, he might have entercourſe with *Polyſperchon*. He alſo intended to reſcue *Phœnicia* out of *Ptolomie's* hands; but finding himſelf unable to accompliſh this deſign, he began his march through *Cœleſyria*, and paſſed on till he came to *Carræ* near *Babylon*, where he took up his Winter quarters.

Diod. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Polyænus Stratagem. l. 4.

Who marcheth to Carræ.

13. *Antigonus* having overthrown at Sea *Polyſperchon's* Navy, and attempted ſomething againſt the Governours near the *Helleſpont*, now haſted to make a full conqueſt of *Aſia*. He choſe out of all his Army 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, wherewith, for expedition, he marched with ſpeed into *Cilicia* to ſupreſſe *Eumenes* his forces ere he could get them together, which cauſed the other ſooner to depart into *Phœnicia*, whence he marched to *Carræ*. Whilſt he here remained he ſent to *Seleucus* Governour of *Babylon*, and *Pithon* of *Media*, for aid againſt the enemies of the Kings; to which they anſwered, that they were ready to aſſiſt the Kings, but not him, who was condemned by a Council of the *Macedonians*, and they ſolicited the Captains of the *Argyraſpidæ* to forſake him; but in vain. After this he reſolved for *Suſa*, thinking to get aide out of the upper Provinces, and money out of the Treaſury, and thither he came with much difficulty, *Seleucus* having ſo drowned his Camp, that he was forced to get off his men with boats. It hapned that the Governours of the Provinces were at this time gathered together with many forces againſt *Pithon*, who having ſlain *Philotas*, had placed his own brother *Eudramus* in his ſtead. Fearing the like might be attempted againſt themſelves, they armed, and having overthrown him in battel, drove out of *Parthia* to *Babylon*, where he fled to *Seleucus* for relief. Having formerly ſent them Letters from the Kings, he now alſo ſolicited them for aid when thus met together, to which they agreed, and came dovvn. Theſe were *Peuceſtes* Governour of *Perſia*, one of the Keepers of the late King's body, and now choſen by the reſt for their *Generaliſſimo*; *Polemon* of *Caramania*, *Sibyrtius* of *Arachoſia*, *Siaſander* of *Aria*, and *Drangiana*; *Andrabazus*, who was ſent from *Oxyartes* Governour of the *Parapomiſade*, and *Eudamus* (or *Eudamon*) Governour of the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, who brought with him out of *India* 120 Elephants (beſides other Forces) which he got into his hands after he had ſlain *Porus* the King. Their united Force conſiſted of above 18700 foot, and 4600 horſe, which being joyned to *Eumenes* his Army, made up a conſiderable body.

To Suſa.

The Governours of the upper Provinces joyn with him.

A. M. 3688. *Ol.* 115. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 437. *Ptolom.* 7.

14. They had fallen out about chuſing a new General, had not *Eumenes* his former device of ſetting up *Alexander's* Pavilion and Throne prevented it, whither he perſwaded them to repair, and rule in common; after which he took as much money out of the Treaſury at *Suſa* as his wants required. In Spring *Antigonus* being come into *Meſopotamia* marched to *Babylon*, where joyning in Confederacy with *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, he received ſome Forces from them, and paſſed the River *Tigris*. *Eumenes* hearing of his coming went down to *Paſitigris*, where he fell upon ſuch of his Soldiers as were got over the River, which he filled alſo with Carkeiſes, and took 4000 priſoners. *Antigonus* therefore bent his courſe another way to the Citie *Badaca* ſituate upon the River *Eulæus*, whence he journeyed through the Countrey of the *Coſſæans* with great difficulty, & hardſhip, into the habitable parts of *Media*, where he refreſhed, and quieted his men now ready to mutiny, by reaſon of their teadious journey. *Eumenes* marched into *Perſia*, where the whole Army was Magnificently entertained by *Peuceſtes* the *Satrapa*, who now thought to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Chief power, but by the great cunning of *Eumenes*, together with the other Captains, was retained in his former condition, and brought to a greater obſervance of him. *Antigonus*, following him into *Perſia*, he returned to meet him, but feaſting his Army, he drunk ſo exceſſively, that a great diſtemper thereby contracted, ſtopped him for ſome dayes, and then was he carried in a Litter out of the noiſe, till ſuch time as the Front would not march without him in the head of them. He was therefore conſtrained to lead them, and ſhortly after to frame the battel in his Litter, which *Antigonus* ſaw, and laughed at it.

Antigonus marcheth against him.

A. M. 3689. *Ol.* 116. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 438. *Ptolomæi* 8.

15. Four dayes were ſpent in light skirmiſhing, during which time *Antigonus* endeavoured to draw away *Eumenes* his men; but to no purpoſe; and afterwards reſolved to go 3 dayes journey off into *Gabiene*, for that the Armies were both much ſtraightned for neceſſaries. *Eumenes* hearing this, ſent ſome, who as Fugitives ſhould acquaint him how as that night he intended to fall in upon his Camp, which he believing, ſtayed, expecting him, and then did *Eumenes* make haſte to get into *Gabiene* before him. *Antigonus* ſeeing himſelf deluded, marched after with great expedition, and leaving behind the reſt of his Army, with a party got before him. He preſented then himſelf to his view upon the Mountains, which *Eumenes* ſeeing, and thinking he had all his Forces with him, made an Alt, and ſo they mutually deceived each other. Here in the Countrey of the *Paræaceni* they joyned battel, wherein *Eumenes* had the better, though the other got the advantage of ground; but then his Soldiers beginning to be refractory would needs depart to their baggage, and not ſtay to bury their dead. Whereupon *Antigonus* doing this firſt, the victory came to be controverted.

They meet.

The victory controverted.

16. *Antigonus* finding himſelf to have had the worſt of it, went his way to *Gamarga* in *Media*, where was plenty of Proviſions, and then *Eumenes* finding his Army in no good caſe to purſue him, departed to *Gabiene*. Here he divided his Forces into their Winter quarters, not according to his own deſire, but the pleaſure of the Soldiers, for the old ones which had followed *Alexander* in his Conqueſts were grown ſo high, as they would rather give Laws to their Captains than receive them. *Antigonus* hearing this, thought to ſurprize them on a ſudden, and for that they ſhould know nothing of it, reſolved to take a by-way, which yet was declared to *Eumenes*, who not being able to call his Soldiers together ſo ſoon as was requiſite, betook himſelf to his ſeldom failing policy. He cauſed fires to be made on the Mountains where the Enemy was to paſſe, which they beholding, thought he had

Diodorus ut ſupra, Plutarch. in Eumene, & Cornel. Nepos.

there

there with him his whole Army, and ſo took the common way, after they were come into the midſt of their journey. *Antigonus* ſtayed one day to recruit his Army, and *Eumenes* gathered in the mean time his Forces together, which admired his prudence ſo much, as they ordered him to be the Chief, which made him come into the danger of life, divers of the great ones conſpiring againſt him, which made him ſay he was amongſt a company of wild beaſts, and cauſed him to make his Will, and tear his Letters, leſt any of them that had wrote unto him ſhould be troubled after his death. This as it was faithfully done to his friends, ſo was it alſo in good time, as it after fell out.

17. For, ſhortly after, *Antigonus* and he came to a Pitch-battel, which decided the controverſie, though not for the Conquerour. *Eumenes* lead into the field 36700 foot, 6050 horſe, and 114 Elephants, *Antigonus* brought 22000 foot, 9000 horſe, and 65 Elephants. The *Argyraſpides* (or ſilver ſhields) got the victory, for they put all *Antigonus* his foot to flight, and killed 5000 of them, ſo that though *Peuceſtes* withdrew himſelf out of the fight with his own horſe, and 1500 more; yet *Eumenes* with the loſſe of 700 on his ſide got the day. But neither valour nor wiſdom could befriend him, for the place where they fought being exceeding duſty, ſo as ones ſight was taken away at a little diſtance, *Antigonus* ſends a party of his horſe to plunder his Enemies baggage, ſo that the *Macedonians* though Conquerors, after the battel fell into a deep melancholy for the loſſe of their Wives and Children taken away, and *Teutamus* firſt without the knowledge of any one ſent to *Antigonus*, who Covenanted with him to reſtore him all, on condition *Eumenes* were delivered to him, and they would all paſſe into his Camp, whereupon the *Macedonians*, the 1000 which *Peuceſtes* commanded, and moſt of the other Captains revolted, and *Eumenes* having his hands tied behind him was delivered up; his Army ſhamefully following him to the Tents of *Antigonus*, leading it ſelf in Triumph after him. *Antigonus* for ſhame would not ſee *Eumenes* his old fellow Soldier in that condition; but aſſigned him to Keepers, at firſt requiring he ſhould be ſtrictly looked to, but afterwards remitting that rigour till almoſt all perſwaded him to make an end of him. This he was loath to do, and took 7 dayes to conſult in; but then fearing ſome Sedition might ariſe in the Army, he commanded his dayly allowance of meat ſhould be withdrawn, ſaying, he would never lay hands upon him. Two or three dayes he languiſhed in this condition, and then the Army being to march, one was ſent in, and killed him without the knowledge of *Antigonus*; ſo fell this brave man, excelled in Military glory but by few Captains, in the eighth year after the death of *Alexander*.

Eumenes getteth the better,

But is betrayed by his men,

And killed.

18. *Caſſander* having obtained of *Antigonus* 35 ſhips, and 5000 men, ſayled with them to *Athens*, which together with the Haven he had got into his power, by means of *Nicanor*, whom he had ſent before-hand for that purpoſe. Againſt him came *Polyſperchon*, intending to beſiege him, but his Proviſions failing, he left his ſon with a party in *Attica*, and with the greateſt part of the Army marched into *Peloponneſus* againſt the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, who onely amongſt the Cities had refuſed to take away their Oligarchy, and had joyned with *Caſſander*. Here he had the worſt of it, and that brought him ſo into contempt, as moſt of the *Greek* Cities revolted from him to *Caſſander*, and the *Athenians* ſeeing they could not ſhake off his Garriſon, agreed with him that he ſhould retain the Fort *Munychia*, till the War was finiſhed with the Kings, but that the Citie ſhould be governed by one whom he appointed, which was *Demetrius Phalereus* the Philoſopher, *Theophraſtus* his Scholar, who Governed ten years with moderation, and was honored with 360 Statues. Then *Caſſander* making an expedition into *Macedonia*, found there many friends. The year after, *Polyſperchon* by the help of *Æacida*, King of the *Moloſſians*, reduced *Olympias* with *Alexander* the ſon of *Rhoxane* her Grand-Child into *Macedonia*, whereupon *Eurydice* the Wife of *Aridæus* the King fortified herſelf, and ſent to *Caſſander* for aid, but the *Macedonians* fearing the Majeſty of *Olympias* fell away from her, her, and ſhe with her husband being both committed to priſon, he was firſt made away, and then *Olympias* ſent her a Sword, an Halter, and Poyſon, to chuſe which of them ſhe pleaſed; ſo ſhe praying the gods that ſhe might have at length ſuch gifts ſent unto her, hanged her ſelf with her Garter. This hapned after *Aridæus* had enjoyed the title of King ſix years and four moneths.

Diodorus l. 18.

Olympias deſtroyeth *Aridæus* and his Wife.

19. *Olympias* killed *Nicanor* the brother of *Caſſander*, and deſtroyed the Sepulchre of his other brother *Iollas*, and then chuſing out 100 of his chiefeſt friends put them to cruel deaths. But he hearing ſhe was arrived in *Macedonia*, marched out of *Peloponneſus* againſt her, whereupon ſhe made *Ariſtonous* her General, and commanded him to meet *Caſſander*, ſhe betaking herſelf, with *Alexander* her Grand-ſon, his Mother, and others, into *Pydna*, hoping ſhe ſhould have many aſſiſtants, but ſhe was deceived. For, *Caſſander* beſieged her by Land and Sea. *Æacida* was coming to aſſiſt her, but by his means his men fell away from him, and baniſhing him his Countrey, joyned themſelves and Kingdom to the other; others in *Macedonia* intended to aid her, but fearing *Caſſander*, fell off alſo to him, and as for *Polyſperchon* in whom reſted now all her hope, *Callas* being ſent againſt him corrupted alſo moſt of his Soldiers. The ſiege therefore laſted without any let, till famine ſo prevailed in the Citie, as many of the Defendants came out, and ſhe was then driven by neceſſity to yield, very hardly obtaining promiſe of ſafety to her perſon. Afterwards he cauſed ſuch as whoſe Kinſfolks ſhe had put to death to accuſe her to the *Macedonians*, who naturally hated, and now incenſed by them, condemned her. Then did he ſend ſome of her friends to her, willing her to fly, but ſhe denied it, and reſolved to plead her cauſe before the people, ſo that he fearing their affections might be moved towards her, ſent ſome Soldiers to kill her. They were ſo ſtruck with her Majeſty, as they returned without doing their errand, but then ſome the friends of whom ſhe had made away came in, and ſlew her, not at all amated, or behaving herſelf otherwiſe than as the Mother of *Alexander*, whom ſhe had outlived for eight years.

Diodorus l. 19.

Killeth *Nicanor* and others.

She is alſo murdred by *Caſſander*.

20. *Pithon* the Governour of *Media*, envying *Antigenus* his power, and greatneſſe, laboured to draw moſt of the Soldiers now in their Winter quarters to his own party, intending to eſtabliſh himſelf, which *Antigonus* being aware of, gave out that he would commit the Eaſt unto him, and by divers friendly Letters drew him to him, after which he got him condemned in a Councel of his Aſſociates, and put him to death. Then marched he into *Perſia*, being received by the Inhabitants as King, for that now without controverſie he was Lord of *Aſia*. Here calling a Council, he confirmed divers in their Governments, and amongſt the reſt *Sibyrtius* of *Arachoſia*, to whom he delivered 1000 of the moſt turbulent *Argyraſpides* (who had delivered up *Eumenes*) under pretence to ſerve him in the Wars, but indeed to deſtroy them, giving him ſecret order to expoſe them to ruin, that ſo they might never ſee more *Macedonia* nor the *Greek* Sea. Perceiving *Peuceſtes* to be in great favour here, he removed him from the Government, to the great grief of the people, and then got the Treaſure at *Suſa* into his hands, out of which he made 25000 Talents. Thence he journeyed to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* the Governour royally entertained him, but offering to puniſh a certain Officer of the Army without his knowledge, he called him to an account for the Revenues of the place. *Seleucus* denied to account, ſaying, that place was given him by the *Macedonians* for his faithfull ſervice performed to *Alexander*; but the Conteſt grew ſharper every day, ſo as he remembring, and fearing the caſe of *Pithon*, with fifty horſe in his Company fled into *Egypt*. *Antigonus* was glad he had gotten *Babylon*, and that without any violence offered to his antient friend; but being told by the *Chaldeans*, that if he let him go he ſhould get all *Aſia* into his power, and he himſelf ſhould die in a battel againſt him, he ſent ſome to purſue him, but in vain.

Pithon put to death by *Antigonus*.

Who ordering matters as he pleaſeth in the Eaſt,

Seleucus flyeth into Egypt.

21. *Seleucus* being courteouſly entertained by *Ptolomy*, ſent his friends into *Europe* to ſtir up *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* againſt *Antigonus*, who ſuſpecting

Laertius in vita Phocionis.

Ptolom. 9.

A. M. 3690. *Ol.* 116. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 439.

ſpecting ſome ſuch matter, ſent alſo to retain them in his friendſhip, but they entred into confederacy together with *Ptolomy* againſt him, and all three ſent their Ambaſſadors to him, as he was now marching towards upper *Syria*, to demand that *Cappadocia* and *Lycia* might be reſtored to *Caſſander* Governour of *Caria*; *Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont* to *Lyſimachus*, all *Syria* to *Ptolomy*, and *Babylon* to *Seleucus*, and to divide all the treaſure he had got into his hands ſince the death of *Eumenes*, with them and the other *Macedonians* who had loſt their Governments. To this he anſwered ſharply, and that he was already preparing for *Ptolomy*, ſo that the Ambaſſadors returning without any effect, they made great preparations both by Sea and Land. He underſtanding how full his hands would be, ſent about to the chief States to retain them in friendſhip, and alſo to hire more Soldiers; he himſelf went into *Phœnicia*, where he beſieged *Tyre*, uſed great endeavour for the making of ſhips, and took in *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Ariſtodemus* alſo he ſent into *Lacedæmonia*, who there by the permiſſion of the *Lacedæmonians* raiſed 8000 Soldiers, and joyned *Polyſperchon* and *Alexander* his ſon in confederacy with him, of whom the former was made General of *Greece*, and the larer he deſired to go over to *Antigonus*, who going accordingly, in an aſſembly of the Army accuſed *Caſſander*, for that he had put *Olympias* to death, had committed *Rhoxane* and her ſon to cuſtody, maried by force *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* and ſiſter of *Alexander*, and ſo plainly affected the Kingdom of *Macedonia*: moreover, that he had re-edified *Thebes* deſtroyed by *Alexander*, and reſtored the *Olinthians*; whereupon he was declared an Enemy, except he would amend what was amiſſe, and obey *Antigonus*, and ſet all the *Gracians* at liberty, and ſo *Alexander* rewarded with 500 Talents was ſent back. Not long after he revolted to *Caſſander*, being for that declared General of *Peloponneſus*, and ſhortly after was traiterouſly ſlain by the *Sicionians*.

Maketh the Captains combine againſt *Antigonus*.

22. *Seleucus* in *Cyprus* proſpered againſt the party of *Antigonus*, and *Polyclitus* his Lieutenant overthrew *Theodotus* his Admiral both at Sea and Land, after which *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* met and conferred together; but to no purpoſe. *Caſſander* ſhortly after fearing *Antigonus* might paſſe over into *Europe*, to divert him, ſent an Army over into *Caria* to help thoſe Cities which were confederate with *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander* the Governour there joyning with him, which *Antigonus* fearing, left *Demetrius* his ſon in *Syria*, with order to entrap *Ptolomie*'s forces if they ſhould march that way, and for that he was but then 22 years old, left 4 grave men his friends to counſel and direct him. Upon his coming to *Caria*, *Caſſander* the Governour having too great a burthen upon him, made a Peace, on condition to keep his place, and gave his brother for an Hoſtage, whom yet he getting again out of his hands, he preſently revolted, after which *Antigonus* got divers Cities into his hands, and reſtored the *Mileſians* to their liberty. At this time the inhabitants of *Cyrene* revolting, *Ptolomy* reduced them again to obedience by the means of *Agis* his General, and in *Cyprus* ſuppreſſed ſome of the Kings which were of the contrary faction. Returning home he was ſollicited be *Seleucus* to undertake an Expedition againſt *Demetrius* then in *Celeſyria*, ſo that with 18000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, he marched to *Gaza*, where *Demetrius* expected him. In the fight the forces of *Demetrius* ſeemed rather to prevail, till his Elephants being wounded and taken, his Horſe out of fear ran away. He himſelf fled accompanied with many till he came to paſſe by *Gaza*, but then ſo many forſook him and went in thither to fetch out their goods, as multitudes flocking to the gates, and they therefore being hindred from being ſhut, the enemies entred with them and took the Town. *Ptolomy* took *Sidon* alſo, and beſieged *Tyre*, whoſe Governour *Andronicus* upon ſummons refuſed to yield, and reviled him; yet he getting the place into his power through the ſedition of the Soldiers, when he looked for preſent death, not onely forgave him, but entertained him courteouſly as his familiar friend.

Diodorus ut prius.

Whoſe Son *Demetrius* is defeated by *Ptolomy*.

A. M. 3693. *Ol.* 117. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 442. *Seleuci* 1. *Ptolom.* 11

23. *Ptolomy* getting the places about *Syria* into his power, returned into *Ægypt*,

Ægypt, being followed thither by many which were drawn by his great courteſie and clemency. But *Seleucus* thinking this a good opportunity for him to return to his former Principality, obtained of him 800 Foot, and 200 Horſe, and with them marched for *Babylon*. In his way in *Meſopotamia* he gor, partly by fair means, partly by foul, thoſe *Macedonians* which quartered at *Carrhæ* to joyn with him, but when he came to *Babylon*, the Inhabitants there willingly received him, and he ſhortly after ſtormed the Caſtel which was held by *Antigonus* his garriſon. *Nicanor* the Governour of *Media* hearing this, came againſt him with above 10000 Foot, and 7000 Horſe, whom he went out to meet with but few more than 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe, and knowing himſelf too weak to engage in a ſet battel with him, he hid his men in the Fens till he was paſt with his Army, and then came upon him lying careleſly in the night without any ſtrict guards; ſo as the *Perſians* coming to fight, *Euagrus* their Captain was ſlain, with other Officers, at which being ſtruck, and alſo weary of *Antigonus* his government, they revolted, and *Nicanor* with a few at his heels eſcaped, being glad he was not delivered up. *Seleucus* by this means getting a ſtrong Army, eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Suſiana*, *Media*, and the Countryes thereto adjoyning; ſo as getting hereby Royal Majeſty, and Glory ſuitable to his dignity, ſome have from this year fetched the riſe of that *Æra*, which afterwards was called that of the *Seleucidæ*, and of the *Greeks*; for that his Kingdom proved the moſt conſiderable; about the year of the World 3694, the firſt of the 117 *Olympiad*, 309 years before the *Æra* of Chriſt, and twelve years after the death of *Alexander*.

Seleucus recovereth *Babylon* and the Eaſtern parts.

Euſebius in Chronico, alii.

24. When *Antigonus* heard of it, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius* againſt him, who had now redeemed his credit by the overthrow of *Cilles*, ſent to expel him out of *Syria* by *Ptolomy*, and upon it called thither his Father, ſo as they recovered all that Country, and *Phœnicia* out of his hands, he not daring to ſtay and try a battel with *Antigonus*. *Demetrius* led with him an Army of 15000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, with order to recover the Principality of *Babylon*, and then go down to the Sea. *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left Governour of *Babylon*, hearing of his coming, adviſed the inhabitants to leave the City, and flie ſome into the Deſart, or over the River *Tigris*, he himſelf with a Band of men flew up and down, taking advantages at the Enemy, and ſent to *Seleucus* into *Media* for aid, ſo that *Demetrius* coming and finding the City forſaken, ſtormed one of the Forts therein, and for that his time was out, beyond which he could not ſtay, he left *Archelaus* with a ſtrong party to beſiege the other. Then giving leave to his Soldiers to plunder all they could, he departed according to his Father's order to the Sea, where he beſieged *Halicarnaſſus*, but was beaten off by *Ptolomy*, and ſo as it were took his leave of that Province for ever, taking what he could get along with him, and perhaps for this reaſon the *Chaldæans* with the Author of the ſecond Book of the *Machabees* in this year (one after the other) fix the *Æra* of *Seleucus*. Not long after, *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, made a Peace with *Antigonus* on theſe terms: that *Caſſander ſhould be Captain General of Europe*; *Lyſimachus ſhould retain Thrace, and Ptolomy Ægypt, and the reſt which he now enjoyed, until Alexander the ſon of Roxane ſhould come to age, and that Antigonus ſhould be over Aſia, and the Greeks live after their own Laws*. This agreement was not kept long, each one ſeeking under any pretence to inlarge his Dominions, and indeed they might better do it, ſeeing he for whom they pretended themſelves Adminiſtrators, and was their Soveraign Lord, was taken away. For *Caſſander* taking notice that young *Alexander* grew up, and that the People began to talk, that now he ought to be delivered out of cuſtody, and to enjoy his Fathers Kingdom, he fearing his own intereſt, commanded ſecretly *Glaucias* his Keeper to kill him and his Mother, and concealing their bodies, to acquaint no perſon living with it: Thus he who was unborn when his Father died, died by the hands of violence and treaſon, thirteen years after him.

Demetrius his attempts againſt him.

A. M. 3694. *Ol.* 117. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 443. *Seleuci* 2. *Ptolom.* 13.

An agreement betwixt *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, & *Lyſimachus*.

The death of young *Alexander*.

25. He had a brother yet living elder than himſelf, who being begotten

of *Barsines* (never maried to *Alexander*) was held as illegitimate by the Captains, though born before his Father's death. His name was *Hercules*, being now kept at *Pergamus*, whence he was called shortly after the death of the other, by *Polysperchon*, who now being in *Peloponnesus*, and envying *Cassander* the Principality of *Macedonia*, sent about to his friends, intreating, that the youth being seventeen years old, might be brought, and established in his Fathers Throne. The *Ætolians* especially, with others, imbraced the motion, so as he got together about 20000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, in no great space, and within a while after gathered up a numerous Army, with which he marched and came on his way to *Stymphalus*. Here *Cassander* opposed him, and seeing that his *Macedonians* took well enough this reduction of their Prince, and fearing they might revolt to him, sent to *Polysperchon*, and with vast promises secretly perswaded him to make away the young man, which accordingly was performed. About this time *Demetrius* overthrew *Ptolomy* his Lieutenants in *Cilicia*, and he to be revenged invaded *Licia*, where he took some Cities, after that failed into *Greece*, where he endeavoured in emulation to *Antigonus* to set the Cities at liberty, but the *Greeks* not keeping their promise of sending money and corn, having received *Sicyon* and *Corinth* from the Widdow of *Alexander* the son of *Ephastion* (who had revenged stourly her husbads death, and kept still these places) he agreed with *Cassander* that each should retain such places as he had in his power, and returned.

Hercules his brother.

Made away,

Diodorus ad Olymp. 117. Justin lib. 15. A. M. 3696. Ol. 117. an. 4. V. C. 445. Seleuc. 4. Ptolom. 15.

26. *Alexander* had yet a sister living called *Cleopatra*, formerly the Widdow of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* (who making an Expedition into *Italy*, perished, against the *Lucanians*, as *Livie* tells us) and after that maried to *Perdiccas*, whom also now being at *Sardis*, *Antigonus* seems to have wooed. But she inclining rather to *Ptolomy*, stole out of *Sardis* to go to him, whereupon *Antigonus* took such order by the Governour of the Town, that she was not onely stopped in her journy, but by means also of some women secretly made away, after which to colour the matter he put some of them to death, and buried her body with royal magnificence. Shortly after this, *Demetrius* was sent into *Greece* to set the Cities at liberty, which he accomplished at this time for *Athens*; *Demetrius Phalareus* being driven out, and conducted to *Thebes*, where he lived till *Cassander*'s death, and then fled to *Ptolomy*. After this, *Demetrius* being recalled to make War in *Cyprus*, thither he passed, where he overthrew *Menelaus*, *Ptolomy* his brother and Governour there, and pursuing him to the City *Salamine*, slew 3000 of his men, and took 1000, and then besieged him in that place. *Ptolomy* hearing of the defeat of his men, came both with Sea and Land forces, and ingaged the besiegers in battel, wherein though he overthrew that Wing against which he himself fought, yet the other prevailing, he was discomfited with the losse of 8000 men, and all his ships save eight, with which he fled away, and *Demetrius* became Master of the Town and Island. *Antigonus* being elevated with this successe, received the title of King given him by his friends, and a Diadem set upon his head, which title and honour he also gave to his Son *Demetrius*. The *Ægyptians* also hearing this, left they should seem to be dejected for their losse, gave the name of King to *Ptolomy*, who thenceforth in all his Letters stiled himself so. Neither now would the other great ones come behind these; for *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, after their example, took upon themselves the same dignity and title, all the near relations of *Alexander* being quite extinct.

Diodorus l. 20. ad Olymp. 118.

And *Cleopatra* their Aunt.

Demetrius his Victories against *Ptolomy* whereupon *Antigonus* and then the rest take the title of Kings.

Idem ibid. Plutarch in Demetrio. Justin lib. 15. A. M. 3698. Ol. 118. an. 2. V. C. 447. Seleuci 6. Ptolom. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From Alexanders *Captains taking the Title of Kings, to the death of* Seleucus *the Surviver of them, containing the space of* 24 *years.*

1. *Antigonus* animated by his late successe against *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*, now thought of no lesse than outing him also of *Egypt* it self; wherefore recalling his son from the Island, he commanded all his Forces to meet at *Antigonia* (a Citie newly built by him upon the River *Orontes* in *Syria*, as convenient for the lying in wait against the upper Provinces & *Egypt*) which afterwards *Seleucus* destroyed, & translated the Inhabitants to his *Seleucia*. *Antigonus* leading the Land-forces himself, committed the Fleet to his son, which was to sayl along upon the Coasts with the Army as it marched. Having good Provision both for men and beasts, he marched through the desert; the Navy went through great hazard at Sea, but the Tempest ceasing in good time, they came all together unto *Nile*. *Ptolomy* by this time had so fortified the several mouths of the River, as the Sea-forces could do no good, though they removed from one to another, and the Land-Army could not find any food at that time of the year, the water being very high: Moreover, many fell away to the Enemy, being allured with his promise of 2. *l.* to every common Soldier, and a Talent to an Officer; so that *Antigonus* was fain to retreat into *Syria*. *Ptolomy* being exceeding glad hereof, sent to his Confederates to acquaint them with his good successe, and now having thus defended his Kingdom, accounted himself rightly to enjoy it, and hereupon some have accounted the beginning of his reign from this very time, fixing it at 19 years distance from the death of *Alexander*.

Diodorus ibid.

Antigonus his fruitlesse expedition against *Ptolomy*.

A. M. 3699. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 448. *Seleuci* 7. *Ptolom.* 18. *Ptolomæus in Regum Canone.*

2. This want of successe allayed not the ambition of *Antigonus*. For, he sent his son *Demetrius* presently against the *Rhodians*, who had formerly displeased him by a denial to send him aid, and ships. For, they endeavouring as near as they could to keep in with all these great ones yet were drawn by their private interest, especially to favour *Ptolomy*, from whose Kingdom they got the greatest part of their livelyhood by way of Traffick. *Demetrius* according to his fathers command, went, and besieged their Citie, lying before it nigh a whole year, during which time he made all sorts of opposition he could, till ordered by his father to make peace with them, which they were prone to accept of, though *Ptolomy* with others sent them Provisions, and supplies of men. Departing from *Rhodes*, *Demetrius* passed into *Greece* to restore the Cities which *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* had lately mastered through the absence of *Antigonus* his Forces. *Chalcis* he freed from a Garrison of the *Bœotians*, whom he also withdrew from *Cassander*'s friendship, joyned in society with the *Ætolians*, and afterwards restored *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, *Athens*, and other places to their freedom. *Cassander* seeing things by the help of *Demetrius* to go well with *Greece*, sent over to *Antigonus* to desire peace, but he refused it, except he would refer himself whole unto him. He being affrighted at this, sent to *Lysimachus* in *Thrace*, to come and Consult with him, and then they both dispatch away Messengers to *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*, to let them see how they were concerned also to resist *Antigonus*. They hearkned willingly to the offers made unto them, and joyned in Confederacy against him as their common Enemie, promising great supplies for carrying on the War.

Diodorus ibid.

And as fruitlesse against *Rhodes*.

A. M. 3700. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 449. *Seleuci* 8. *Ptolom.* 19.

A Combination against him.

3. *Cassander* thinking it good policy not to stay for the Enemy to come upon him, but invade him first, gave part of his Army to *Lysimachus* to passe over with it into *Asia*, and with the rest marched for *Thessaly*, there to oppose *Demetrius* and the *Greeks*. There meeting, and incamping with vast Armies, neither of them would begin the battel, expecting how things went in *Asia*, till *Demetrius* was recalled thither by his father. *Lysimachus* being landed

Stirs preceding the great battel.

there, the Inhabitants of *Lampſachus* ſubmitted to him, whom he reſtored to their liberty, ſtormed *Sigeus*, and placed a Garriſon there; then he taketh in *Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont*, and divers other places, by the means of *Docimus*, an Officer of *Antigonus*, whom he had drawn over to him; *Prepelaus* alſo, whom he ſent with a party to ſubdue the Cities of *Æolis* and *Ionia*, took other Towns. *Antigonus* was at this time celebrating publick Games at *Antigonia*, when hearing this news, he preſently broke them off, and with all ſpeed marched againſt *Lyſimachus*. Whom he reached, and beſieged him in his Camp for ſome time, till he taking the opportunity of a dark and rainy night fled away: Then hearing that *Seleucus* was drawing down his Forces from the upper Provinces, he ſent for *Demetrius* to come over with all expedition. *Seleucus* had lately made peace with *Sandrocottus* (or *Androcottus*) who being a man of no quality, had ſollicited the *Indians* to revolt after the death of *Alexander*, and to kill his Officers, and thence took an occaſion to ſubdue them under himſelf. *Bactria* being ſubdued, *Seleucus* had waged War with him, but now for a Compoſure gave to him ſome Countrey lying upon the River *Indus*, which *Alexander* had taken from the *Arians*, and received 500 Elephants again of him in exchange. *Ptolomy* with a compleat Army had come into *Celeſyria*, where he reduced divers Cities; but as he was beſieging *Sidon* came a falſe report that *Antigonus* had overthrown *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, and now was coming thitherward, wherefore he made a Truce with the *Sidonians* for five moneths, and returned, but not long after came up again to that fatal ingagement with *Antigonus*.

4. The Forces of theſe ſeveral Princes were drawn down to be in readineſſe againſt the Spring. *Antigonus* had an Army of 70000 foot, 10000 horſe, and 75 Elephants, the contrary party had made up amongſt them 64000 foot, 1500 horſe, 400 Elephants, and 120 Chariots. *Antigonus* bragged that he would ſcatter the meeting of theſe Kings together, as one might do the flocking of birds gathering Corn, with the throwing of a ſtone; but when they approached, he was more melancholick than uſual, and was ſeen to diſcourſe with his ſon in private in his Tent, which he never uſed to do; commended him alſo to the Army as his Succeſſor. This barrel was fought at *Ipſus*, a Town in *Phrygia*, in which *Demetrius* leading the beſt party of horſe, ingaged with *Antiochus* the ſon (and afterwards Succeſſor) of *Seleucus*, whom he routed, and put to flight; but being too hot in the purſuit undid all: for retiring back he could not again joyn himſelf with the foot, by reaſon that the Elephants were gotten between them. *Seleucus* ſeeing this, made as if he would have fallen upon the Infantry, thus deſtitute of the horſe, wherein his expectation failed him not, for they fearing it, part revolted to him, and the reſt were broken, and put to flight. *Antigonus* ſtanding his ground, expected continually *Demetrius* to come to relieve him: but in that expectation ended his life by a multitude of Darts thrown againſt him, being now ſomething above 80 years old. *Demetrius* his ſon with 5000 foot, and 4000 horſe fled to *Epheſus*, but there fearing his Soldiers might be ſome way falſe to him, he ſayled to *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, which he then held. This fell out in the 3704 year of the World, the fourth of the 119 *Olympiad*, 23 years after the death of *Alexander*, and ſix after their taking the Title of Kings upon them.

Plutarch. in vita Demetrii. Appianus in Syriacis.

Antigonus ſlain in it.

A. M. 3704. *Ol.* 119. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 453. *Seleuci* 12. *Ptolom.* 23.

5. The Conquerours parted his Dominions amongſt them, as we are told; but it ſeems to have been chiefly *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, who did not well agree about their prey, and upon this account left a contention to their Succeſſors. *Seleucus* fell preſently upon building Cities, the firſt of which he called after himſelf *Seleucia*; and the later, to which he tranſferred the Inhabitants of *Antigonia* (to the number of three thouſand five hundred) as we ſaid before, he called *Antiochia*, either after his father or ſon's name; for both are affirmed, and this afterwards proved the *Metropolis* of *Syria*. *Ptolomy* after the death of *Antigonus* got *Syria* again, with *Cyprus*, and afterwards *Cyrene* alſo into his power, and married his daughter *Arſinoes* unto *Lyſimachus*, as few years after his other to *Agathocles* the ſon. *Seleucus* ſeeing

Idem.

Vide uſſerium in prima parte Annal. pag. 461.

The Alliances of the Kings.

ing that thus theſe two ſtrengthned themſelves in affinity, thought not amiſſe to joyn alſo with *Demetrius*, though gone down the wind; and accordingly ſent to him for his daughter *Stratonice*. He receiving this unexpected Meſſage, ſayled with her into *Syria*. Paſſing by *Cilicia*, which then *Caſſander* held, *Pliſtarchus* his brother cried out that he would invade his Territories, and went ſtrait to *Seleucus* to expoſtulate with him his being reconciled to the common Enemy. But *Demetrius* landing went to *Quinda*, where finding yet 200 Talents left in the Treaſury, he took them away, and ſo went and met with *Seleucus* at *Oroſſus*, who taking his wife away with him to *Antioch*, *Demetrius* ſeized upon *Cilicia*, and ſent his wife *Phila* to *Caſſander* her brother, to purge him of thoſe things laid to his charge by *Pliſtarchus*.

Notwithſtanding *Caſſander* he held *Cilicia*; but *Seleucus* his ſon-in-law required, that for a ſum of money he would give it up into his hands, which he refuſed, and then he with ſome anger demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon* of him, not being content, though he held all from the *Syrian* Sea, as far as *India*, that his father-in-law ſhould reſt quiet with it, being ſufficiently toſſed with adverſe fortune, but he as ſtoutly denied this alſo, ſaying, that though he were a thouſand times more overcome, yet would he never purchaſe the affinity of *Seleucus*, and fortified the Cities with Garriſons. The next year *Caſſander* King of *Macedonia* died of a Dropſie (which was ſo loathſom, as Lice withall broke out of him) after he had ruled that Countrey 19 years; 26 after the death of *Alexander*, A.M. 3707.

Plutarch. ibid.

A. M. 3707. *Ol.* 120. *ann* 3. *V. C.* 456. *Seleuci* 15. *Ptolom.* 26.

Caſſander dieth.

6. He left three ſons by *Theſſalonice* the daughter of *Philip*, and ſiſter to *Alexander*; *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. The firſt ſucceeded his father, but died preſently of a Conſumption, *Antipater* coming after him killed his mother, for that after her husbands death ſhe ſeemed to favour his younger brother *Alexander* more than him in the diviſion of the Kingdom; though ſhe beſought him by her breaſts that gave him ſuck to ſpare her life. After her death he endeavoured to expel his brother out of *Macedonia*, who therefore craved aid of *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who being expelled out of his Kingdom, had married *Ptolomy*'s Wives Daughter, and by him was reſtored. *Demetrius* being now employed otherwayes, the other came, and received ſome Countreys in way of incouragement and reward for his ſervice, which he fortified with his own Garriſons. *Antipater* now had his recourſe to *Lyſimachus* his father-in-law, who being alſo hindred with other affairs, and fearing *Demetrius* his coming, adviſed him to make an agreement with his brother; and for that he knew *Pyrrhus* would in any thing ſeek to gratifie *Ptolomy*, that he might take him off, he feigned a Letter to him from him, wherein he adviſeth him for 300 Talents received from *Antipater* to forſake his Enterprize. *Pyrrhus* as ſoon as he opened the Letter, eaſily diſcerned it to be counterfeit, for that it was not directed after the uſual manner, as from the father to the ſon, but as from the one King to the other.

Idem ibid. & in vita Pyrrhi. Juſt. lib. 16.

Stirs betwixt his ſons about the Kingdom.

7. *Lyſimachus* his perſvaſion ſeems to have wrought ſo with the Elder, together with the preſence of *Pyrrhus*, as they came near to an agreement; but the coming of *Demetrius* ſpoiled all. For, he having loſt *Cyprus* lately to *Ptolomy* (which forced him to quit *Lacedamon*, after he had taken *Athens*, and now had almoſt taken it alſo) came into *Macedonia* to amend his fortunes. *Alexander* being troubled at his coming, ſeeing he knew the peace was partly made, went out to meet, and received him with great honour, but told him he now had no need of his help; but he either having, or pretending to have a ſuſpicion of him, procured him to be ſlain, telling the *Macedonians* a fair tale afterwards, who ſeeing the one of *Caſſanders* ſons thus dead, and hating the other for his impiety towards his mother, received him as King. Some have delivered that *Alexander* uſed *Demetrius* his help, firſt in killing his brother *Antipater*, and ſo revenged the death of his Mother upon him. Others ſay that *Lyſimachus* after *Alexanders* death, for that he was imployed in a War with *Dromichetis* King of the *Getes*, delivered alſo up to *Demetrius*, that part which belonged to *Antipater* his ſon-in-law, and afterwards

Plutarch. in Demetrio.

A. M. 3711. *Ol.* 121. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 460. *Seleuci* 18. *Ptol.* 30.

Procureth the deſtruction of them all.

Pauſaniæ in Bœoticis.

Juſtin ut ſupra.

wards ſlew him alſo, when he complained to him that by his means he had loſt his Kingdom, and impriſoned *Eurydice* his wife, his own daughter, for partaking with him in the complaint. But thus (one way or other) *Antipater* was revvarded for his mother's death; and ſo in a ſhort time fell the poſterity of *Caſſander*, by the juſt Judgment of God, as Heathen Writers obſerve.

8. For ſome time *Demetrius* enjoyed *Macedonia*, during which he ſtill aſpired after his former height and power: for now having this Kingdom and *Theſſalie* in his hands, as alſo *Athens* and *Megara*, and the greater part of *Peloponneſus*, he ſubdued the *Bœotians*. Then hearing *Lyſimachus* to be taken priſoner by the King of the *Getes* (who ſhortly after yet ſet him at liberty) he reſolved to return for *Thrace*; but the *Bœotians* revolting cauſed him to retreat, though on his march thither; coming back he found that his ſon *Antigonus* had overthrown the revolters in fight, but *Thebes* ſtill remained untaken, and whilſt he was going about that, *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus* (being now alienated from him ſince the death of *Deidamia* his ſiſter which *Demetrius* had maried) invaded *Theſſaly* from his own Frontiers, and pierced as far as the Straights of *Thermopylæ*. *Demetrius* hearing this, left his ſon in the Siege, and haſted againſt him; but he ſtaied not his coming but retired, and then *Demetrius* fortifying *Theſſalie* returned to *Thebes*, where the Inhabitants ſo ſtoutly defended themſelves, that he loſt many men, and himſelf was wounded in the neck; yet according to his skil and fortune in taking of Cities (whence he had the Sirname of *Poliorcetes*) he ſtormed the place, and though he pretended at firſt ſeverely to puniſh the Inhabitants, yet he ſatisfied himſelf with the death of ten or thirteen, and baniſhing a few, pardoned the reſt.

Demetrius getting *Macedonia* aſpireth ſtill after his former height. *Plutarch ibid.*

9. Finding that his *Macedonians* were quiet when abroad, but ſeditious at home, he fell upon the *Ætolians*, to divert them. Waſting their borders there he left *Pantauchus* with ſome Forces, and with the reſt marched againſt *Pyrrhus*, who hearing it, came out to meet him, but they miſſed of each other, and went ſeveral wayes; *Demetrius* into *Epirus* which he harraſed; *Pyrrhus* light upon *Pantauchus*, who challenging him to fight gave him a wound, but he received two for it himſelf, and thereupon falling he had been ſlain, but that his friends preſently reſcued him, after which his Army was put to flight, and 5000 of them taken. After this, *Demetrius* fell ſick at *Pella*, and then *Pyrrhus* again invaded his Territories a great way, no body reſiſting him; nay, he had ſuch an opportunity, as ſcarce could he have deſired a better, for ſeizing upon the whole Kingdom, many revolting to him, and *Demetrius* his Captains making but ſlow endeavours to hinder his progreſſe. But he having his mind ſet more upon booty than any thing elſe, ſtayed not their coming, but fled away, loſing many of his men in the retreat. For all this *Demetrius* ſeeing him have a reſtleſſe ſpirit, thought it not amiſſe to reconcile him unto him; but eſpecially at this time, for now he reſolved to make for his Father's Kingdom with all the might he poſſibly could, and therefore leſt he ſhould leave an Enemy at his back, concluded a Peace, and entred into a league with him. *Plutarch.*

10. Greater preparations he made than ever had been ſince *Alexander* his time. For he got together little leſſe than 100000 Foot, and 12000 Horſe, a Navie alſo of 500 ſail; ſome ſhips whereof were of extraordinary bigneſſe; *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Lyſimachus*, being ſtartled hereat, combined together for reſiſtance, and joyntly ſent to *Pyrrhus* to move him to break the league which *Demetrius* had made with him, as they alleged, not to reſt in peace, but to make War upon whom he pleaſed. He believing as much, agreed with them, for that he hoped *Demetrius* might as eaſily loſe *Macedonia* as he had got it, and then *Ptolomy* ſailing into *Greece*, ſollicited there the Cities from their obedience. *Lyſimachus* from *Thrace*, and *Pyrrhus* from his borders made inroads into *Macedonia*. *Demetrius* firſt began to march againſt *Lyſimachus*, but afterwards hearing that *Pyrrhus* had gotten *Berrhæa* into his hands, returned and went againſt him thither, where when he was come, divers from the Town came into his Camp, and ſo exrolled

But labouring to get

A. M. 3717. *Ol.* 123. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 466. *Seleuci* 24. *Ptolem. Lagi* 30.

rolled the valour and kindneſſe of *Pyrrhus*, as the *Macedonians*, firſt in little Companies, and after all the Army revolted to him; ſo as *Demetrius* was much deceived, who fearing they might do ſo to *Lyſimachus*, little ſuſpected this towards the other being a ſtranger. *Pyrrhus* thus obtaining all the Army without a ſtroak, was ſaluted King of *Macedonia* by the Soldiers; but *Lyſimachus* coming ſhortly after, alleged the endeavour of ſuppreſſing the Enemy to have been common to them both, and demanded the parting of the Kingdom; to whom he aſſented, for that he did not truſt the *Macedonians*, and ſo the Countries and Cities were divided amongſt them.

Loſeth all,

11. *Demetrius* thus outed of his Kingdom fled to *Caſſandria*, and thence into *Greece*, where after a little time he got ſome Forces together, and being angry with *Athens*, for that revolting from him, the Inhabitants had ſent for *Pyrrhus*, he beſieged it; but upon the entreaty of *Crates* the Philoſopher (whom being a man of great authority they had ſent to him) he gathered together his ſhips and ſailed away into *Aſia* with 11000 men. His deſign was to take if he could, *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyſimachus*, and he took divers Towns, and ſeized upon *Sardis*, but *Agathocles*, *Lyſimachus* his ſon, coming down with an Army againſt him, he marched for *Phrygia*, with intention to paſſe into *Armenia* and *Media*; and ſo attempt to make himſelf Maſter of ſome of the upper Provinces of *Aſia*, which at the worſt would afford retreating places enough, and other helps to a beaten party. In his way hee was ſuperiour to *Agathocles* who purſued him, but being brought into great diſtreſſe for want of proviſions, there fell withall ſuch a Plague upon his Army, that he loſt 8000 men, and ſo was forced to retreat, and came to *Tarſus*. This place being under *Seleucus*, he was very loath to hurt, for fear of giving him offence, but being forced by want, he wrote to him, whereby he excuſed himſelf, and ſadly lamented his condition. *Seleucus*, pitying him at firſt, commanded his Governours to uſe him and his Army with great reſpect; but *Procles* one of his moſt familiar friends, filled his head with ſuch ſuſpitions, that he led down an Army towards *Cilicia* againſt him, whereat hee wondering retired to the moſt convenient place of the mountain *Taurus*, where he ſent to him to give him leave to ſeize upon ſome Country of the *Barbarians*, where he might put an end to his flight and wandrings, and ſpend the reſidue of his dayes. *Idem.*

And flying up and down

12. *Seleucus* making a bad interpretation of the meſſage, onely would give way, that giving up for Hoſtages the chieſeſt of his friends, he might quarter for two moneths in *Catoania* (a Country bordering upon *Cappadocia*) and ſecured the paſſage out into *Syria*. Here he was kept up as a wild beaſt, what by *Seleucus* on one ſide, and *Agathocles* on the other; ſo that he was conſtrained to berake himſelf to force, and waſting the Territories alwaies had the better of *Seleucus* in their encounters, and got poſſeſſion of the Straights which led into *Syria*. This ſo encouraged him, that he thought now of giving battel to *Seleucus*, but falling into a ſickneſſe thereby his affaires were ruined, his Soldiers falling away from him to the Enemy, or running away, yet he recovered after forty dayes, and away he marched, and getting over the hill *Amanus* waſted the bordering Territories. Then *Seleucus* coming near him, he joyned and fought him, and overthrew one of his wings, but then all his Army revolted, and he with a very few fled into the Woods, whence endeavouring to paſſe to the Sea through the mountains, his diſcovering there the Enemies fiers prevented that attempt, and then one ſaying he muſt even yield himſelf, he drew his Sword and would therewith have ended his life, but being hindred by his friends, he ſent to *Seleucus* by their advice and yielded. *Seleucus* cauſed him to be royally received at firſt; but the great confluence thereupon to him leſſened that reſpect he elſe would have allowed him; ſo as ſending *Pauſanias* with 1000 men, he cauſed him to be caried ſtraight (without as much as ſeeing him) into a *Peninſula* of *Syria*. Here he wanted nothing deſirable, not onely for neceſſity but pleaſure; only his liberty, which yet to comfort him there was hope given of, after that *Antiochus* ſhould come with his wife *Stratonice*, whom his Father *Seleucus* upon *Idem.*

At length is forced to yield himſelf to Seleucus.

upon his passionately falling in love with her, had yielded to him. *Antigonus* his son much interceded for him; so did divers Princes and States; onely *Lysimachus* offered 2000 Talents to have him killed, which *Seleucus* abhorred. At first he exercised himself much with hunting and such toiles; but by little and little grew sluggish, and, as if he had never been *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, gave up himself to drinking and dice, whereby he grew fat, and contracted a disease of which he died 54 years old, after he had continued three of them in restraint.

And dieth after three years in restraint.

13. *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus* after his expulsion out of *Macedonia* presently fell out, for the former seeing *Demetrius* thus made sure and captivated by *Seleucus*, grew secure of his condition, despised *Pyrrhus*, and upbraiding the *Macedonians* for suffering him (being an alien, whose Ancestors alwaies had served them) now to reign over them, drew many from him, and afterwards overthrew him and *Antigonus* son of *Demetrius* in a great battel, and so quite dispossessed him of *Macedonia*. After this he killed his eldest son *Agathocles* at the instigation of his wife *Arsinoe* who was sollicitous for her own children, if they should fall into their brother's hands after their Father's death. *Lysandra* the widdow of *Agathocles*, and sister to *Arsinoe*, accompanied with *Alexander* another son of *Lysimachus* fled to *Seleucus*, whom they desired to make War against him; and after this he putting divers of his chief Subjects to death for bewailing the young man, many of his Captains and Governours followed, all earnestly desiring that Prince to make War upon him. *Seleucus* was easily perswaded to it now, having the whole strength of *Asia* and *Syria* united into one Kingdom after the fall of *Lysimachus* having expelled *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedonia* is slain in battel against *Seleucus*, with him, and so passed over the *Hellespont*. These two being now only alive of the 26 Captains and fellow-soldiers of *Alexander*, joyned in a great and bloody battel in *Phrygia*, where *Lysimachus*, though fighting most valiantly, was overthrown and slain, having formerly lost fifteen children divers wayes, and now compleating the ruine of his Family, after he had lived 80 years, and held *Macedonia* four, A. M. 3722, the second of the 124 *Olympiad*, and 40 after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Idem.

Pausan. in Atticis.

Justin lib. 17.

Appian in Syriasis.

A. M. 3722. *Ol.* 124. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 471. *Seleuci* 30. *Ptolom. Philadelphi*, 2.

14. *Seleucus* being exceedingly elevated with the thoughts of his Victory, and more with consideration that he onely survived of *Alexander*'s followers, resolved to passe into *Macedonia* and there to end his dayes, giving up *Asia* to his son *Antiochus*. Hee passed the *Hellespont*, and journying towards *Lysimachia* came to a place called *Argos*, where his time being but to live seven moneths after *Lysimachus*, he was slain by *Ptolomy* Sirnamed *Ceraunus* the son of *Ptolomy* the first by *Euridice* daughter to *Antipater*, who having fled out of *Ægypt*, for that his Father preferred his younger brother before him, joyned himself first to *Lysimachus*, who had maried his sister, and afterwards to *Seleucus*, by whom he was lovingly entertained, though he thus requited him. *Ptolomy*, as soon as he had done his feat, posted away to *Lysimachia*, when putting on a Diadem, and taking a Company of Gallants along with him, he went to the Army, which received him as King, having all *Seleucus* his money given unto them. *Antigonus Genatas* (so called it's probable, from a place in *Perrhabia*, where he was born) son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* presently after undertook an Expedition for the recovery of *Macedonia*, hoping to justle out *Ptolomy* ere he could be well setled; but he having notice of his coming, and enjoying *Lysimachus* his Fleet, went and met him at Sea, where he overthrew him, and forcing him to retire into *Bœotia*, then confirmed himself in his Kingdom.

Who being the surviver of *Alexander*'s Captains is slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus* the same year.

Justin ut prius. Memnon apud Photium.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The *Macedonian* Kingdom.

From the death of Seleucus *to the Captivity of* Perseus, *and the end of this Kingdom, containing the space of* 139 *years.*

Ptolomy Ceraunus King of *Macedonia* maketh Alliances.

1. *Ptolomy*, that he might provide for the time to come, made Alliances with other Princes, as *Antiochus* of *Asia*, and *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus*, who now being about to passe into *Italy*, made him Overseer of his son, and Kingdom: he also wrote to his brother *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, pretending to acquiesce in the missing of that his fathers Kingdom, being sufficiently satisfied with this taken from his fathers Enemy. Moreover, he counterfeited himself to be in Love with his sister *Arsinoe*, and married her, for that it was according to the custom of *Egypt*, promising to adopt her Children, which he badly performed, for being received by her into *Cassandria*, he caused them to be first killed in the bosom of their mother, and then thrust her out of the Citie, from whence she went to *Samothracia*. At this time the *Galls* being too many for their own Countrey, under three Captains went to seek their fortunes so many several wayes; some towards *Thrace*, under the Conduct of *Cerethrius*; others unto *Pannonia* under *Brennus* and *Acichorius*, and the rest to *Macedonia*, being headed by *Belgius* or *Bolgius*. These *Ptolomy* met with a straggling company, being more heady than wise, refusing 20000 men offered him by the King of the *Dardanians*, and peace by the *Galls*, if he would but buy it, which he scornfully rejected, and answered, he would not yield them it, except they would give up the Chiefest amongst them as Hostages, and deliver up their Arms. Joyning battel, his Army was overthrown, and he being sore wounded was cast by an Elephant on which he rode, and so taken alive by the Enemy. They tore him in pieces, and cutting off his head, put it upon a Lance, and carried it about to the terror of his followers, of which a few escaping, all the rest were either taken or slain. This end came *Ptolomy* to, after he had held *Macedonia* scarce a year and a half.

Is slain by the *Galls*.

2. *Meleager* his brother succeeded, but onely for two moneths; for then the *Macedonians* cast him out as unworthy of the Dignitie, and in his room placed *Antipater* son to *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*, whom they sirnamed afterwards *Etesia*, because he continued but 45 dayes, during which term the *Etesian* winds blew. After this succeeded an *Interregnum* (if we look at the title of King) for *Sosthenes*, who gathering together a company of young men, and thereby restraining the pride and covetousnesse of the *Gauls*, though he might have been preferred before divers of Royal Races; yet refused the name, and made the Soldiers swear to him onely as General. But *Brennus* hearing of the good successe of *Belgius*, and what plunder he had got in the East, with 150000 foot, and 15000 horse marched thitherwards; but 20000 falling off from him by the way, and turning up for *Thrace* (where they brought under the Cities of the *Propontis*) he came into *Macedonia*; where he made havock of all things. *Belgius*, as it seems, before his coming being repelled or gone, *Sosthenes* went, and met him with an Army; but carrying too few against so great a number, was easily overthrown; after which the *Macedonians* securing themselves in the Cities, *Brennus* wrought his pleasure in the Countrey and Villages throughout the Land. When he had satisfied himself here, with an Army of 152000 foot, and 20400 horse; of *Celtes* (or *Cimbres*) and *Illyrians* together, he invaded *Greece*. Each horsman had two servants followed him on horse-back, who were to succeed their dead Masters; which custom they called *Trimarkasia*, or *Trimasia* rather; for, *Mare* in the *Teutonick* signified the whole species, as also in our own

Porphyrius in Gracis Eusebii. Justin lib. 24.

Sosthenes overthrown by *Brennus*.

Saxon tongue) and so furnished, they entred *Thessaly*, and came to the Straights of *Thermopylæ*. Here they were opposed by the *Greeks*, so as they lost many men, till being led over the Mountains (the same way that in the expedition of *Xerxes*, *Hydarnes* passed, and getting over, came upon the backs of the *Spartans*) the *Greeks* then fled away, and they went to *Delphos* then to spoyl the Temple, where with Thunder and Lightning, Cold, falling of Rocks, and the opposition of the Enemy, most of them came to their ends. *Brennus* himself being wounded, and not willing (or not daring) to outlive this shamefull expedition of which he had been the Author at home, first drinking much Wine killed himself, the rest flying were taken with a Pannick fear, and killed one another for Enemies, and what by this means, the rage of the Countreys through which they passed, with hunger, and cold, scarce any of them ever returned to their homes.

Who with his whole Army is destroyed.

3. During their stay in *Greece*, *Sosthenes* died after he had ruled 2 years, and then *Antigonus Gonatus* having made peace with *Antiochus Soter*, returned, and obtained his fathers Kingdom. *Brennus* departing into *Greece*, had left some *Gaules* to defend the borders, and they left they should be idle, with 15000 foot and 3000 horse, first fell upon the *Getæ* and *Triballi*, whom overcoming, they then sent to *Antigonus*, offering him peace if he would purchase it with money; but especially to spy his Camp. He entertained nobly the Ambassadors, and to deter them from any warlike attempts shewed them his strength at Land and Sea; but they were so far from being afraid, as having an itching desire after prey, they stirred up their Companions to endeavour the attaining of that which they saw, no wayes in words diminishing the goodlinesse of any thing. By night therefore they set upon his Camp, but he being aware of some such thing, had withdrawn his Army and all things into the Wood; therefore they go and endeavour to plunder the Navy, but are so repelled thence with such slaughter, as the credit of the victory over them procured *Antigonus* his quiet, not onely from them, but his Neighbours round about him. About this time these *Gaules*, which parting at *Dardania* from *Brennus*, and going into *Thrace*, had at several places passed the Sea into *Asia*, where uniting again under 17 Captains (of which *Lutarius* and *Leoporius* were Chief) they helped *Nicomedes* against *Zypœus*, who held part of *Bithynia*, and after he was overcome, wasting the Countrey far and near, divided the Kingdom with him, and fixed themselves about the River *Halys*, in that place which since has been known by the name of *Gallogræcia* or *Galatia*, A.M. 3727. the third year of the 125 *Olympiad*, the *Romans* being now engaged in the War with *Pyrrhus*.

Eusseb.

Justin lib.

Antigonus Gonatus.

Defeateth other *Galls.*

Idem ibid. & Livius lib.38.

4. But *Pyrrhus* having finished his fruitlesse expedition into *Italy* and *Sicily* after six years, and being returned home, now wanting money sought an occasion to divert and maintain his Army. He made therefore an excursion into *Macedonia* (having strengthned himself with a supply of some *Gaules*) where he took divers Towns, & 2000 Soldiers revolted to him; then marching against *Antigonus* himself, joyned battel with him. The *Gauls* on *Antigonus* his part fought very valiantly; but those which governed his Elephants being compassed in yielded themselves, and the beasts, after which the foot being affrighted, *Pyrrhus* making sign to them, and calling by name the Officers, drew them all over to his own party. *Antigonus* fled, but kept some of the Maritime Towns still in his possession, and *Pyrrhus* became Master of the upper part of *Macedonia*, and of *Thessaly*. For all this, *Antigonus* gave not out, but retiring to *Thessalonica*, there recruited himself with Mercenary *Gaulls*, and then endeavouring to re-establish himself, was again defeated by *Ptolomy*, the son of *Pyrrhus*; so that again retiring to hide himself, *Pyrrhus* jeered him, and called him *impudent*, because for all this he put not on a Coat but wore the purple still. He in way of return compared *Pyrrhus* to a Gamester, which could throw the Dice well, but knew not how to improve his chance; for he knew how to Conquer Kingdoms, and get Victories, but could not improve his Victory, nor retain what he had Conquered, as it had hapned as to this Kingdom before, and now also shortly followed.

Plutarch. in Pyrrho. Justin ut supra.

But is expelled by *Pyrrhus.*

A. M. 3731. *Ol.* 126. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 480. *Antiochi Soteris* 9. *Ptolom. Philadelphi* 11.

5. Scarce

Who endeavoureth to restore *Cleonymus.*

5. Scarce two years did *Pyrrhus* hold *Macedonia*; for, *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* being rejected by his Citizens from being King in the room of his father, procured him to march down against his Enemies. He went down thither with an Army of 25000 foot, and 2000 horse, and wasting their Territories deferred the entring of the Citie till the next day, out of contempt of the small number of the Defendants; who taking that occasion, and making what means they could for resistance, especially the Women, hindred him a little from entring, and when entred, his horse being killed under him, forced him notwithstanding to retreat. During his absence, *Antigonus Genatas* recovered again the Cities of *Macedonia*, and taking it for granted, that after he had done his work in *Laconia* he would return again thither, thought it best to hasten into *Peloponnesus*, and prevent him. Being come to *Argos*, *Pyrrhus* provoked him to fight for the Kingdom, but Embassadors came to them both from the Town, desiring they would depart from their Citie, and not suffer it (which was observant of both) to come into the power of either. *Antigonus* obeyed, and sent his son to them for an Hostage, *Pyrrhus* pretending he would, entred the Citie in the night, being let in by *Aristeus*; whereupon *Antigonus* was sent for. He sent in a strong party, & *Areus* King of *Sparta* was at hand with 1000 *Cretians* and other *Lacedemonians*; *Pyrrhus* marched up into the Market-place, and there saw a brasen Bull and a Wolf standing in a fighting posture, set there in memorial of *Danaus* his election, and ejection of *Gatenor*, 1200 years before, which startled him sore, for that it had been told him by an Oracle, that he should die when he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting together. Hereupon he would have retreated, but fearing the straightnesse of the Gates, sent to his son *Helenus* to break down part of the Wall, and come in; but he mistaking, brought his men and Elephants through the Gate, which stopped so up the way, that *Pyrrhus* in his coming back could not passe, and that occasioned his death.

6. He being sore crouded, what by them, those at his heels, and the Enemy, and sensible of his danger, endeavoured by force to remove the later. Then receiving a wound through his Brigandine with a Lance, turned himself against him that ran at him. This was the son of a poor Woman, who beholding the fight from the house, and seeing him ingaged thus with *Pyrrhus*, took up a stone with both her hands, and cast it down upon the Kings head, which brusing the *Vertebraes* of his Neck, he fell down from his horse, after which his head was cut off by one *Zopyrus*. It being brought to *Antigonus* by *Alcyoneus* his son, who rejoyced at the sight of it, he checked him, and wept over it, and after caused it and the body to be magnificently burned: his bones being put in a Golden Urn, he delivered to his son *Helenus* to carry them to his brother *Alexander* into *Epirus*, and then receiving his Army, dealt very well with all his friends. After this the Cities of *Peloponnesus* were betrayed to *Antigonus*, which caused great stirs in that part of *Greece*; the *Gaulls* revolting from him, he cut off at *Megara*, besieged *Athens*, and notwithstanding that *Patroclus* from *Egypt*, and *Areus* the King of *Lacedemon* came to relieve them, yet he kept all Provisions from them, and after they had long stood out came to composition, whereby he placed a Garrison in their Fort *Musæus*, which yet not long after he drew forth again. *Areus* for want of necessaries was forc'd to return home; but they met again afterwards at *Corinth*, where *Antigonus* slew him, and not long after was forc'd to return home; for *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to revenge his fathers death, had invaded *Macedonia*. Coming thither, his Army revolted from him, so that once more he lost his Kingdom, and was compelled again to shift for himself: But his son *Demetrius* in his absence gathering some forces together, so ordered the matter against *Alexander*, that he not onely recovered his fathers Kingdom, but spoiled him also for a time of his own. After this, nothing of great concernment occurs of *Antigonus*, who died after his first possession of *Macedonia* 36 years, (having ruled in some *Greek* Cities ten years before) when he had lived above 80. A.M. 3762. in the 2d of the 134 *Olympiad*.

Plutarch.

Is slain at *Argos.*

A.M. 3733. *Ol.* 127. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 482. *Antiochi Soteris* 11. *Ptol. Philad.* 3. *Justin lib.* 26.

Antigonus recovering *Macedonia*, presently loseth it again.

Demetrius his son again recovereth it.

7. *Demetrius* his ſon ſucceeded him. He hired *Agron* King of the *Illyrians* to relieve the *Mydionians* whom the *Ætolians* had beſieged, which he performed, though the beſiegers were before ready to fall out about their priſoners, whether the old or new *Prætor* ſhould have the honour to diſpoſe of them and their goods. When it was agreed that both in common ſhould do it, the *Illyrians* falling upon them, and killing many, forced them to break up their Siege, after which *Agron* poſſeſſed with incredible joy, gave himſelf up to ſurfetting and drunkenneſſe, and thereby falling into a Pleureſie ended his dayes, and was ſucceeded by his wife *Teuta*. She being elevated alſo with the former Victory, and not thinking of any thing from without, gave leave to her Subjects to invade all perſons in what place ſoever by Sea, whereupon they took *Phœnice* the wealthy City of *Epirus*, and injuring thoſe of *Italy*, drew upon themſelves the diſpleaſure of the People of *Rome*, which the raſhneſſe of their Queen heightned to a War, as will be ſeen hereafter. But by this act, *Demetrius* ſo ſet the hearts of the *Ætolians* againſt him, that whereas before they took part with his Kingdom againſt the *Achæans*, now they joyned in league with them againſt him.

Polybius ad principium l. 2.

And ſucceeded him.

8. He holding yet the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, *Aratus* the *Prætor* of the *Achæans* pretending a deſire to ſet the *Athenians* at liberty from that bondage which thence lay upon them, endeavoured to take it out of his hands, but was overthrown by *Bithyes* his General, whereupon a rumour aroſe that he was ſlain or taken. *Diogenes* the Governour of the *Piræus* hearing this, ſent word to *Corinth* to command all the *Achæans* there to depart the Town; and the *Athenians* to pleaſe him and his party very ſolemnly rejoyced, wearing Garlands. But *Aratus* himſelf then was at *Corinth*, and hindring *Diogenes* his deſign there, marched down to be revenged on the *Athenians*, and he came as far as the *Academy*, but then being overcome by entreaty, did them no harm. Some years after this the *Ætolians* endeavoured to take away part of *Acarnania* from *Epirus*, which then *Olympias* ſiſter and wife of *Alexander* now dead, governing in right of her ſons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolomy*, betook her ſelf to *Demetrius*, and gave him her daughter *Othia* in mariage. He had before this the ſiſter of *Antiochus* King of *Syria* to wife (*Antiochus Hierax* as it ſeemeth, who endeavouring to diſpoſſeſſe his brother *Seleucus* of his Kingdom, is called King by *Juſtine*) who thereupon fled to her brother, and ſtirred him up to make War upon her husband. The *Acarnanians* fled to the *Romans* for help againſt the *Ætolians*, who were then commanded to abſtain from their incurſions, but deſpiſing the Ambaſſage, harraſed the borders both of *Acarnania* and *Epirus*; and *Olympias* having delivered up the Kingdom to her ſon, they all ſhortly after died. *Demetrius* alſo (whom we read * to have alſo enjoyed *Cyrene* and all *Lybia*, but know not how he got it) ſurvived not long after, dying when he had reigned ten years, and 50 after the death of *Alexander* the great.

Plutarch in Arato.

Juſtin. l. 28.

Porphyr. ic. Græcis, Euſeb.

9. He left behind him a ſon called *Philip*, who being very young, and the Princes of *Macedonia* fearing an Anarchy, they conſtituted *Antigonus* (the brother or uncle of the deceaſed, for both are affirmed) his Tutor, giving his mother to him in mariage. At firſt he held the Office by the title of Captain General, but afterwards being found moderate and civil, he was ſaluted King, being Sirnamed *Doſon*, for that he promiſed more than he did perform. After the death of *Demetrius*, the *Greek* Cities begun to lift up their heads, and the ſeveral Tyrants, which, through the incouragement of him and his Predeceſſors, had got many places, for fear renounced their power, and joyned themſelves with the *Achæans*, who being much reverenced of a long time by all their neighbour Cities of *Peloponneſus* for their Juſtice and Prudence, had united themſelves together, in the 124 *Olympiad*, and drawn ſome others into a body againſt the *Macedonians*. Their affaires were mightily ſtrengthened by *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, who drayning his own City, though but young, joyned it unto them, and afterward by his great wiſdom and induſtrie ſecured and bettered their condition. The *Athenians* being incouraged at *Demetrius* his death, now thought again of recovering their liberty, and he having done what he

Plutarch in vita Æmilii, & Pauſan. in Achaicis.

Antigonus Doſon.

Vide Polybium lib. 2.

A. M. 3772. *Ol.* 136. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 521. *Sel. Callinici* 14. *Ptolom. Euergetæ* 24.

he might before to help them, though in vain, and they again imploring his aſſiſtance, though ſick, he made himſelf be caried thither; and whereas *Diogenes* held for the *Macedonians*, *Piræus*, *Sunium*, *Munychia*, and the Iſland *Salamis*, he perſwaded him for a reward of 150 Talents to deliver them all up, twenty of which Talents he preſented of his own money. Whilſt he thus laboured for the Publick good, eſpecially of the community of the *Achæans*, the *Ætolians* envying their condition raiſed a dangerous War againſt them; in which *Antigonus Doſon* came to be ingaged.

War betwixt the *Ætolians* & *Achæans*,

10. The *Ætolians* though they had been helped by the *Achæans* againſt the houſe of *Macedonia* of late, being vexed about the buſineſſe of *Mydionia*; yet now ſeeing their union, and the flouriſhing condition of their body, envying and alſo fearing it, reſolved to diſunite if poſſible, and withdraw the Cities one from another. At this time *Cleomenes* reigned at *Lacedæmon*, who reſolving to better the conſtitution of his Country by reducing it to it's antient form, and taking away the *Ephori* thoſe impudent and raſcally Tyrants, ſought for an opportunity of War as moſt fit to bring about his purpoſe. Ever ſince the Victories of *Lyſander*, luxury and other vices had crept into *Sparta*, together with the uſe of riches. And the equality of poſſeſſions in Land was taken away by one *Epitades* an *Ephorus*, who having a ſon that diſpleaſed him, that he might diſinherit him, procured a Law to be paſſed, that any one might diſpoſe of his Lands, either in his life time or at his death, to whom he pleaſed. Hereby it was come to that paſſe, that there being 700 Citizens of *Sparta* and more, of thoſe not above 100 poſſeſſed all the Lands and Eſtate, and the reſt being void both of wealth and honour lay idle at home, unwillingly ingaging in War, and expecting an occaſion of change. The *Ephori* tyrannized with unparalleld impudence, domineering over the Kings, and ordering thoſe at their pleaſure, the ſervants of whom they had formerly been. *Agis* one of the *Spartan* Kings, of the family of *Eurytion*, the ſon of *Eudamidas*, and the ſixth from *Ageſilaus*, burned with a deſire of bettering the ſtate of affaires, and as a means unto it, endeavoured the reduction of *Lycurgus* his model for the equal diviſion of Lands; but *Leonidas* his Collegue being of a luxurious temper oppoſed him, and he was wickedly murdered by the hands of the *Popular Villains* the *Ephori*.

Idem ibid. Plutarch in vita Arati & Cleomenis.

Wherein *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* cometh to be ingaged and how.

Lege Plutarchum in Agide & Cleomene.

11. This noble ſpirited man being taken away, and his brother *Archidamus* deſtroyed, *Cleomenes* the ſon of *Leonidas* was King alone, and being of a far different temper from his Father, upon hearing what *Agis* had gallantly endeavoured, reſolved to purſue and accompliſh what he had attempted, and to take away utterly the power of thoſe Popular Tyrants, who uſurped the whole authority. Neither did theſe two Kings deſire to become aſſertors of Popular power by the reſtitution of the *Lots* of *Lycurgus*, but rather of Monarchy; for the reſtitution of thoſe Lots would not promote the power of the Commons who were ſtill to be kept under, as they were by the Laws of *Lycurgus*; but onely reduced them to that equality of wealth which might ſecure them from being inſulted over by their fellow Commoners, as they had been of late, by ſuch as had ingroſſed the riches of the State. As this might be intended by the two Kings, ſo it appeareth from *Plutarch*, that *Agis* attempted to get himſelf reputation, and *Cleomenes* for his preſervation, by gaining the good-will of the People, and making them ſure on their ſide when ſoever they ſhould be ready for the great deſign of deſtroying the *Ephori*. Now though *Agis* miſcaried in his attempt, yet *Cleomenes* perfected what he had intended. For he ſurprized the *Ephori* by his Mercenaries, killed four of the five, overthrew all their chairs except one, which he intended as a Chair of State for himſelf. Then reſtored he the Laws of *Lycurgus*, as to equal poſſeſſions and diſcipline, and for that there was none left of the family of *Eurytion*, made his own brother *Leonidas* King with him. But as was ſaid, perceiving this change would be better made in War than Peace, he cauſed the War betwixt the State, and the *Achæans*, and bribed the *Ephori* to ſend him forth in the Expedition.

Cleomenes killeth the *Ephori* and reſtoreth *Lycurgus* his Laws.

12. To him therefore the *Ætolians* ſent, and ſtirred him up againſt the *Achæans*;

Achæans; and that they might ſtrengthen themſelves, and more eaſily ſuppreſſe them, they made peace again with *Macedonia*, and without doubt had brought about their purpoſe, had they not had to do with *Aratus*, who undermined their Councils. They ſuffered *Cleomenes* to take in divers Towns which belonged unto themſelves, not onely not oppoſing but confirming him in the poſſeſſion of them, which *Aratus* knowing well enough to be intended onely to ſtrengthen him againſt his party, yet thought none were to be firſt oppoſed with War; but after that *Cleomenes* with great boldneſſe had begun to build a Fort in the Territories of *Megalopolis*, then were the *Lacedemonians* declared Enemies. At firſt the *Achæans* undertook the Warre againſt them by themſelves; partly for that they thought it more honourable and ſafe to defend their own Eſtate, and partly for that they were loth to diſpleaſe *Ptolomy* (who had been formerly a good friend to them) by ſeeking for the patronage of any other; but the War going on (*Cleomenes* now having overthrown the *Achæans* in divers battels) *Aratus* thinking it a diſgrace for him to be worſted by the young *Lacedæmonian*, and being jealous ſtill of the knavery of the *Ætolians*, concluded it was high time to look about him; at leaſt for a ſupply.

13. Conſidering with himſelf the power of *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia*, and withall his faithfulneſſe; and that he was prone to enter into Leagues and alliances, he reſolved to make a Confederacy with him; but that ſecretly, as well becauſe he knew the *Ætolians* would ſeek to prevent him, as for that his people would be diſcouraged at the thought of expecting help from an Enemy. Knowing therefore the *Megalopolitans* to be ſore preſſed with the War (having little help from the *Achæans*) and how good affection they bore to the *Macedonian* Court ever ſince *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, who deſerved very well of them, he ſent for two of his friends thence (*Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*) and dealt privately with them to perſwade their Citizens to crave aid of *Antigonus*. Theſe two were therefore ſent to the *Achæans*, and to *Macedonia* if they ſhould think fit, who giving way to it, they coming to the King, according to the inſtructions from *Aratus*, propoſed to him to conſider, whither this conjunction of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would tend; and whether when the *Achæans* were eaten up, he himſelf would not be in danger, ſeeing the covetouſneſſe of the *Ætolians*, and *Cleomenes* his ambition could not be contained in leſſer limits than thoſe of *Greece* it ſelf. He anſwering, that if *it ſhould ſeem good to the Achæans, he would ſend aid to thoſe of Megalopolis*: theſe being at this much encouraged, laboured to perſwade them to give way to it, but *Aratus* then fearing that if the coming down of *Antigonus* ſhould breed any inconvenience, the blame would fall all upon him, diſſwaded his People from receiving as yet any aid, and made them try firſt what they could do of themſelves, exhorting each particular City to fight ſtoutly for their liberty: but *Ptolomy* finding the *Lacedæmonians* now to be more for his purpoſe to withſtand the *Macedonian*, ſtirred up *Cleomenes* againſt him, and furniſhing him with money, he alſo had brought the *Achæans* by divers ingagements to ſuch a low ebb, as they were now in great danger to loſe all, and therefore they implored aid of *Antigonus*, and *Aratus* ſent his ſon to confirm whatſoever had been offered on his part.

14. He then marched down, though a great difficulty there was at firſt for this to be hoped for by the *Achæans*, by reaſon that the Caſtel of *Corinth* which they had taken out of the hands of the *Macedonians* together with the Town, and which would be now mighty convenient for the carrying on of the War, they knew not how to reſtore unto him. But *Cleomenes* now proſpering exceedingly, and having reduced nine Cities into his power, the *Corinthians* ſent to him, offering him their City, and commanded all the *Achæans* to be gone; ſo that at this *Aratus* taking occaſion (who before durſt not give them up into the hands of the *Macedonians* without their conſent) reſtored the Caſtel into the power of *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* (who after his taking the nine Cities, went and ſate down before *Sicyon*) hearing the intention of the *Achæans*

Who marcheth down.

And alſo *Argos*.

Achæans and the King, marched with great ſpeed to the *Iſthmus*, and then fortified the place betwixt the Caſtle of *Corinth* and the Mountains *Onii* with a ditch and bulwark; *Antigonus* with 20000 Foot, and 1400 Horſe, coming through *Eubœa* (for that the *Ætolians* had forbidden him at his peril to paſſe through the Straights of *Thermopylæ*) found no little oppoſition from *Cleomenes*, till *Argos* revolting to *Aratus* (by the means of *Ariſtotle* his friend, who with help from *Sicyon* ſet upon the Caſtel, *Megiſtonus* who was ſent to relieve it being ſlain) for that he feared if this Fort ſhould be taken the Enemy might thereby ſtop up the paſſage, and at his eaſe invade *Laconia*, he drew down his forces from *Corinth*; then *Antigonus* entering *Peloponneſus* took *Corinth* in his way, where placing a Garriſon he followed *Cleomenes* to *Argos*, who having by a wile entred the Town, laboured again to reduce it, and took ſome parts thereof, but ſeeing him come down from the Mountains againſt him, withdrew himſelf out, and ſo by *Maninea* returned to *Lacedæmon*. *Antigonus* coming to *Argos* commended and encouraged the Citizens, and thence marching preſently for *Arcadia*, reduced divers Forts, which he delivered into the hands of the *Megalopolitans*: after which coming to *Ægium* to the general meeting of the *Achæans* (where he held conſultations with them) he was declared General of all the Aſſociates, and there took up Winter-quarters for his Army, *viz.* at *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Is victorious.

15. At the beginning of Spring he gathered up his forces, and beſieged *Tegea*, where the *Achæans* met him. Having this Town yielded to him, he thence marched ſpeedily into *Laconia*, where *Cleomenes* meeting him upon the borders there paſſed ſome light skirmiſhes betwixt them, and then he hearing that the Garriſon Soldiers at *Orchomenus* were coming to help the Enemy, departed ſodainly thither, and preſently ſtormed the place at the firſt onſet. Thence moving to *Maninea*, that Town preſently was taken, the chief of the inhabitants whereof (becauſe though when *Atalus* took the City, hee reſtored them to their former privileges, yet they again revolted, and put all his Garriſon to the ſword) for their ingratitude were put to death; of the reſt part were ſold, and part ſent into *Macedonia*, their wives and children made ſlaves; and their Town was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who thither reſolved to ſend out a Colony, and *Aratus* being made *Prætor*, made a Decree for changing the name of it into *Antigonia*. After this, *Antigonus* took *Herea* and *Telphuſſa*, and Winter then drawing on he went again to the general Aſſembly of the *Achæans*, ſending out his Soldiers to their quarters, which *Cleomenes* taking notice of, and that *Megalopolis* was three dayes march from *Ægium*, and wanted a ſufficient Garriſon, brake in thither ſecretly in the night, where though he found ſuch oppoſition as both he and his were brought into great danger, yet became he Maſter of the place, and ſo cruelly raged againſt it (as *Polybius* a Citizen thereof telleth us) that no hope then ſeemed to be left of Peopling it again. This City being taken, he marched away to *Argos* (where *Antigonus* wintered) to harraſſe the Territories; a raſh enterpriſe as the Vulgar judged, but prudent enough of it ſelf, conſidering that the King's Army being at a great diſtance, and he thereby unable to reſiſt, the *Argives* would then murmur againſt him, and he thereby be brought into contempt. This hapned juſt as he imagined, but *Antigonus* though very much ſpent of the Peſtilence, lived to the next Summer to regain his credit.

Polybius ibid. *Plutarch. in Arato.*

He taketh *Maninea*.

16. In the beginning of Summer he led towards *Laconia* an Army of 26800 men (his own and of the aſſociates) which *Cleomenes* expecting fortified the paſſage betwixt the two mountains *Eva* and *Olympus*, placing his brother at the former, and ſecuring the later himſelf, having in all about 20000 in his Army. *Antigonus* wondering at his skill and induſtry in this fortification, pitcht his Tents upon the River *Gorgylus*, bethinking himſelf what he ſhould do; at laſt finding all paſſages made up, they both agreed to try the matter in battel. At the beginning of the fight thoſe on *Cleomenes* his party with the light Armour placed amongſt his Horſe, ſeeing the *Illyrian* cohorts not

to

to be backed by the *Achæans*, fell upon their Reer, and had done great miſchief, but that *Philopomenes* a *Megalopolitan* (then but young) giving notice of it to the Officers, and they not regarding him, ſtirred up his fellow Citizens, and fell upon the Enemies horſe, which made the other return to their former place to help their Companions. After this the fortune of the day inclined to *Antigonus* his ſide, for *Euclidas* undid himſelf by the bad choice of his ground, receiving the *Illyrians* not on the ſide of the Hill, (whereby though he might have been repulſed, yet ſtill he might have had the advantage of being higher than the Enemy) but juſt on the top, ſo that being thence removed, and forced downwards on the other ſide, the *Illyrians* had the advantage of him. *Cleomenes* perceiving his brother overthrown, and the horſe on the plain to have the worſt, for fear the Enemy ſhould compaſſe him in, was forced to remove the carriages from behind his Army, and draw it out as well as he could to prevent that. Then the Files coming to be ingaged, *Antigonus* preſſing upon the *Macedonians* in great violence with his doubled Files, put them to flight, and many being ſlain, *Cleomenes* eſcaped with a few in his Company, and got to *Sparta*.

Defeateth *Cleomenes*.

27. *Cleomenes* coming to *Sparta*, adviſed the people which flocked about him to receive the Conquerour, and then by night getting to *Gythium*, thence went to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, whereas if had either deferred the battel a little longer, or ſtayed at home, he might eaſily have recovered his former condition. For, *Antigonus* ſuddenly following him got *Sparta*, and very nobly, and with great humanity uſed the Citizens, reſtoring to them their antient liberties, but ſhortly after was conſtrained to leave that place, and *Peloponneſus* alſo, being called home by an invaſion of the *Illyrians* into *Macedonia*, where they made havock of all things. From *Sparta* he came to *Tegea*, which he again reſtored into the form of a Commonwealth, and thence to *Argos*, at the time of the Celebration of the *Nemean* Games, where by the Decree of the General Aſſembly of the *Achæans* in common, and each of the Cities in particular, he had all poſſible honour given him. After this he marched with great ſpeed into *Macedonia*, where he overthrew the *Illyrians* in battel, but got his own death; for with exhorting his Soldiers, and ſhouting in the fight, he ſo ſtrained his Lungs that he ſpat bloud, and thereby his Conſumption was heightned, which in a ſhort time made an end of him, after he had diſcharged the Office of a faithfull Guardian, a good King, and of an expert and valiant Captain ten years, A.M. 3782. and the 2d of the 139th *Olympiad*, 100 years after the death of *Alexander*.

Polybius ut ſupra.

Dieth of a Conſumption.

18. *Philip* then ſucceeded this his Uncle, and once his Guardian, being ſixteen years old, in whom the Prediction of *Sibylla* was verified, that the *Macedonian* glory, as it began in a *Philip*, ſo it ſhould end in one of that name. Some three years after his coming to the Government he was alſo ingaged in the *Social War* of *Greece*, of which the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were the chief parties. For now the *Ætolians* (who uſed to live by Piracy and Robbing) being weary of peace, though awed by *Antigonus* as long as he lived, and having in contempt the youth of *Philip*, and judging themſelves ſtronger than the *Achæans*, they deſired occaſion to begin a War. The firſt occaſion was given by *Dorimachus* one of their body, who being ſent to *Phigalea*, a Citie of *Peloponneſus* in the Confines of *Meſſena* (under pretence of ſecuring it, and its Territories) to ſpy what was done in thoſe parts, and ſeeing the *Meſſenians* to live in ſecurity, and neglect of any martial Diſcipline, ever ſince the peace was made by *Antigonus*, being covetous gave leave to certain Pyrats to prey upon their grounds and drive their Cattel thence, though they were friends to the *Ætolians*. They complaining of this to him, he went to *Meſſena*, but inſtead of giving them any relief, he derided, and threatned the Owners of the Cattel, and by the perſwaſion of *Sciron*, then *Prætor* of that Citie, he was ſecured. It ſo hapned, that at this time there was one *Babyrta* a filthy fellow, ſo like to this *Dorimachus*, that one could ſcarce know them aſunder had they been clothed alike, as therefore on a time *Dorimachus* was malapertly inveighing againſt the *Meſſenians*, *Sciron* anſwered him,

Pauſan. in Achaicis.

Polyb. lib. 4.

Philip ſucceedeth his Uncle, and cometh to be ingaged in the Social war of *Greece*.

A.M. 3782. *Ol.* 139. *ann.* 2 *V. C.* 531. *Antiochi Magn.* 1. *Ptol. Euerget.* 24.

him, *Doſt thou think*, O Babyrta, *that we either care for thee, or thy threats?*

The Original thereof.

This Jeer ſo affected him, as to be gone he reſtored them their goods; but getting him home, it ſat ſo deeply upon his heart, as by pretence of this injury alone did he ſtir up War againſt the *Meſſenians*.

19. He durſt not in publick Conventions perſwade the *Ætolians* to the War, for that his private grudge was ſufficiently known, but one *Scopas* being then *Prætor*, him he perſwaded to joyn with him in the invaſion of the *Meſſenians*. They two therefore, without any publick Decree, took the advantage of that time, wherein a few dayes onely were remaining to *Timoxenus*, the *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, to continue in his Office (during which time yet *Aratus*, who was to ſucceed him, could not execute it) & calling together the *Ætolians* to the Promontory of *Ægium*, ſayled over into *Peloponneſus*, and invading the *Meſſenians* (who being unable to reſiſt, had ſecured themſelves within their Citie Walls) waſted all with fire and ſword. Not onely the *Meſſenians*, but the *Epirotes*, *Achæans*, *Acarnanians*, and *Macedonians* alſo being declared Enemies by *Scopas*, they gave out Commiſſions to Pyrats to infeſt them by Sea. A ſhip of the King of *Macedonia* was taken, and being brought into the Haven was ſold, with all the men, and things belonging to it; the Sea-Coaſts of *Epirus* were invaded, *Thyreas* a Town of *Acarnania* was ſet upon, and a band of men being ſent privately through *Peloponneſus*, a Caſtle there was ſeized on in the Territories of the *Megalopolitans*, which yet *Timoxenus* reduced by the help of *Taurion*, whom *Antigonus* had left to overſee his affairs in thoſe parts.

20. The *Achæans* meeting at *Ægium*, Decreed that aid ſhould be ſent to the *Meſſenians*; but *Timoxenus* whoſe time was not yet out, being ſlow in his preparations, *Aratus* who was to ſucceed him got the publick ſignet five dayes before the time, made Levies, and ſent to the *Ætolians* to draw away their Forces out of the *Meſſenian* Territories, and not to trouble *Achaia* upon pain of being proſecuted as Enemies. *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* hearing the *Achæans* were gathered together, marched towards the *Eleans* their Allies (with whom the *Ætolians* alwayes maintained friendſhip, that they might the better Prey upon *Peloponneſus*) ſo that *Aratus* hearing this, very indiſcreetly, and not like himſelf (as *Polybius* ſheweth) for that he thought they would retreat, diſmiſſed all his Soldiers except 3000 foot, and 300 horſe, with which, and *Taurion* his party, he marched againſt them. He conſtrained them to fight in a diſadvantageous place for himſelf, ſo that his forces were overthrown by them, and many being ſlain, the reſt ſecured themſelves in the Towns thereabouts, and the *Ætolians* paſſing without let or hinderance through *Peloponneſus*, attempted to take *Pellene*, and waſting the Territories of the *Sicyonians*, paſſed through the *Iſthmus*, and ſo returned home. After this the *Achæans* aſſembling together, *Aratus* was grievouſly accuſed for taking up the Office before his time, diſbanding the Army when he knew *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* were in *Peloponneſus*, fighting the Enemy with ſo few, when he might have eaſily had aid from the Towns thereabout, and, which was worſt of all, for ingaging not his beſt Soldiers in the plain, but onely skirmiſhing at the Roots of the Mountains, where the Enemy had the advantage of the ground, beſides their being the greater number. But as ſoon as *Aratus* appearing put them in mind of his former ſervices, anſwered to the things objected againſt him, and craved pardon in caſe he had failed of his duty in the fight, and deſired they would examine the caſe not maliciouſly, but with humanity, the people changed ſo in their affections, as they were angry a long time with his accuſers, and reſted upon his Counſels alone for the future.

Idem ibid. & Plutarch. in Arato.

Aratus is defeated by the *Ætolians*.

21. Theſe things having given the occaſion to the Social war, it preſently was decreed againſt the *Ætolians*. For, the *Achæans* meeting together, ordered that ſome ſhould be ſent to the *Epirotes*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Acarnanians*, and unto *Philip*, to acquaint them that they had broken the League now twice by the invaſion of *Achaia*, to deſire help againſt them, and to receive the *Meſſenians* into the alliance; moreover it was reſolved, that the

Prætor ſhould agree with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*, what Forces ſhould be raiſed by their States. The *Ætolians* alſo aſſembling, that they might make a breach betwixt the *Achæans* and their aſſociates, reſolved to make Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*, but as for the *Achæans* themſelves, they abſurdly decreed, that on no other condition would they have Peace with them, except they forſook the ſociety of the *Meſſenians*: The *Epirotes*, and *Philip*, after audience given to the Ambaſſadors, willingly received the *Meſſenians* into the alliance; but as for the *Ætolians*, not at all wondering at their cariage (for that it being but agreable to their cuſtome of piracy and robbing, their cuſtome ſomething excuſed the badneſſe of the action) they reſolved ſtill to keep Peace with them. But *Scerdilaidas* the General of the *Illyrians* making an agreement with the *Ætolians* about his part in the booty, with them invaded *Achaia*, and took the City of the *Cynætheenſes*, being betrayed by ſome Exiles, which their Citizens had lovingly received again; but to pay for their ingratitude, theſe Exiles were put to the ſword as well as the reſt, and their City was burnt down to the ground upon the report of the *Macedonians* coming into *Peloponneſus*. For, *Aratus* had ſent to *Philip* again for aid, who came preſently with an Army down to *Corinth*, where the Commiſſioners from the ſeveral aſſociated Cities met him, and unanimouſly decreed a War againſt the *Ætolians*, in the firſt year of the 140 *Olympiad* (as *Polybius* telleth us) and about that time that *Hannibal* took *Saguntum*.

A. M. 3785. *Ol.* 140. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 534. *Ant. Mag.* 4. *Ptol. Philopat.* 3.

Philip marching down the Social War is decreed againſt the *Ætolians*.

22. Whilſt *Philip* was about *Corinth*, great ſtirs hapned at *Lacedæmon* by reaſon of him. For ſuch as were his Enemies there, cauſed ſome of his party, leſt they ſhould tell how they ſtood affected, to be ſlain, and afterwards the *Ephori* (who had brought the People to decree a continuance in the league with him) to be murdered as they were ſacrifizing, and then joyned their State to the *Ætolians*, and after they had heard of *Cleomenes* his death in *Ægypt*, made a new election of Kings (whereof one was *Lycurgus*, an obſcure man, and not of the race of *Hercules*) having lived in way of a Free State about three years, ever ſince they were ſet free by *Antigonus*, till this time, when their liberty ſo called, had bred great ſtrife and emulation. *Philip* coming to *Ægium* to the general meeting, the *Achæans* renewed the leagues and confederacies formerly made with his Anceſtors, and then with a great deal of credit he returned into *Macedonia*, there to make proviſions for the War, where ſpending the Winter in levying Forces, and fortifying that Country againſt forein attempts, he alſo ſo dealt with *Scerdilaidas*, as hee drew him over from the *Ætolians* to his own party, by reaſon they had not made him partaker of the booty, as they had covenanted with him. During this time ſeveral aſſociates were ſent to for aſſiſtance in the War, and amongſt the reſt the *Meſſenians*, who though they gave the occaſion of it, yet anſwered, being overpowered by the *Prætors* of the *Ætolians*, that ſeeing *Phygalea* was ſituate in their borders and belonged unto them, they would not aſſiſt in the War, except it was firſt taken out of the hands of the *Ætolians*. *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* King getting ſome Forces together, invaded the borders of the *Argives*, and took ſeveral Towns, they not ſtanding at all upon their guard, expecting no acts of Hoſtility from their friends as they counted them, and then was War proclaimed by the *Ætolians* againſt the *Achæans*. They were much elevated being now in a flouriſhing condition, the other on the contrary were put to it, for that *Philip* in whom was their chiefeſt hope, was onely yet providing for the War: the *Epirotes* would do nothing till they ſaw him begin, and the *Meſſenians* remained neuters; but ſhortly after, the marching of *Philip* from *Macedonia* revived their drooping ſpirits.

Changes at *Lacedæmon*.

23. For having got together an Army of 15000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, he departed from *Macedonia*, for *Theſſalie* and *Epirus*, intending through them to invade *Ætolia*. Coming into *Epirus*, he was perſwaded there by the Inhabitants to ſet upon the City *Ambracus* and recover it, (which the *Ætolians* had gotten out of the hands of the *Epiotes*) to which he was ſo unwiſe

Polybius ut ſupra.

unwiſe as to agree, and thereby loſt the opportunity of finiſhing the Warre preſently, by neglecting to invade the inland Countries of *Ætolia*, and by harkening to the *Epirotes*, who more regarded their private profit than the publick good. In the mean time, in *Peloponneſus* things went on in favour of the *Ætolians*: for though they had been repulſed with ſome loſſe from *Ægira*, a City of the *Achæans*, yet *Euripidas* the General of the *Eleans* made inrodes upon divers of the aſſociates, got much booty, and took divers Towns, with the Caſtle of the *Dimæans*; *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* took *Athenens* a Town belonging to the *Megalopolitans*, and *Aratus* ſon to the other the Captain of the *Achæans* could hire no Soldiers (becauſe behind already with much pay) and with fear and indiſcretion managed the buſineſſe.

Scopas the *Ætolian* invadeth *Macedonia*

Scopas the *Prætor* of the *Ætolians* through *Theſſalie* invaded *Macedonia*, where waſting all with fire and ſword about *Pieria*, he thence went to *Dium*, which, the Inhabitants thereof not ſtaying his coming, he burnt, and overthrew the images of the Kings. *Philip* by this time had taken *Ambracus* in the ſpace of forty dayes, and thereby ſatisfied the greedy deſires of the *Epirotes*; then hearing what *Scopas* had done in *Macedonia*, he paſſed ſpeedily over the Bay of *Ambracia*, and through *Acarnania* invaded the *Ætolians*.

And *Philip* *Ætolia*.

24. Pitching his tents before *Phæteas*, after many ſharp skirmiſhes he received that Town upon compoſition, and overthrew a party of 500 *Ætolians*, who were coming to relieve it; after which, as he was waſting the Country, the Ambaſſadors of the *Achæans* came to him deſiring help. He promiſed to take their buſineſſe into conſideration, and marched for *Metropolis*, the Inhabitants of which flying into the Caſtle, he burnt the Town, and thence moving towards *Conope*, ſome Horſe endeavoured to hinder him from paſſing the River, but finding it to be in vain, retired into the Town, and after this, none daring any more to ſhew themſelves, he paſſed unmoleſted through the Country, taking many Towns and Caſtles, the walls of which he demoliſhed, onely *Oeniadæ* he reſolved to fortifie. Whilſt he thus imployed himſelf, news came from *Macedonia*, that the *Dardanians* had reſolved to make an invaſion; whereupon judging it requiſite to look home, he diſmiſſed the *Achæan* Ambaſſadors with this anſwer, that *as ſoon as he had provided for the ſecurity of his own Kingdom, he would uſe his beſt endeavour to relieve them.* Returning that way he came, with great journeys he paſſed through *Epirus*, and when he had arrived at *Pella*, the *Dardanians* hearing of his return diſbanded their Army, and then he preſently marched back into *Theſſalie*, intending to paſſe away the remaining of the Summer at *Lariſſa*. *Dorimachus* now being created *Prætor* of the *Ætololians* invaded *Epirus*, and harraſing the Country, robbed, and then deſtroys the *Dodonæan* Temple; but *Philip* now in Winter, when it was little expected by any, leaveth *Lariſſa*, and paſſing over his Army from *Theſſalie* into *Eubœa*, paſſed through *Bœotia*, and the confines of *Megaris*, and about the Winter ſolſtice, cometh to *Corinth*, whither calling *Aratus* the elder to him to conſult of affaires, he writes to the *Prætor*, and ſeveral Cities of the *Achæans*, aſſigning them when and where to meet him. *Idem ibid.*

And *Peloponneſus*.

25. Having taken this order he departed from *Corinth* to *Dioſcurium*, a City of the *Phliaſians*, and thence to *Caphyæ*, where he had appointed the *Achæans* to meet him, lighting in his way upon a party which *Euripidas* was leading towards the Territories of the *Sicyonians* to waſte them, whereof 2200 he took; the other being ſlain by his men, and periſhing amongſt the high Rocks, 100 onely eſcaped with their Leader. This victory got him abundance of honour (it being heard he was come, and had overcome alſo at the ſame time) which to maintain and increaſe, after he was come to *Caphyæ*, he joyned *Aratus* the younger to him with about 10000 men, and marched to *Pſophis* an ancient Town of *Arcadia*, ſituate in the middle of *Peloponneſus*, and upon the confines of the *Eleans*, who then had it in their hands, and whither *Euripidas* their Captain had now withdrawn himſelf after his defeat. This place *Philip* had a great mind unto, as very convenient for the carrying on the War. He got the Town preſently, and after that *Idem Ibid.*

His exploits.

had the Caſtle yielded to him, and ſtaying there ſome time gave up the place into the hands of the *Achæans*, as alſo *Laſione* ſhortly after, which upon his approaching was forſaken by a Garriſon of the *Eleans*. After this he came into the Country of the *Eleans*, which giving his Soliers liberty to ſack and plunder, he paſſed the River *Alphæus*, and came into *Tryphalia* including nine Towns ſituate betwixt *Elea* and *Meſſena*, which alſo the Inhabitants of the former had got into their poſſeſſion a few years before, with *Aliphira* that belonged to *Arcadia*. Paſſing his men over by a bridge he cauſed to be made, he preſently took *Aliphira*, and within ſix dayes all *Tryphalia*, though *Phylidas* was ſent from the *Ætolians* to aid the *Eleans* with 600 men, to which were joyned 500 Mercenaries, and 1000 of the Inhabitants of *Elea*. Placing a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Lepreatans*, he came to *Hræa*, where he divided all the booty amongſt his Soldiers, and thence marching to *Megalopolis*, in the midſt of Winter, he afterward came to *Argos*, where he ſpent the remaindert of that Seaſon. During theſe motions *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* killed the *Ephori* who had made *Lycurgus* King, but the fact being not approved, he was glad to betake himſelf to his heels.

26. *Philip* invaded again the Territories of the *Ætolians*, and thence took very much booty, and returning to *Argos* to winter, ſent his Army into *Macedonia*. *Polybius lib. 5.*

Apelles his plot againſt *Aratus* and others.

At this time *Apelles* (who was one of them whom *Antigonus* had left his Guardians) much maligned *Aratus*, and joyning with *Leontius* Captain of the *Cetrati* (called ſo from the wearing of a ſhort buckler) and *Megaleas* the King's chief Secretary, reſolved to remove *Taurion* from the Government of *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* from his command of the Life-Guard; and had he not been hindred by *Aratus*, he had accompliſhd his purpoſe. He had procured alſo one *Eparatus* to be choſen *Prætor* in the room of *Aratus* the younger, and he managing his affairs very indiſcreetly, the King could get neither money nor proviſions, but was fain to flie to *Aratus* for relief; and now it being reſolved to carry on the War by Sea, he conſulting with his two creatures, determined to ſtop up proviſons from coming to the Army, and went to *Chalcis* for that purpoſe. He ſo managed his buſineſſe, as he forced the King to pawn his plate, who now ſailed againſt the *Cephalenians*, whoſe ſhips the *Ætolians* conſtantly uſed in their invaſions of *Peloponneſus*, and coming to *Patra*, there drew up his ſhips on ſhore. He laid ſiege to the City of the *Patæenſians*, and having undermined a piece of the wall, ſent *Leontius* to take the place, but he remembring the conſpiracie of *Apelles*, *Megaleas*, and himſelf, to hinder the affaires of his Maſter, had corrupted the chiefeſt of the Officers, and ſuffered himſelf to be repelled, ſo that *Philip* raiſed his Siege, and conſulted what was to be done. By this time *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* King had invaded the *Meſſenians*, *Dorimachus* alſo the *Æolian* had made an inroad into *Theſſalie*, ſo that from both parts came Ambaſſadors to crave aid. *Leontius* counſelled *Philip* to go to *Meſſenia*; but *Aratus* to invade *Ætolia* again, to whom he agreed, having had experience of his wiſdom, and begining now a little to truſt the other.

27. Writing to the *Prætor* of the *Achæans* to relieve the *Meſſenians*, he invaded their Country, and taking *Thermus*, gave his Soldiers leave to plunder the Villages, in revenge for what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dius* in *Macedonia*, rifled and burnt the Temple, for which he is grievouſly reprehended by *Polybius*. After this returning on ſhipboard, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* in their cups ſo abuſed *Aratus*, as to throw ſtones at him, for which the former eſcaping, the larer was impriſoned and fined twenty Talents at a Council of War. *Philip* then ſailed to *Corinth*, whence ſending meſſengers to the aſſociated Cities to meet him at *Tegea*, he marched thither in two dayes, and getting ſome Forces together he invaded the *Lacedæmonians*, and waſted their territories far and wide, put to flight *Lycurgus* who came out of the City againſt him, and then returned again unto *Corinth*. Whilſt he prepared to attempt ſome notable thing upon *Phocis*; *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, moved the Soldiers to ſedition, which though he knew very well, yet diſſembled he it at preſent, but *Leontius* ſent for *Apelles* from *Chalcis*, who there had very naughtily behaved himſelf, and now returning was not entertained by the King after the uſual manner, nor admitted to the Council. *Megaleas* hereat being affrighted fled, leaving *Leontius* behind him ingaged for the twenty Talents, whoſe Soldiers *Philip* ſent with *Taurion* into *Triphylia* as upon ſervice, and then threw him in priſon for the payment of the money, and not long after (the Soldiers malapertly interceding for him, that he ſhould not be tried till their return, otherwiſe they ſhould take it as a great affront) he put him to death. Then came he to *Patra*, where he had appointed the Deputies of the Cities to meet him about a Peace with the *Ætolians*, which the *Rhodians* and *Chians* had by Ambaſſadors moved both parties to. Here letters of *Megaleas* were brought to him, wherein he ſtirred up the *Ætolians* to proceed in the War, for that he would be in great ſtraights for proviſions, whereupon he judging *Apelles* to have been the chief cauſe of thoſe evils, ſent him in cuſtody to *Corinth*, and ordered *Alexander* to go to *Thebes* and purſue *Megaleas*. He hearing this killed himſelf, and *Apelles* died ſoon after.

The treaſon of him and his complices diſcovered.

28. The *Ætolians* hearing of theſe ſtirs in *Philip*'s Court, and thinking thereby ſome great ſedition would be raiſed, put off their meeting at *Rhium* about the peace, which he was not at all ſorry for, but exhorted the aſſociates rather to bend their minds towards thoughts of War. Then, coming to *Demetrias*, there was condemned *Ptolomy*, *Apelles* his Companion, by the *Macedonians*, and put to death; then, for that Winter was now begun, having ſent his Army before, he himſelf followed into *Macedonia*. The next year he got *Bylazora* the chiefeſt Town of *Paonia* into his hands, and *Thebes Pthiotick* alſo, which the *Ætolians* holding, much moleſted *Theſſaly*: but receiving news that *Scerdilaida* being revolted, made great waſte of all things about *Malea*, he returned into *Peloponneſus* at the time of the celebration of the *Nemean* Games. Here he received letters that *Hannibal* had overthrown the *Romans* at the *Lake of Thraſymene*, and *Demetrius Pharius*, who had waged War with the People of *Rome*, for the *Illyrians*, adviſed him to make Peace with the *Ætolians*, and undertaking the affaires of *Illyricum* paſſe thence into *Italy*, and think of no leſſe than arriving at the *Monarchy of the World*. Being elevated with this fancy, he perſwaded the *Achæans* to agreement, and then ſending *Taurion* and *Aratus* to the *Ætolians*, who deſired a Treaty, at their requeſt he went alſo himſelf down to them, and made Peace on this condition, that *all parties ſhould enjoy what now they held.* *Agelaus* of *Naupactus* perſwaded the *Greeks* to imbrace amity, leſt cutting one anothers throats thus, they might be devoured by the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*. So all the Cities returned to their ancient wayes and cuſtoms, and this *Social War* ended after it had continued four years, in the ſixth of the reign of *Philip*, the firſt of the 141 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3789.

Ptolomy put to death for treaſon.

Philip having vaſt things in deſign, putteth an end to the Social War.

A. M. 3789. *Ol.* 141. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 538. *Antioch. M.* 8. *Ptolom. Philop.* 7.

29. *Philip* applied himſelf to the recovery of the Cities which had revolted from him, and then thought of nothing more than ſetling the affairs of *Illyricum*, neceſſary for the promoting of his deſigns, eſpecially the invaſion of *Italy*, upon which his mind was ſo ſetled, as ſleeping and waking his fancy ran wholly upon it, being ſpurred on by *Demetrius Pharius*, not ſo much for any great affection born to him, as for the others private intereſt, who thought hereby to recover the Iſland *Pharus*, which once he injoyed; and out of hatred to the *Romans*, who having overthrown him in War, about this time ſent to demand him of *Philip*, to whom he had fled. After he had recovered the Cities, and ſent his Army to the Winter quarters, he bethought him that there would be need of ſhips for the carrying on of his project; not for fighting with the *Romans*, but conveying of his men, ſo that he cauſed 100 ſwift Barkes to be built, and in the Spring exerciſing his Soldiers a little in rowing, away he goes through *Euripus* near to *Cephalenia*, hearkening continually after the *Roman* Fleet. But the report of it's coming, after a ſhort time put his men into ſuch a pannick fear, that though he was now going towards *Apollonia*, he tacked about, and in great diſorder after a day and a nights ſail came back again to *Cephalenia*. For all this he was not

Polyb. lib. 5.

Livius l. 22.

He sendeth to *Hannibal* in *Italy*.

not discouraged from his enterprise, but understanding how *Hannibal* prospered in *Italy*, thought good to make him his friend, and thereby get an entrance in thither. So this year being the 4th of the 2d *Punick* War, he sent Ambassadors to him.

Idem lib.23.

30. The Ambassadors landing near to the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, went through *Apulia* towards *Capua* where *Hannibal* then lay; but in their way fell into the *Roman* Guards, by which they were brought to *M. Valerius Lævinus* the *Prætor*, then lying about *Numeria*. Being thus entangled, *Xenophanes*, one bolder and wiser than the rest, told the *Prætor* they were come from *Philip* to make a League and Alliance with the People of *Rome*; at which he rejoycing, that after the revolting of their Associates in *Italy* so great a Prince should desire their friendship, entertained him and his fellows very lovingly, and sent them away with some to conduct them, so that coming into *Campania* they presently got to *Hannibal*. The Alliance was made on

The Terms of their Alliance,

these terms, that *Philip with as great a fleet as possible (200 ships he thought he could procure) should passe into* Italy, *waste the Maritime parts thereof, and help to carry on the War both by Sea and Land: that* Italy *being Conquered should all fall to* Hannibal, *and the* Carthaginians, *with all the spoil; and then they should passe into* Greece, *and there make War upon what Princes or States* Philip *pleased, who should enjoy whatever places could be got, either in the Continent or Islands*, he being willing to content himself with these conditions for a beginning. Things being thus concluded, the Ambassadors were dispatched away, and with them some sent from *Hannibal*, who shipping themselves again where they landed before, were discovered by the

The Ambassadors taken by the *Romans*.

Romans, who lay upon the Coasts of *Calabria*, and taken. *Xenophanes*, having had such good fortune before, with his skill attempted the same thing again, but the habit and language of the *Carthaginians* discovered them, and, the League being found about them, all was brought to light, and confessed; and then they were sent to *Grachus* the *Consul* to *Cuma*, and by him to the Senate.

31. The Fathers entred into serious debate about it, being much troubled to find, that though they were scarce able to undergo the *Carthaginian* War, they should be ingaged in another with the *Macedonian*; yet notwithstanding they were not dismayed, but considered how they might make work for *Philip* at home, thereby to divert him from *Italy*. Having therefore imprisoned the Ambassadors, and sold their followers, they gave order for fifty ships fitly furnished to hover about *Italy*, and if the Kings attempts should appear answerable to the Ambassage, *Marcus Valerius* the *Prætor* was then to invade *Macedonia*. Whilest these things were in hand, one of the ships

Others sent with better successe.

which being taken accompanied the Ambassadors to *Rome*, escaped, and acquainted *Philip* how things had passed, who then not knowing what was done or concluded betwixt *Hannibal* and himself, sent Messengers, who dispatched the businesse with better successe, but the Summer was too far spent for him to do any thing this year. These high thoughts and designs he now had in his head did so puff him up, that from an excellent Prince as he was at the first, he turned tyrannical as men judged, so that he began to wax harsh against the Cities of *Greece*, being set on by *Demetrius Pharus*, who advised him to get *Peloponnesus* into his own power, and for that purpose to seize on the two horns of that beast, (as he accounted them) the *Castle of Corinth*, and also that of the *Messenians*, who being now at odds amongst themselves, he laboured to increase their differences; and for that *Aratus* was displeased at it, and laboured to diswade him, he cast him out of favour. The year after he had entred into League with *Hannibal*, finding it yet not convenient to make for *Italy*, he took *Oricus* a Town of *Illyricum*, in order to the besieging of *Apollonia*, both which had joyned themselves in society with the *Romans* fifteen years before. But when *Lævinus* the *Prætor* heard of it, leaving the

Polybius ex lib.7. excerpt. 3.

He is beaten at *Apollonia*, and driven home.

Coast of *Brundusium* to the care of *P. Valerius*, he hasted to *Oricus*, and presently recovered it, and afterwards sent a party under the Conduct of *Navius Crispus*, which getting into *Apollonia*, afterwards fell upon the *Macedonians*

cedonians lying so securely in their Camp, that about 1000 men entred the Trenches before it was perceived. Hereupon followed such a Pannick fear, as no body endeavoured to repulse the Enemy, and 3000 were slain and taken here, the King getting out of his bed, fled half naked to the ships, which *Lævinus* being aware of, secured the mouth of the River, so that he was forced to fly with a poor and unarmed Army by Land into *Macedonia*.

A. M. 3791. *Ol.* 141. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 540. *Antioch Mag.* 10. *Ptol. Philop.* 9.

32. About this time, being angry with *Aratus*, for being agrieved at his ill usage of the *Messenians*, he now procured him to be poysoned by the help of *Taurion* his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*. At the first the thing was not known, it being a slow working poyson, but *Aratus* himself was not ignorant of it, yet shewed such calmnesse of mind as he acquainted none with it,

Idem lib.8. excerpt. 9.

Poysoneth *Aratus*.

but *Cephalo* his nearest attendant, who observing him to spit bloud upon the Wall, he onely said, *This reward* O Cephalo *have we for our friendship to* Philip; but after his death he was honoured by all the *Achæans* as an *Hero*. *Philip* about this time casting his thoughts upon *Illyricum*, got *Lyssus* a strong Town thereof, and *Acrolyssus* its Castle into his power, having divided his Army into two parts, one whereof he hid on the Land-side, and drew the Defendants towards the Sea with the other, so as they in ambush entred the Castle without opposition, (otherwise impregnable) after which he got the Town, though with much trouble, and then most of the Cities out of fear submitted unto him. But the same year *M. Valerius Lævinus* withdrew the *Ætolians* from their society and alliance with him, by shewing them the civility of the *Romans* towards their friends, and especially by putting them in hopes to recover *Acarnania* again into their power, having *Scopas* the

Idem ibid. excerpt. 10.

Livius lib.26.

Lævinus the *Roman Prætor* maketh him work enough.

Prætor and *Dorimachus* to back him in this perswasion. In the League also were to be included the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus* King of *Asia* the lesse, *Pleuratus* of *Thrace*, and *Scerdilaidas* of *Illyricum*, if they pleased. *Lævinus* took presently *Zacynthus* an Island near to *Ætolia*, having a Citie in it of the same name, *Oeniada* also and *Nassus*, Towns of *Acarnania*, all which he gave to the *Ætolians*, and then judging he had made work enough for *Philip* to keep him at home, that he should not think of the invasion of *Italy*, or of *Hannibal*, or the *Carthaginians*, he departed to *Corcyra*.

33. He was Wintring at *Pella*, when the news first came to him, therefore as he had determined to passe into *Greece* in the Spring, and first to invade, and awe the *Illyrians*, he now made incursions thither, after that into *Pelagonia*, and then took a Citie of the *Dardanians* in the Borders of *Macedonia*, being as it were the Key into their Countrey. After this he hasted into *Thessalie*, where leaving *Perseus* with a party to restrain the *Ætolians*, he thence marched towards *Thrace* against the *Medi*, which were wont to make inroads into *Macedonia* when the King was absent in the Wars; from them he took *Jampharnia*, and attempted other places. But the *Ætolians* now aiming at, and expecting great things, because of their conjunction with their *Romans*, struck terror into almost all the other *Greeks*; wherefore the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, *Epirotes*, and *Acarnanians* implored his help, for all which he provided as well as he might, and sent a party to defend *Preparethus* the Island, at which he heard that *Attalus* coming into *Europe*, arrived, being chosen by the *Ætolians* their Commander in Chief. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* hearing he was gone into *Thrace*, invaded *Acarnania*, the Inhabitants whereof sending away their Wives, Children, and Aged into *Epirus*, vowed never to return except as Conquerors, rather than to be again enslaved under the *Ætolians*. This the Enemy hearing, was something amazed at their resolution, and then knowing of *Philip* his coming, returned home, and he when he heard they had so done, returned also unto *Pella*. The year after he succoured the *Achæans* sore molested by *Machanidas* Tyrant of *Sparta*, and the *Ætolians*, & went against *Lamia*, a Citie of the *Ætolians*, who coming out to meet him, he overthrew them in two several ingagements, after which they shutting up themselves in the Town, he drew down his Army to *Phalara* a Maritime Citie of *Thessaly*, whither Ambassadors came from *Ptolomy*, the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Atheaians*, to compose the difference betwixt him,

Idem ibid.

Polybius lib.10.

Idem lib.27.

him, and the *Ætolians*, though not so much out of love to these, as for fear that *Philip* and his Kingdom should grow too great, and become burdensom to the liberty of *Greece*. The Treaty was put off to the meeting of the States general of the *Achæans*, and a Truce made in the mean time for thirty dayes.

The *Ætolians* refuse peace.

34. It was also began with this design, to keep *Attalus*, or the *Romans*, from coming into *Greece*; but the *Ætolians* observing the Term of the Truce almost to be expired, and hearing that *Attalus* was come to *Ægina*, and the *Roman* Navy to *Naupactus*, hindred the conclusion; first complaining of some things done during the Truce, and then plainly refusing to agree, except the *Achæans* would restore *Pylus* to the *Messenians*, and except the *Romans*, *Athamanians*, *Scerdilaidas*, and *Pleuratus* were included in the peace. *Philip* holding it an unworthy thing that those who had the worst of it in the War should give Laws to the other, broke up the meeting, and leavying 4000 men for a defence to the *Achæans*, went to *Argos*. In the mean while *P. Sulpicius* coming with the *Roman* Fleet from *Naupactus*, landed betwixt *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and wasted the Countrey; but *Philip* lighting upon his men drove them to their ships, and then going to *Dyma*, cast out thence the Garrison of the *Æolians*, called thither by the *Eleans*. Their Territories he also wasted (*Cycliadas* the General of the *Achæans* having united his Forces with his) and then went against the Citie it self.

Philip again worsted by the *Romans* at *Elis*.

It hapned that *Sulpicius* was secretly got in thither with 4000 men, which struck a terror into the besiegers as soon as they espied the *Roman* colours, and *Philip* would fain have drawn off his men; but a skirmish being begun he was forced to charge the *Roman* Cohort with his horse. His own horse being shot under him, a sharp conflict followed about his person now on foot, but being overpowered, he was rescued by his followers, and mounting another fled away. Then pitched he his Tents five miles from *Elis*, and the next day marching to *Pyrgus* a Castle not far off, there took a multitude of Countrey people, which with their Cattel had fled thither for protection; but as he was dividing the plunder, a Messenger came out of *Macedonia*, and informed him, that a certain man of the *Æropians* had taken *Lychnidus*, and was raising the *Dardanians*; wherefore leaving 2500 men under the Government of *Menippus* and *Polyphas*, for a Guard to the *Achæans*, away he marched into *Thessaly*, where he heard the *Dardanians* had invaded his Kingdom, and that he was reported to be slain. After his departure *Sulpicius* went and wintred at *Ægina* with *Attalus*, and the *Achæans* fought prosperously against their Enemies.

A. M. 3796. *Ol.* 142. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 545. *Antioch.M.*15. *Ptolom. Philop.*14.

His acts in *Greece*.

35. The year after, *P. Sulpicius Galba* the *Proconsul* and *Attalus* departing from *Ægina* with their Navies joyned together (which made up fifty sayl) came into *Eubœa*, and there took *Oreus* through the treachery of *Plator* the Governour. *Philip* now being at *Demetrias*, great complaints came to him of the *Ætolians*, who being very high, troubled grievously the Associates; the *Achæans* moreover being molested again by *Machanidas* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and desiring aid, he dismissed the Messengers with promise to provide for the safety of all as near as he could, and appointed fires to be made on the tops of the Mountains, with a Watch-Tower, to give him warning if the Enemy invaded the Sea-Coasts. The fires upon the coming of the Navy to *Oreus* were by the cunning of *Plator* made too late; but upon the sign given he hasted with his Army (having beaten off the *Ætolians* who opposed him at the Straights of *Thermopylæ*) and came to *Elatea* a Town in *Phocis*. *Attalus* at this time, & the *Proconsul* having attempted *Chalcis* to no purpose, came to *Opus*, which being taken, the King's Soldiers were to have the plunder of it, as the *Romans* had before of *Oreus*. Here he staying too long to gather money, was almost surprised by *Philip*, and hasting to his ships, had not got all his men aboard before he fell upon him; then departing to *Oreus*, he there received news that *Prusias* King of *Bithinia* had invaded his Kingdom, so that he presently returned home, and *Sulpicius* to *Ægina*. *Philip* chiding the *Opuntians* for yielding so soon, went, and took *Thronium* inhabited by them of *Thebes Phthiotick*, who being outed thence by

*Livius lib.*28.

by him 8 years before, as we said, the *Ætolians* had given them this Town to dwell in. After this returning to *Elatia* (where the Ambassadors of *Ptolomy* and the *Rhodians* stayed his coming to move him again about the peace) and hearing that *Machanidas* had determined to set upon the *Eleans*, he resolved to prevent him. *Machanidas* hearing of his coming, retreated presently to *Sparta*, and then went he to *Ægium* to the general Council of the *Achæans*, to whom he restored *Heræa* and *Triphylia*; and *Aliphera* to the *Megalopolitans*. He made some depredations upon the *Ætolian*, then returned to *Oreus*, and so to *Demetrias*, where he gave order for making of ships; (things being quiet there after the departure of *Attalus*) and so into his own Kingdom against the *Dardanians*.

36. The two years following, little or nothing was done by the *Romans* in *Greece*, so that the *Ætolians* being destitute of their aid (in which they most confided) were forc'd to make a Peace with him on his own terms. Scarce was it concluded, when *Publius Sempronius* the *Proconsul* was sent to succeed *Sulpicius* (who carelessly managed his affaires) with 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 35 Gallies, who coming to *Dyrrhachium* raised the *Parthini*, and set upon *Damallum*. Coming a little after to *Apollonia*, *Philip* having received the news of his arrival, marched down thither, and would have given him battel, but the *Proconsul* refusing it, and he not daring to attempt the Town, as also because he was now inclinable also to Peace, he returned again into his own Kingdom. Not long after the *Epirotes* bearing also the same mind, sent to him, desiring he would think of Peace, which they despaired not of, so he and *Sempronius* would but meet together. He condescended to go down into *Epirus*, and then came to an interview with the *Proconsul* at *Phœnice*, together with *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and the Deputies of the *Epirotes* and *Acarnanians*, where it was agreed that *the Parthini, the Cities Dimalum, Bargulum, and Eugenium, should fall to the share of the Romans, and the Atintanæ (because they had desired it from the Senate at Rome) to Philip*: in the confederacy were included on the Kings part, *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalonians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirotes*, and on the *Roman*, the Inhabitants of *Ilium*, King *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*, with *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, and successor of *Machanidas*, slain in battel by *Philopomenes*, who now had begun to defend his Country from the *Lacedæmonians* and others. A Truce was made for two moneths, to have the consent of the People of *Rome*, who now having turned the War into *Africk* upon the *Carthaginians*, were glad to free themselves from all other troubles, and therefore the Peace was confirmed by the suffrages of all the Tribes.

Idem lib. 29.

The *Ætolians* forced to make a peace with him.

A general peace made betwixt him, the *Romans*, and others.

Polybius l. 11. *excerpt. c.* 7.

37. But *Philip*'s mind was so inured to action, that he could not but make himself work; for perceiving *Philopomenes* (now *Prætor* the second time of the *Achæans*) to be in great respect for his military skil and valour, he sent to murder him at *Megalopolis*, which being discovered, he deservedly incurred the displeasure of all *Greece*. He kept some correspondence (together with *Antiochus* the *Great*) with *Ptolomy Philopator*, when living; but after his death, they two consulted together to deprive his young son of his Kingdom, and might well have done it (especially seeing the *Ægyptian* Court was much vexed by the discord of the great ones) had they not both been diverted by the *Romans*, and punished justly, as *Polybius* observeth. And though he had been reconciled to the *Ætolians*, and used them as his friends and allies, yet now without any pretence did he withdraw *Lysimachia* from their society, and joyned it to himself, after that *Chalcedon*; and to gratifie his Son in Law *Prusias* of *Bithinia*, enslaved the City of the *Cians*, though the *Ætolians* had sent them a Captain who commanded in chief, which cruelty so incensed the *Rhodians*, as ever after they became his Enemies, and joyned with *Attalus* King of *Asia* against him. Very stoutly did he deal with these his adversaries, never being discouraged by any bad successe. He had the worst of it in a battel at Sea near *Chius*, but driving *Attalus* on Land, and taking his ship (though he had never lost so many men in any battel whatever before)

Plutarch in Philopomene.

He incurreth odium several wayes.

And having other enemies

Lib. 5. *excerpt.* 20. *c.*

Ibid. c. 2.

before) he ascribed the Victory to himself. For all this War in which he was imployed by two powerful adversaries, yet feared he not to undertake another with the People of *Rome*, which now a few moneths after the end of the second *Punick* was decreed against him, about fourteen years after his entring into confederacy with *Hannibal*, of his own reign the 23, and the first of the 145 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3805. A. M. 3805. *Ol.* 145. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 554. *Ant. M.* 24. *Ptol. Epiph.* 4.

He ingageth against the *Romans*.

38. For though there had been a peace made, yet it was conceived he had broken it by his molesting the *Ætolians*, and other associates, and of late by sending aid to *Annibal* in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians*: The *Athenians* by their Ambassadors also called upon the Senate for help, whose Territories he had wasted, and forced them up into the City. The occasion of the War betwixt him and them was from the *Acarnanians*; for two young men of that Nation coming to *Athens*, chanced to go into the Temple of *Ceres* with the other company at the Feast, being not initiated, and for that reason were put to death, as having committed an unpardonable offence, though ignorantly they did it; now this the *Athamanians* took so to heart, as they procured *Philip* to make War upon them. At the same time were come to *Rome* Ambassadors also from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, complaining that the Cities of *Asia* were also molested by him; so that now having little to do after the ending of the second *Punick* War, the Senate unanimously made a Decree, by virtue whereof *Marcus Levinus* the *Viceprator* was sent into *Macedonia* with 38 ships brought out of *Sicilie* by *Cn. Octavius*: Afterwards came news further that he was about to take *Athens*, and then it being proposed to the People, the War (through the perswasion of *Publius Sulpitius* * the Consul, to whom it fell by lot) was decreed against him. He had not besieged that City himself, but, sending down *Philocles* one of his Captains thither, went and subdued the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*. Onely the Inhabitants of *Abydus* stood out against him, and that with such resolution, as following the example of the *Saguntines* in *Spain*, they fought it out to the last, and made an end of themselves, after he had denied to receive them upon any other terms than yielding to mercy. Yet *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* might have relieved them had they not loitered.

Vide Livium lib. 31.

The grounds of the War on the *Roman* part.

* *Galba.*

Idem ibid. & Polyb. excerpt. lib. 16.

39. *Sulpicius* the Consul coming to *Apollonia*, upon the desire of the *Athenians*, sent *C. Claudius Cento* with twenty ships out of the Fleet which lay at *Corcyra*, furnished with Soldiers, to relieve their City. He hearing that *Chalcis* was badly looked to, though fortified with a Garrison of the *Macedonians*, went thither, took it with ease, then plundering it set on fire, and returned to the *Pireus*, or Haven of *Athens*. *Philip* was now come down to *Demetrias*, where hearing this news he passed over *Euripus* on a bridge, and through *Bœotia* hasted to *Athens*, thinking to surprise the Town; but the Inhabitants having got notice of his coming, stood upon their guard, and then he perceiving his craft failed him, betook himself to force; but this being to no purpose (the *Romans* coming in, and the Soldiers of *Attalus* from *Ægina*) wasting all about the Town, and not sparing so much as the Sepulchers, he went to *Eleusine* thinking there to get the Temple and Castle into his power; but the guards being strong, and the Navy coming to help from the *Pireus*, he marched thence to *Megara*, and so to *Corinth*. Hearing now that the *Achæans* were met at *Argos*, to consult how to resist *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, he went down thither, and came upon them unawares, and promised he would make War upon him, on condition they would but find him Soldiers to keep *Oreus*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*. His design was to ingage them in the War against the *Romans*, which they very well understood, and therefore *Cycliades* the *Prator* answered, that it was not lawful to propose any other matter than that for which they were assembled, and so a Decree being made for raising an Army against *Nabis*, hee broke up the meeting.

Livius ibid.

Philip's fruitless Expedition against *Athens*.

40. Nothing yet was done by the *Roman* Consul of himself, but encamping upon the River *Apsus* between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, he sent *L. Apustius* his Lieutenant with a party to harrase the Enemies Country, who

who performed what he went about, taking divers Towns of *Macedonia*, and then returned with much booty. *Philip* being come home, made all provision possible for the War, and knowing the restlessnesse of the *Ætolians*, for fear they might side with the *Romans*, (which yet they had not done) sent his Ambassadors to the general meeting of them called the *Panætolium*, whither came also *L. Furius Purpureo*, sent from the Consul, and others from the *Athenians*. The *Macedonian* being first heard, advised them to remain in their society with him; the *Athenians* inveyed bitterly against *Philip*, as having broken the Laws of humanity and religion, in violating their Sepulchers, and Temple; then *Purpureo* sheweth how the *Romans* had undertaken the War for them, though they formerly made Peace without them, and now how good an occasion was offered them of being restored into their friendship and society, except they would rather perish with *Philip*. This inclined all their minds towards the *Romans*; but *Democritus* the *Prator* thought the businesse was to be put off to the next Council. But not long after *Philip* fought twice with the Consul, and that so unprosperously, as he had like to have been taken himself, and then they imbraced the society of the *Romans*, and invading *Macedonia*, took and burnt *Cercinium*, after which going into *Perrhæbia*, *Philip* set upon them at unawares, and killing many, forced the rest to flie for their safety under the conduct of *Aminander* into their own Country. This year the *Roman* Navy joyning to that of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, took the Island *Andrus*, and *Oreus*, the City we have often spoken of, in *Eubœa*.

He courteth the *Ætolians*,

But his bad success against the Consul maketh them joyn with the *Romans*.

41. *Philip* taking all care possible for the managing of his affaires, the next Spring sent down his Auxiliaries and others through *Epirus* into *Chaonia*, to seize upon the Straights near *Antigonia*, and he himself following after with the strength of his Army, fortified the Vallie betwixt the Mountains, through which the River *Aous* runneth; *Athenagoras* his Lieutenant he commanded to look to the Mountain *Asnaus*, and he himself pitched his Tents upon the hill *Æropus*. To *Sulpicius* the Consul succeeded *P. Villius Tappulus*, who coming late did nothing at all, for leading towards the Enemy, he with a few went to view the Moors, through which his neareſt way lay to him, and consulting many dayes whether he should passe that way, or take the same *Sulpicius* went into *Macedonia*, before he could determine, news came to him, that his Successor was already come to *Corcyra*. This was *T. Quintius Flamininus*, created Consul ere he was thirty years old, who falling this Province came sooner than usual, bringing over with him 8000 Foot, and 800 Horse. Being arrived at the Camp, after some consultation, he determined to set upon *Philip*'s Army in the place where it yet lay; but how to do it was hard to be resolved, and forty dayes were spent in this deliberation, which time *Philip* was content to make an opportunity to look after Peace, and attempt the procurement of it through the *Epirotes*. They met at the River *Aous* (or *Apsus*) but the Consul demanded things seeming so hard to the other, that he asked him if he would impose more hard conditions upon one conquered? and so withdrew himself from the conference.

Livius l. 32.

Tappulus the Consul doth nothing.

Flamininus succeedeth,

With whom *Philip* hath a fruitlesse treaty.

42. The next day followed some light Skirmishes, neither part receiving either much good or dammage, but as they continued in this condition, came a certain Shepherd, sent by *Charops* Prince of the *Epirotes*, undertaking to lead the *Romans* through the Mountains an easie way, and bring them upon the Enemies back. The Consul glad of this opportunity, sent a party with him, and then gave an Alarm with the whole Army to the Camp, which the *Macedonians* received willingly enough, and both Armies being greedy of fighting, they marched out of their Trenches to receive the battel; but then those on their backs setting up a shout, struck them with such terror, that some of them ran away, others by reason of the difficulty of the place for fight were compassed in, and 2000 slain. The King fled amain till he came five miles off, and then rallying his men upon an hill, with a great Company went into *Thessaly*. Where wasting divers Towns to deprive the Enemy

And is beaten by him.

of Provisions, he thence passed into *Macedonia*. The Consul following him into *Thessaly*, laboured to get the good will of the *Epirotes*, and called to him *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians* to conduct him on his way; then took he *Phaleria* (where were in Garrison 2000 *Macedonians*) which he plundred and burnt, at which also others being affrighted yielded themselves, and *Philip* not daring to oppose, but keeping within *Tempe*, sent relief upon occasion to such places as wanted. At *Rhaga* the Consul found such opposition as he raised his siege, but thence departing took in divers Cities of *Phocis*, and besieged *Elatea*, during which things the Navy under the conduct of *L. Quintius* his brother, in Conjunction with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, took two of the most considerable Towns of *Eubœa*, and then prepared to venture for *Corinth*; but by the Consul's advice, they first sent to the *Achæans* to see if they might draw them from *Philip* to their own party.

The Consul taketh in several places in *Thessaly*.

43. *Aristænus* or *Aristinetus* (as he is called by *Polybius*) their *Prætor*, laboured to perswade them by all means to imbrace the society of the *Romans*, at which the *Dymæans* and *Megalopolitans* out of distaste went out of the Council, as unwilling thus to betray *Philip*, and the rest unanimously entered into Alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, and for that they could not do as much with the *Romans* without consent of the People at *Rome*, put it off onely till they might send their Ambassadors thither, and Decreed at the present to dispatch away three to *Lucius Quintius*, and their Army also to *Corinth* before which he now lay. The Town was stourly defended by the Inhabitants, and *Androsthenes* the Governour for the King, till such time as *Philocles* came with 1500 fresh men to their relief, after which it seemed best both to *Attalus* and *Quintius* to raise their siege, and then *Philocles* had *Argos* betrayed to him. The Consul in this mean time got *Elatea*, and then taking up his Winter quarters, news came that the *Opuntians* were at odds amongst themselves, some calling the *Ætolians*, and some the *Romans*, desirous to give up their Citie to them. The stronger and richer part called the *Consul*, but the Castle was still held by the *Macedonians*, who could not be got out by any fair words or foul, and when it should have been stormed came an Herauld from *Philip*, desiring a time and place might be set for a meeting to treat again of peace, which being granted, they met in the Bay near *Nice* at the day appointed, where *Philip* would not come ashore for fear as he pretended of the *Ætolians*. Much talk there was on both sides, the treaty being put off from one day to another; but it being required of the King to quit all *Greece*, he refused to do it, having a great desire to keep *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*; and then at his request he had leave given him to send Ambassadors to the *Senate*, and a Truce was made for two moneths.

The *Acheans* joyn with the *Roman* party.

Another Treaty.

Polybius excerpt. e lib. 17.

44. The *Greeks* sent their Ambassadors also, and all came to *Rome*, when the debate was about the Provinces of the new Consuls, whether one of them should have *Macedonia*, according to the custom, or both stay, and carry on the War against the *Gaules* then depending; for the *Tribunes* of the people opposed the custom, alleging that the reason was why Wars were so lengthned, because there was every year a new General according to the succession of the *Consuls*. This being referred to the Senate, it was thought fit to continue the Command to *Quintius*, and then had all the Ambassadors audience. The *Greeks* inveighed sore against *Philip*, and earnestly laboured that he should not be allowed to hold *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Demetrias*, for otherwise *Greece* could have no thoughts of liberty. They alleged it to his own saying, that these three were the *Fetters of Greece*, and that not without reason; for if he held *Corinth*, *Peloponnesus* could have no breathing time; if *Chalcis*, the *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, and *Phocians* durst not mutter; and if *Demetrias*, the *Thessalians*, and *Magnetes* should not be able as much as to taste of liberty: seeing therefore he pretended to be willing to quit all other places, this was but a shift for the present, seeing if he was Master of these places he might recover what he had before; therefore they desired he might either relinquish them, or that the War might be carried on, seeing the greatest part of

He sendeth Ambassadors to *Rome*.

of it was finished already. The Kings Ambassadors beginning a long Oration, were interrupted at the first, and asked whether their Master would be willing to leave the three Cities; they answered they had no Commission to answer any thing to that point: and so being chidden by the Fathers they made an end, and the affairs of *Greece* were again left to the management of *Quintius*.

To no effect.

45. *Philip* seeing how things went, wrote to *Philocles* to deliver up *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, on condition that if he prospered he should again restore it to him; but he presently after his getting into the Town, sent word to *Quintius*, who giving him a meeting, desired he would make peace with the *Achæans*, and send aid against the King; the later of which he promised to perform, and as for the peace granted a Truce for four moneths. *Philip* shortly after came down again into *Thessaly* (it being no policy at all to expect the Enemy in his own Kingdom) which *Quintius* understanding marched thither, where wandring after each other, they both at length in a thick mist came near to some Hills, from the likeness of the heads of Dogs, called *Cynoscephalæ*. Here both their foreguards fixing came to the discovery of each other, and from the skirmishing, and ingagement of them, to a set battel, though the King at first did not intend it. The victory seemed at the beginning to incline towards the *Macedonians* in one Wing; but the other being overpowered, they both at length were overthrown by the skill and valour of the *Romans*, 8000 perishing, and 5000 being taken prisoners: Of the *Romans* 700 were slain. *Philip*, when he saw how things went, fled towards *Tempe*; at the entry of which he stayed for such as had escaped, and then passed through that Countrey into *Macedonia*. The *Romans* coming to plunder the Enemie's Camp, found the *Ætolians* got thither before them, at which they sore repined, and grumbled at their General, as if he exposed them to danger, and granted the Prey to others. *Flamininus* was sore displeased to see the greedinesse of the *Ætolians* after Prey; and as this gave occasion to that hatred, which afterwards manifested it self, so it made him the more willing to agree with the Enemy, that he might not leave them Masters of *Greece*.

Livius ut supra.

Polybius excerpt. e lib. 17.

Is overthrown at *Cynoscephalæ*.

A. A. 3808. *Ol.* 145. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 557. *Antioch. Mag.* 27. *Ptolom. Epiphanis* 7.

46. *Philip* sent presently to the *Roman* General to desire another Treaty about a peace, who receiving them in a Council of Officers, without calling the *Ætolians*, used them very respectfully, and presently granted a Truce for fifteen dayes. This seeming strange to the *Ætolians*, they presently concluded he was bribed to it by *Philip*, not accounting better of others than according to their own covetous humour; but he being displeased with them, not onely for the matter of the plunder, but also for that they gave out sleighting words of the *Roman* valour (attributing the good successe to themselves) hearing also that *Antiochus* King of *Asia* was coming towards *Europe*, and so fearing *Philip* might joyn with him, and then a new Consul coming might take the glory of concluding the War away from himself, he resolved to make an end of the difference, and appointed a day and place to meet at, to which he summoned the Allies. Being met together he willed them to declare their minds concerning the peace, on what terms they would have it made. *Aminander* very modestly desired Provision might be made for him, else he was like to undergo the malice of *Philip*, who would be able presently to crush him. The *Ætolians* were point blank against the peace, saying, all would prove fruitlesse, except the *Macedonian* were outed his Kingdom, and that *Quintius*, except he did it, would neither answer the expectations of *Greece*, nor of those that sent him; to which he replied, that it was not the custom of the people at *Rome* utterly to undo at once those with whom they warred, and that the liberty of *Greece* would better be provided for by the standing of the *Macedonian* Kingdom, so weakned as it was like to be, than by the destruction of it; seeing then it would be obnoxious to the invasion of the *Thracians* and *Gauls*. The day after arrived *Philip* himself, and the next, coming into a full Council there, very wisely allayed the heats of all parties against him, offering to ratifie the former demands

Idem excerpt. Legation. 6.

Obtaineth a Truce, and sending again to *Rome*,

mands of the *Romans*, and for the rest to submit himself to the pleasure of the Senate. Therefore four moneths Truce was granted to him, according to his desire, and paying to *Quintius* 400 Talents in ready money, and giving up *Demetrius* his Son, and others for Hostages, he had leave to send to *Rome* about the conclusion; but with this caution, that if the businesse should not succeed, he was to have the Hostages and Money returned back unto him.

Idem except. Legation. l. 7. & 9.

47. Both Senate and People admitted of peace, though *Marcellus* the new Consul laboured against it, out of desire to be sent into *Macedonia*. *Philip* was injoyned, *besides the seising of all* Greece *at liberty, before the celebration of the Isthmian Games; to restore all Captives and Renegadoes, to give up all his covered Gallies except* 5. *and one with* 16 *Oares on a side, to pay* 1000 *Talents, half at present, and the other half in the space of* 10 *years, at so many payments.* Into *Greece* were sent 10 men of the Chief, with whom *Flamininus* was joyned in Commission, to compose affairs, and restore liberty to the several States thereof, which exceedingly affected all with joy, except the *Ætolians*, who carped at the Decree, and affirmed that *Greece* had onely changed it Lords; seeing the *Romans* had *Corinth*, *Demetrias*, and *Chalcis*. When the Commissioners came to sit, some controversie indeed arose about these Towns; for they having it in expresse charge to set all others at liberty, these were left to their discretion because of *Antiochus*, who, as all men thought, had intentions to attempt something upon *Europe*: therefore *Flamininus* perswaded them to give up *Corinth* into the hands of the *Achæans*, and keep that Castle, *Demetrias* and *Chalcis* in their own power. Then going to the solemnity of the *Isthmian* Games he there pronounced liberty, in that great audience, unto all *Greece*, which so affected the hearers, as with admiration of the thing they were scarce themselves.

Procureth peace.

Livius lib. 39.

48. During the War between the *Romans* and *Antiochus*, which shortly after followed, *Philip* behaved himself suitably enough to the expectation of the Conquerours: afterwards considering, and comparing his present condition with his former, he grew something impatient, and especially amongst other things, this vexed him, that power of animadverting upon those *Macedonians* who had revolted in the War, was taken from him; for after that *Antiochus* was overcome, and the War with the *Ætolians* was now in hand, *Acilius* the *Consul* taking *Heraclea*, and *Philip* besieging *Lamia*, when he was in a fair way of taking of it, he was commanded to depart from it, that so it might be surrendred to the other. *Acilius* to pacifie him, gave him leave to make War upon *Athamania*, and to recover the Cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Thessalians*; so that he presently drove out *Aminander* from *Athamania*, recovered divers Cities, amongst which was *Demetrias*, and possessed himself of the Countrey of the *Magnetes*, and some Cities in *Thrace* also. This pacified him for the present, yet did he not let fall his indignation, but in time of peace made all provision possible for another War, increasing his Revenues not onely by Customs, but by renewing the works of the Mines, and digging others, as also taking care for increasing the number of his people now exhausted. Whilest he thus imployed himself, there wanted not an occasion to inflame his mind anew; for the *Thessalians* and *Athamanians* sent to *Rome* to complain of him; *Eumenes* also about the Cities of *Thrace*. The Senate not being willing to judge the matter in his absence, sent three Commissioners into *Greece*, to hear and determine it, who sitting, and hearing all parties as Arbitrators, were something provoked by some words he uttered, affirming, that as yet *the Sun of all the dayes he had to live was not set*; and all being heard, they Decreed he should withdraw his Guards from all the *Greek* Cities, and that the Kingdom of *Macedonia* should be terminated by its antient limits. As for the Cities of *Thrace*, much being alleged *pro* and *con*, betwixt him and *Eumenes*; they kept the middle way, reserving the decision of that to the Senate, and ordered in the mean-time that his Garison Soldiers should be drawn out of them. The Senate resolved he should quit them, and all the Maritime Coasts of *Thrace*; so

His dissatisfaction after the War.

so that now being sufficiently incensed, he wanted but convenient Forces to make him revolt.

49. Being commanded to quit *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all the Sea Coasts of *Thrace*, he procured the principal of the *Maronites* who were strongly bent against him, to be murdred in the night, and then the *Romans* complaining of it as an unworthy deed, he denied it, and when *Onomastus* and *Cassander* the instruments of the fact were required to be sent to *Rome*, the later he gave way for to go, but then (it's thought) procured him to be poysoned in the way, lest he should tell tales; and as yet his affairs not being ripe for a revolt, he sent *Demetrius* his younger son to *Rome*, to purge himself, and deprecate the displeasure of the Senate. Underhand he sollicited the inhabitants upon the River *Ister* to break into *Italy*. *Demetrius* had got heretofore so much good-will at *Rome*, as coming to have audience in the Senate, though he was abashed at that presence, and the heavy loads of imputations laid upon his Father by the Ambassadors of his Enemies, Yet were his Father's faults passed over at this time for his sake, and so much signified to *Philip* by *Q. Marcius*, sent into *Macedonia* to see whether he had done all that was injoyned him. Then did he quit all the Cities of *Thrace* inhabited by the *Greeks*, and performed all other things which the *Romans* required, that he might not give any suspition, but get leisure to provide for the intended War. With *Demetrius* his son he was not well pleased, for that the Senate making no account of himself, had given him the credit of deserving onely favour; but especially *Perseus* his elder son conceived great indignation and malice against him, not onely for the credit he had at *Rome*, but being jealous he might deprive him thereby of his Father's Kingdom. Indeed the *Macedonians* looking upon *Demetrius* as one to whom they were obliged for saving them harmlesse from the *Romans*, designed the succession to him, whom also they held legitimate, but not *Perseus*, whose mother was no better than his Father's Concubine.

He is displeased at the favour of the *Romans* towards his younger son *Demetrius*

50. *Perseus* growing more and more sensible of the favour his brother was in both with the *Romans* and *Macedonians*, bent his mind to bring him into the jealousie and hatred of his Father, and thereby to work his destruction. His visit in way of merriment and jollity to him he represents as an opportunity taken to make him away, whereby the young man is called for by his angry Father, and is forced with tears to make an apology, to which credit is hardly enough given, suspitions and jeajousies getting ground. At length *Perseus* accuseth him of having dealt with them at *Rome* underhand about the Kingdom and place of his Father, who sends two thither to enquire of it, but such as were *Perseus* his creatures and partners in the plot. *Philip* having a mind to go up to the top of the Mountain *Hæmus*, for to have a view and prospect of the Country round about, took with him his eldest, and sendeth his youngest into *Macedonia* to look unto it, with whom he sent one *Didas* Governour of *Paonia* with a small guard. He being also one of *Perseus* his Complices, he give him in charge to insinuare into him, and thereby get out his most inward intentions, which he easily did, the poor young man being resolved to flie to the *Romans* for shelter, and desirous to use his help therein. This is presently made known to *Perseus*, and by him with improvement to *Philip*, who having wearied himself and Soldiers to little purpose, and being troubled with this report, returneth home, casts *Herodorus*, *Demetrius* his chiefest friend, into prison, and causeth him also to be narrowly looked to. Some moneths remained the King thus exceedingly troubled and anxious in himself, till the Ambassadors returning from *Rome*, put an end within a short time to his resolutions.

Which advantage *Perseus* his eldest son improveth,

Livie lib. 40.

51. These men being returned, feigned grievous accusations against *Demetrius*, and amongst the rest brought counterfeited letters as from *Quintius*, wherein *he begs pardon of the King, if the young man had dealt with him in any kind out of his desire to the Kingdom, but promiseth he will do nothing against any one that belongs to him, for that he would not be accounted for the time to come the author of any evil purpose*. Credit being given hereunto, *Herodorus* is

And compasseth his brothers death by false accusations.

is racked to death, confeſſing nothing, and *Demetrius* being again accuſed by his brother of intended flight, is deſtined to die, though for fear of giving any offence to the *Romans*, and diſcovering his intentions againſt them, it's reſolved to be done cunningly. Being ſent to *Æſtræum* a Town of *Peonia*, and thence called to *Heraclea*, he is there firſt poyſoned by *Didas*, crying out againſt the cruelty of his Father, the paricide of his brother, and wickedneſſe of *Didas*. Being tormented with the working of the Poyſon, two luſty Ruffians were let into the room, who ſtifled him with the tapeſtry, and ſo the innocent young man was murdered. His Father within a year or two fell into a ſad melancholy for the loſſe of him, which being perceived by one *Antigonus* the ſon of *Echecrates*, and Nephew alſo to *Antigonus* who was *Philip*'s Father, he having been alwaies a faithful friend to the King, labored to diſcover to him the whole device, and brought to him one *Xycinus*, who was privy to the whole deſign. He laid open the ſeries of all things to him. Hereupon *Philocles* one of the Ambaſſadors that were ſent to *Rome* being preſent, was put to death; *Apelles* the other, hearing the buſineſſe was come out, fled into *Italy*, *Perſeus* onely kept him out of ſight, but his Father intending to fruſtrate his expectations of the Kingdom, which he ſo wickedly ſought after, declared *Antigonus* his heir and ſucceſſor, ſaying, he had rather his Kingdom ſhould be deſtroyed, than ever come into the hands of *Perſeus*. Not long after being ſpent with extream grief and melancholy, and having commended *Antigonus* to the States of *Macedonia*, and uttered many a bitter curſe againſt *Perſeus*, he died at *Amphipolis*, after he had reigned 44 years. A. M. 3826, the ſecond of the 150 *Olympiad*, 146 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

A. M. 3824. *Ol.* 149. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 572. *Seleuci Philop.* 6. *Ptolom. epiph.* 22.

The device is diſcovered,

Whereat *Philip* laboureth to diſinherit *Perſeus* and dieth of Melancholy.

52. Had *Philip* lived a little longer, *Antigonus* had got poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by his means; but things being not now ripe, he loſt it by the procurement of the Kings Phyſician, who when he ſaw there was no hopes of life, ſent and acquainted *Perſeus* with it, and kept cloſe his death till his arrival, ſo that then having opportunity to oppreſſe his Enemies not once thinking of it, he obtained the Kingdom. Being a little ſetled therein, he cauſed *Antiochus* to be ſlain, and then ſent to *Rome* to renew the League made with his Father, and to deſire that he might be owned as King, doing this onely to ſecure himſelf for the preſent, and intending as ſoon as his affaits would permit, to make uſe of the preparation his Father had made for another War; as it afterwards proved. His Father a little before his death had prevailed with the *Baſtarna*, who lived near the River *Iſter*, to leave their ancient ſeat, and come and live in the Country of the *Dardanians*, which he intended to give unto them, that there leaving there wives and children, they might rogether with the *Scordiſci* (who being ſome of thoſe *Galls* that invaded *Thrace*, had ſeated themſelves at the meeting of *Danubius* and *Sabus*, and ſo called themſelves) invade *Italy*. They re-entred *Thrace* again with quieteneſſe, but after *Philip*'s death falling out with the Inhabitants, and purſuing them to the Mountains, they were ſet upon with ſuch a tempeſt as ſeized on the *Galls* at *Delphi*, and being preſſed alſo by the *Thracians*, onely 20000 got into *Dardania*, the reſt of the multitude returning back beyond *Danubius*. Thoſe that arrived in *Dardania* now did *Perſeus* ſtir up againſt the Inhabitants as much as poſſible, which being diſtaſteful to the *Romans*, their Ambaſſadors alſo returning from *Carthage*, reported to the Senate that he held intelligence with them there; for his Ambaſſadors had private audience of them by night, and others were ſent by them into *Macedonia*.

A. M. 3826. *Ol.* 150. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 575. *Seleuci Philop.* 9. *Ptol. Philom.* 2.

Yet *Perſeus* getteth the Kingdom, and reſolveth to renew the War with the *Romans*.

Livius lib. 41.

53. About this time ſome of the *Dolopians* refuſing to obey him, and willing to ſubmit their cauſe to the *Roman* Senate, he went down, and by force brought all their Country into his power; he laboured then to curry favour with ſeveral Cities of *Achaia* and *Theſſaly* in his paſſage, and either ſent or wrote to ſeveral others in *Greece*, deſiring them that an end might be put to the ancient grudges betwixt his Father and them; the *Achæans* eſpecially. The *Roman* Senate upon the report of the ſtirs in *Dardania*, ſent three to ſee how matters went, but he refuſed to ſee them; it being alleged ſometimes that

that he was abſent, and otherwhiles that he was ſick; but it clearly appeared to them that he was providing for the War, and ſo much the more, for that the *Ætolians* were now ſo ſeditious, as though their commiſſions gave them power to take up the differences amongſt them, yet could they not prevail by their authority. Indeed now he was better provided to make War than the *Romans* to reſiſt, having 30000 Foot, with 5000 Horſe, in a readineſſe, and proviſions too for ten years. *Thrace* was at Peace with him, and though he was ſo infamous for his cruelty, not onely in reſpect of his brother's death, but alſo the killing of *Apelles*, whom he uſed as an inſtaument in that buſineſſe, and alſo for making away his wife, and upon other accounts, yet either out of reverence to the Court of *Macedonia*, or by reaſon of their emulation againſt the *Romans*, were both the *Greeks* and *Aſiatick*s generally more favourable to him than to *Eumenes* the King of *Pergamus*, though of a clean contrary diſpoſition. *Eumenes* himſelf came to *Rome* to complain againſt him; to anſwer to whoſe accuſations he ſent Ambaſſadors, and with them the *Rhodians*, who inclined to his ſide, and as *Eumenes* returned home, he moſt baſely ſent ſome to murder him, whom though that King eſcaped as to his life, yet was he ſore wounded in the ſtraight paſſage to the Temple at *Delphi*: This as it loſt *Perſeus* much with his friends, ſo it made him be the ſooner declared an Enemy by the *Romans*.

His bad cariage towards *Eumenes* maketh him the ſooner be declared an Enemy.

54. It was thought good that ſome forces ſhould be raiſed to be in a readineſs, and that certain Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into *Greece* to retain the States in their fidelity, with Soldiers alſo to put into ſuch places as wanted. He perceiving their reſolutions, began to repent himſelf, and procured a truce, that he might ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, the Commiſſioners giving way to it, for that they knew him in a good poſture for War, and themſelves unprovided as yet; but the Senate for all this would not grant him Peace, his faults being ſo aggravated againſt him, that the War was denounced. *P. Licinius Craſſus* the *Couſul* being ſent againſt him, he had the better of it in an ingagement; but yet his heart failed him, ſo contrary to his former humour, as that then he ſent and deſired Peace, offering to perform all his Father was tied to; but had anſwer by the ſtout *Romans*, that on no other terms could it be granted, except he abſolutely referre himſelf and Kingdom to the courteſie of the Senate, and caſt all into their hands. After this he ſent to *Genthius*, King of the *Illyrians*, to draw him to his party, having taken divers Towns from him, and might have done himſelf good thereby, had he not been beſorted; for that Prince was inclinable enough to him, onely he ſaid, he wanted money, which though he had enough by him, yet neglected he to ſend. He laboured alſo to draw into his aid *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, and ſubdued again the *Dardanians*, but *Quem vult Jupiter perdere, dementat prius*. *Q. Marcius Philippus* coming againſt him, by reaſon of the difficulty of the wayes, and want of proviſions, might eaſily have been utterly defeated; but he cried out he was conquered, without fighting ran away, left the Straights open for his Enemy, ſent to *Theſſalonica* to burn his ſhips, to *Pella* to caſt his treaſures into the Sea, and then being angry with the meſſengers, the one for that he had not obeyed him, the other for that he had, he put them both to death, and recovering moſt of his treaſure, by thoſe that dived, out of the water, onely ſatisfied himſelf for this madneſſe, by recovering *Dius*, which had been taken by the Enemy.

Idem lib. 42, 43, 44.

He deſireth Peace which will not now be granted.

His conſternation of mind.

A. M. 3836. *Ol.* 152. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 585. *Ant. Epipha.* 8. *Ptol. Philom.* 12.

55. *L. Paulus Æmilius* the Conſul was at length ſent againſt him, who found ſome difficulty at firſt to come at him, having incamped himſelf near the Sea under the mountain *Olympus*; but *Scipio Naſica* getting over a Rock led the way, and then *Perſeus* retired, and pitched his tents near to *Pydna*. The Conſul was warie of ingaging with him (who now had an Army of 39000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe) his own men being tired, but the night before the fight the Moon being eclypſed, ſo terrified the *Macedonians*, that they accounted it to preſage the ruine of their Kingdom, which made the *Romans* (to whom it was foretold on purpoſe) more eagerly to begin the fight. *Cato* ſon to *M. Cato*, and ſon in Law to the Conſul, behaved himſelf ſo ſtoutly, as

Livius ibid.

Plutarch in Æmilio.

He is overthrown,

this encouraged the reſt, and thereby he was the means to gain the victory. Of the *Macedonians* were ſlain 20000, and 6000 taken; of the Conquerours but 100 loſt their lives. *Perſeus* fled to *Amphipolis*, and finding there no relief, ſayled to *Samothrace*, where hoping to be ſecure in that ſanctuary, *Cn. Octavius* the Admiral being ſent after him, promiſed by the voice of a Crier ſafety and freedom to all that would come in, whereby he was forſaken of almoſt all his followers, & *Ion* of *Theſſalonica* gave up his young children into the hands of the *Romans*. He thought now of eſcaping to *Crete*; but, being left thus, gave up himſelf, and eldeſt ſon to *Octavius*, when he had reigned 11 years; and after being lead in Triumph by the Conſul was caſt into priſon at *Alba*, where for ſeven dayes he lay in a moſt ſad condition, till through the importunity of *Æmilius* it was changed into a better. Two years he thus continued, and then through deſire of life and liberty, encouraging himſelf in new and vain hopes, ended his dayes, ſome ſay through the barbarouſneſſe of his Keepers, who would not ſuffer him to take any reſt, but others, by courſe of nature in free cuſtody, having his funeral diſcharged at the publick coſt. Thus ended this *Macedonian* Kingdom, being changed into a free State through the ſeeming bounty of the Conquerours, A. M. 3837. the firſt of the 153 *Olympiad*, 156 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Yieldeth himſelf, and dieth in cuſtody after two years.

CHAP. V.

The *Aſian* and *Syrian* Kingdom.

From the death of Seleucus, *to the reducing of* Syria *into the form of a* Roman *Province by* Pompey, *containing the ſpace of* 220 *years.*

1. FOur or five years after the death of *Caſſander*, it hapned that *Antiochus* the eldeſt ſon of *Seleucus* fell in love with *Stratonice*, daughter to *Demetrius* (which woman we ſaid before that *Seleucus* married, after her father was overthrown, and beaten out of *Aſia*) and for that he was aſhamed to reveal his affection, pined away, and reſolved to ſtarve himſelf, had not his diſeaſe been diſcovered by *Eraſiſtratus* the Phyſician, by the changing of his countenance when ſhe came in or out, and by other tokens. *Seleucus*, who was ready to redeem his ſons life with his own bloud, preſently gave him her to wife, though he had a Child by her; and that the buſineſſe might ſeem to proceed of himſelf, calling his Army together, he declared it to be his pleaſure to make them two *King* and *Queen* of all the upper Countreys, having married them together; and that he thought his ſon, who had hitherto been obedient to him in all other things, would alſo herein be ruled by him; but if his wife ſhould diſtaſte ſo unuſual a thing, he deſired his friends to ſhew and perſwade her, that whatſoever the King ſhould think fit, and the affairs of State required, that ſhe ought to account of as juſt, and fitting. After this he took *Demetrius* her father, and impriſoned him in the *Cherſoneſus* of *Syria*, where he died, after three years as was before ſaid, and within a year after his death fought his laſt (and the laſt of *Alexander*'s Companions) battel with *Lyſimachus*, in which he being Conquerour, and his Enemy ſlain, left *Aſia* wholy to his ſon, having a deſire to go into *Macedonia* (where he had never been ſince he came over with *Alexander*) and end his dayes in his Native Countrey. But as he was journeying towards *Lyſimachia*, he was traiterouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus* whom he had lovingly entertained. A.M. 3722. 23 years after he had taken the title of King, being aged 73. and 42 after the death of *Alexander*. From his Conqueſts he was called *Nicanor* and *Nicator*, and is reported to have had the print of an Anchor on his Thigh, and his poſterity alſo after him, as a note of their Original.

Plutarch in Demetrio. *Valerius Maximus lib. 5. cap. 7.* *Appianus in Syriacis.*

Antiochus the ſon of *Seleucus* falling in love with his Father's wife hath her granted to him.

A. M. 3718. *Ol.* 121. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 461. *Seleuci* 20. *Ptol. Lagi* 31.

Vide Juſtin. lib. 25.

2. *An-*

2. *Antiochus* ſucceeded his father, and was ſirnamed *Soter* from repelling the *Gauls*, which in his time at the invitation of *Mithridates* King of *Bithynia* had ſeized on part of *Aſia*. Having with many battels recovered (though not all) his fathers Kingdom from divers, which now begun ſeverally to pluck the parts of ſo great a body, he ſent over a ſtrong party under the Command of *Patrocles* beyond *Taurus*, who took to himſelf *Hermogenes* for his Lieutenant. He intended amongſt other places to fall upon *Heraclea* a Citie of *Pontus*; but the Inhabitants coming out, and pacifying him, he made a League with them, and thence through *Phrygia* invaded *Bithynia*, where in an ambuſh laid for him he was cut off, though he fought ſtoutly with his whole Army, after which *Zipates* the King built a Citie upon the Hill *Lyperus*, which being called after his own name became famous, and not long after he dying, left his Kingdom to *Nicomedes* his eldeſt ſon. Againſt him *Antiochus* being about to undertake an Expedition, he craved help of thoſe of *Heraclea*, promiſing them to requite them with the like favour in their neceſſity, which they took as an occaſion to fall off again, and break the League made with *Hermogenes*; and partly by force, and partly by purchaſe recovered divers places taken from them, and attempting to do ſo by *Ameſtris*, which one *Eumenes* held, he choſe rather, out of anger, to deliver up the Town to *Ariobarzanes* the ſon of *Mithridates*, than to ſell it to them. Not long after *Antiochus* and *Antigonus Gonatas* being at difference, and preparing for the War on both ſides, *Nicomedes* joyned himſelf with *Antigonus*, againſt whom therefore the other thought firſt to try his ſtrength. *Mithridates* ſtrengthning himſelf, procured 13 Gallies from *Heraclea*, which adding to his own Fleet, he went againſt that of *Antiochus*, but facing one another for ſome time, they departed at length without a fight.

Appian in Syriacis. *Memnon excerpt. cap. 16. &c.*

Succeedeth his father.

A. M. 3723. *Ol.* 124. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 472. *Ptol. Philad.* 3.

His Wars.

3. *Antigonus Gonatas* being reſolved to venture for *Macedonia* (where his father *Demetrius Poliorcetes* once reigned) though he had once already been overthrown by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, who now held that Kingdom, made a League with *Antiochus*. This Prince might be the more willing to imbrace it, by reaſon that the *Gauls* were now come into *Aſia*, brought by *Nicomedes* of *Bithynia* to help him againſt *Zybaas* (or *Zipates*) the younger, who held from him (whether his brother or no is uncertain) the Maritime part of that Countrey. After they had helped him to recover *Bithynia*, they harraſed all the Countreys far and wide, and though they were but 20000. and of them but half fighting men, yet ſtruck they ſuch a Terrour into all Nations on this ſide *Taurus*, as moſt, though they had never ſeen them, ſubmitted unto them. But *Antiochus*, as we have it from *Appian*, repelled them from his Territories, and thence, for ſaving the Countrey harmleſſe, had the name of *Soter* or *Saviour*, having before ſent as aid into *Greece* 500 men againſt their Countrey-men, under the conduct of *Teleſarchus* the *Syrian*. After this having married his daughter *Apame* to *Magas* King of *Cyrene*, and brother to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, he was perſwaded by his ſon-in-law to break the League which his father *Seleucus* had made with *Ptolomy*, and invade *Egypt*; but as he was about to do this, and was gathering forces for it, *Ptolomy* ſent ſeveral parties of Soldiers into all the Countreys over which he reigned, whereof ſome acting the parts of Robbers, and others of Enemies, diverted him from his purpoſe. The laſt ingagement he was in that we read of, was with *Eumenes*, the firſt King of *Pergamus*, near *Sardis*, from whom he received an overthrow.

Antigonus Gonatas maketh a League with him.

He repelleth the *Galls*, and thence hath the name of *Soter*.

Pauſan. in Phocicis.

Idem in Atticis.

Strabo lib. 13.

4. For there was one *Philetærus* an Eunuch born at *Tios* in *Paphlagonia*, and belonging to *Lyſimachus* who made him Keeper of his Treaſure placed at *Pergamus*, which he built very ſtrong upon the Hill. He continued very faithfull to him, till ſuch time as *Arſinoe* cauſed him to murder *Agathocles* his eldeſt ſon, at which he being troubled, and thereupon ſhe accuſing him to her husband, he revolted from him, and ſending to *Seleucus* offered himſelf, and the money to him: then in the troubles betwixt them two ſo cunningly behaved himſelf, as he kept poſſeſſion, and alwayes fawning upon, and obliging the next, and moſt potent Prince, remained Maſter of the place and

The Original of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*.

Strabo ibid. & Pauſan. in Atticis.

Treasure for twenty years; For *Seleucus* being murdered by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, he redeemed the body with a great sum of Gold, and sent the ashes thereof to this *Antiochus Soter* his son. This *Philoterus* had two brothers, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the former of which had a son of his own name, who succeeded his deceased Uncle, and having in his possession the places lying about *Pergamus*, overthrew *Antiochus* (who now it seemeth counted him an incroaching neighbour) as we said before. *Antiochus* also built a Citie in *Syria*, which he called by his wives name *Apamea*, and after that another of the same name called after his mother, who was the daughter of *Artabazus*; herein imitating his father. At length having killed one son, and nominated another his Successor, he died, after he had reigned 19 years, A. M. 3742. the second of the 129 *Olympiad*. *Prolog. in Trogi Pomp. lib. 26.*

Antiochus Theos from whom the *Parthians* revolt,

5. *Antiochus* his son succeeded him, surnamed *Theos* most prophanely by the *Milesians*, because he rid them of *Timarchus* their Tyrant. From him the *Parthians* first revolted, who being (as * *Justin* out of *Trogus* tells us) Exiles out of *Scythia* (in the language of which Countrey *Parthus* signifieth such an one) were very obscure under the Government of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and being Conquered by *Alexander*, when none of his Captains after his death would accept of the Soveraignty over them, fell to the lot of *Satagenor* a stranger, but a friend to the *Macedonians*. They followed first *Eumenes* in the Civil Wars; after his death *Antigonus*, and then submitted themselves to *Seleucus* and his Successors, till now they took occasion to revolt at the instigation of *Arsaces*. His brother *Tiridates, Arguthocles* the Governour of these parts endeavouring filthily to abuse was slain, and then the *Macedonians* were thence expelled. At the same time *Theodotus* the Governour of the 1000 *Bactrian* Cities revolted also, which the people of the East using for a pattern, in like manner fell off from *Antiochus*. He waged many Wars with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, till such time as both being weary they contracted an Alliance, *Ptolomy* giving his daughter *Berenice* to the other, who had two sons already, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, by *Laodice* his former wife. Herein that Prophecie of *Daniel* is taken to be fulfilled, which saith, that *in the end of years they shall joyn themselves together; for the Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement, But*, as it followeth, *she shall not retain the power of the Arm, neither shall he stand nor his Arm*, &c. For, *Philadelphus* dying shortly after, *Antiochus* took again his former wife *Laodice*, who being sensible of the injury, and fearing her husbands inconstancy, poysoned him; after he had reigned 15 years. *Appian in Syriacis.* *Strabo lib. 11.* *Cap. 11. vers. 6.* *Appian in Syriacis.*

And the Eastern Provinces.

Seleucus surnamed *Callinicus* and *Pogon*.

6. *Laodice* his wife kept his death close, till such time as she had secured the Kingdom to *Seleucus* her eldest son, surnamed for his victories (though of none but one we read) *Callinicus*, and from his beard *Pogon*. The next thing she went about was to make away *Berenice*, who understanding that some were sent to kill her, shut up her self in *Daphne*, a Town near *Antioch*, and when she was besieged, news flying about the Cities of *Asia*, they commiserated her condition, and out of respect of her Fathers and Grandfathers Dignity, sent men to her relief. But above all, her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes* being affrighted at her danger, hastened out of his Kingdom with his whole power. Yet ere any relief could come she was taken by treachery (promise of safety being made to her) and quickly slain; at which base and unworthy act the Cities conceiving great indignation, provided a great Fleet, and to revenge her death, gave up themselves to *Ptolomy*, who invading *Syria* slew *Laodice*, seized upon *Calesyria*, with *Selencia*, got into his hands *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and the upper Provinces beyond *Euphrates*, and almost all *Asia*, even as far as *Bactria*. Without doubt he had Conquered all *Seleucus* his Kingdom, had he not been forced by a Domestick Sedition to return, after whose departure *Seleucus* having prepared a great Fleet for the reducing of those Cities which revolted from him, lost it in a great Tempest, at the which they were so far from rejoycing, that pitying him for this shipwrack, they voluntarily returned to obedience. *Idem ibid.* *Justin lib. 27.* A. M. 3759. *Ol. 133. ann. 3.* *V. C. 508.* *Ptol. Euerget. I.*

Ptolomy Euergetes revengeth the death of his sister *Berenice*.

7. Re-

7. Rejoycing that he fared so well by his shipwrack, he now made War upon *Ptolomy*, but being overthrown fled to *Antioch* in great fear, being as desticute as before, though he found not such relief. For, writing to his younger brother *Antiochus*, he craved his help, offering him all *Asia* within the Mountain *Taurus* for a reward, who (though he was but yet fourteen years old) being greedy of reigning imbraced this occasion, and then behaved not himself as an helper or brother, but like a robber, intending to get the whole Kingdom. He shewed incredible boldnesse in invading and snatching, whence he had the Sirname of *Hierax* or *Gosshauck*. *Ptolomy* hearing of his aiding his brother, lest he should have two to deal with at once, made Peace with *Seleucus* for ten years; and then *Antiochus* hiring the *Gauls*, with them made War upon his brother in the other's stead, in which he had the better of it, and they supposing *Seleucus* to be slain in the battel (that cutting off all the Royal race they might be Lords of *Asia*) turned their force against him that hired them; so that *Antiochus* was glad to purchase his freedom with Gold, and enter into society with his Mercenaries. The two brothers being thus at odds, and every one gaping after *Asia*, *Eumenes* of *Bithinia* puts in amongst the rest, and overthrowing the *Gauls*, and after them *Antiochus*, got a great part of it into his possession. Now also *Arsaces* hearing of the distresse of *Seleucus*, perfected the revolt of the *Parthians*; for, invading that Country with a band of robbers, he slew the Governour *Andragorus*, and invaded the Principality, and not long after seizing on the Kingdom of the *Hyrcanians*, so strengthened himself thereby, that after some years he overthrew *Seleucus*, and established his Kingdom. Hence the *Parthians* accounting ever after the day of this Victory as the day of their liberty, constantly observed it, and *Arsaces* being no lesse memorable to them than *Cyrus* to the *Persians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, or *Romulus* to the *Romans*; out of honour to him they called all their Kings by his name. This beginning of *Arsaces* fell out in the first of the 135 *Olympiad*, of the City 510, the second of *Seleucus*, and the third of *Ptolomy Euergetes*. A. M. 3761. *Idem ibid.* *Polybius lib. 4.* *Appian in Syriacis.*

He invadeth *Ptolomy* and thence is cast into great straights.

Antiochus Hierax his brother rebelleth.

Arsaces perfecting his revolt establisheth his Parthian Kingdom.

8. Now understanding that *Eumenes* had got the greatest part of *Asia* into his power, and both the brothers had even lost their Principalities, yet could they not agree, but instead of opposing the forein and common Enemies, fought the destruction of each other, by renewing the War. In the next battel *Antiochus* was overthrown, and flying many dayes, and not knowing how to bestow himself, at length being wearied, he went to *Artamenes* King of *Cappadocia* his Father in Law, by whom at first being received very civilly, he afterwards understood there was a plot laid against him, and fled thence. Whereupon not knowing where to be secure, he betook himself to *Ptolomy*, judging he might rather trust to him than his brother, being (as well he might be) mindful of what he would have done to him, or had deserved of him. *Ptolomy* commanded him to be narrowly looked to, but by the help of a certain whore with whom he had been too familiar, he deceived his Keepers and got away. Yet as he was flying he was slain by thieves. *Seleucus* also almost at the same time, being outed of his Kingdom, and thrown by an horse, ended his life, after he had reigned about twenty years. A. M. 3779, the third of the 138 *Olympiad*, 98 years after the death of *Alexander*. *Idem lib. 27.*

The two brothers renew the War and

Dye.

9. He left two sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, of which the former succeeded according to his birthright, in the seventh year of *Antigonus Doson* King of *Macedonia*, and was Sirnamed *Ceraunus*. *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, who had got so much of *Asia* into his power now being dead of Drunkennesse, *Attalus* his younger brother's son succeeded him, and had got all on this side *Taurus* into his power, which being understood by *Seleucus Ceraunus*, he thought it concernd him to look about him, and with *Achæus* (whose Father *Andromachus* was brother to *Laodice* his wife) passed over *Taurus* with an Army against him: but then was poysoned in *Phrygia* by the treachery of *Apaturius* a *Galatian*, and *Nicanor*, after he had reigned scarce three years. *Achæus* to revenge his death presently slew the conspirators, *Seleucus Ceraunus.* *Polybius lib. 4.* *Appian in Syriacis.*

rators, and then ordering the Army with great wisdom and courage, recovered all on this side the Mountain *Taurus*, which had been lost; insomuch that the People admiring him would have accepted of him as King, if he would have taken this opportunity; but he refused it, and kept the Soveraignty for *Antiochus* brother to *Seleucus*, who afterwards was called the Great. He in his brothers time lived a private life in the upper Provinces, and now was called from *Babylon* by the Army in *Syria*, to take upon him the Government, being about fifteen years old; after which he entrusted *Achæus* with all that Region he had lately recovered, made *Molon* Governour of *Media*, and his brother *Alexander* of the Country of *Persis*.

A. M. 3779. *Ol.* 138. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 528. *Ptolom. Euergetæ* 21.

Antiochus the Great.

10. He fell into great troubles immediately upon his first entrance upon the Kingdom; for *Molon* and his brother considering his youth, and hoping that *Achæus* would joyn with them in their enterprize, especially out of fear and hatred of one *Hermias*, who now ruled all at Court, conspired together to withdraw all the upper Provinces from their allegiance. This *Hermias* a *Carian* by birth, had been left by *Seleucus* to look to his Kingdom when he took his Expedition over *Taurus*, and then being set in so high a place, began to envy the power of all others, grew proud and cruel, his malice above all others being against *Epigenes*, who had been *Seleucus* his General; for that he saw him to be a wise and prudent man, and the Army much at his devotion. A Council being called to consult about the rebellion, *Epigenes* advised that the King should go in person to suppress it; for thereby the rebels would either be terrified and desist, or the Country at his presence would be moved to crosse their designs, and deliver them up; but *Hermias* interrupting him, imputed this to a desire that the King should miscarry, that thereby he might seize upon his estate, and prevailed that two others should be sent against *Molo*, and the King go against *Ptolomy Philopator* (who now thinking himself secure in the youth of *Antiochus*, and *Philip* of *Macedonia*, had given himself up to all luxurie) hoping thereby to have an easie War of it, for that he was of a cowardly disposition, and hoped by exposing the young King to dangers and hazards, to escape the punishment due to him, and maintain that power he already enjoyed. *Antiochus* being very young, was very earnest to get *Calesyria*, and *Hermias* to prick him still forward, framed a letter from *Achæus*, wherein he tells he is desired by *Ptolomy* to take the Diadem and assume the title of King to himself, promising to send him ships, money, and all things necessary for that enterprise.

Polyb. lib. 5.

Falleth immediatly into great troubles by the means of *Hermias*,

11. Having maried first *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Cappadocia*, he prepared for his Expedition, when news came that *Molon* went on with his design, and how the Captains sent against him, out of fear had secured themselves in Garrisons. Hereupon he bent his mind to go himself, but *Hermias* being tenacious of his purpose, again diverted him, telling him, it was fitter for Subjects to fight against such, and Kings against their equals, and so sending one *Ximætas* an *Achæan* against *Molon*, again turned his mind now obnoxious to him for want of years. Then marched they to *Laodicea*, and thence through the Desert to the Valley called *Marsya*, lying between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, where about the Straights he took in divers Towns; but the principal Fort held out and put him to a stand, which made him the more desirous to go now against *Molon*; For *Ximætas*, who was sent against him with full power, growing arrogant and careless, had rashly ventured over the River *Tigris*, and then *Molon* making as if hee fled, came upon him in the night, and cut him off with most of his men, and those that escaped the Sword taking the River, scarce any got to the other side. After this, *Molon* pursuing his Victory took *Seleucia*, all the upper Provinces, the Principality of *Babylon*, those parts lying upon the red Sea, all about *Tigris* as far as *Europus*, and *Mesopotamia* as far as *Dura*; onely the Castle at *Susa* stood out, the Town being taken; *Antiochus* at this report called a Council to consult what was to be done, where *Epigenes* expostulating that his former advise was not followed, moved the same again; but was taken up as before by *Hermias*, with foul language, who desired the King

Who procureth him to march against *Ptolomy*, though *Molon* rebelled.

A. M. 3783. *Ol.* 139. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 532. *Antioch. M.* 2. *Ptol. Philom.* 1.

He is necessitated to go against *Molon*.

King he would not think of leaving *Calesyria*; but all being for going against *Molon*, it was concluded, and he was glad to comply for his own turn.

12. The Army before it stirred mutinied for pay, and then *Hermias* taking advantage at the Kings necessity, offered to lay down money, on condition *Epigenes* might be removed from his presence, which having obtained, he procured the man to be murdered. The Army marched and came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* at the Winter solstice, where staying 40 dayes till the extremity of the cold was over, after 40 dayes it came to *Liba*, *Molon* then lying at hand about *Babylon*. Here a Council of War being called to consult which way was to be taken, that they might not fail of provisions; *Hermias* was for going along by *Tigris*, that it, and two other Rivers, *Lycus* and *Kaprus*, they might have for a defence; but *Zeuxis*, though fearful to speak because of him, shewed the danger of that advice, because it would be a great compasse, and after six dayes travel through a Desert, they should come to place called *The Kings Ditch*, which if the Enemy got before them, they should in no wise be able to passe, and be reduced into great straights for want of Victuals; but on the contrary, if they passed over *Tigris*, there was no doubt but the Inhabitants of the Country called *Apolloniatis* would return to obedience, obeying *Molon* at present onely out of necessity; further, in that plentiful Country they should have plenty of victuals, and (what was most considerable) *Molon* would be hindred from retreating into *Media*, and thereby being straightned, after that the place where he yet remained was emptied of provisions, would be forced to fight, or if he durst not do that, then his Soldiers would revolt to the King. This counsel being taken, all things fell out accordingly; for *Molon* fearing his passage into *Media* might be stopped, little trusting those parts in which he then was, determined to get if he could, to the hilly Country of *Apolloniatis*, but it hapned that the Scouts of both parties met there, and skirmishing for some time, afterwards retreated to their several Bodies, and so gave occasion to a total ingagement the day following.

13. *Molon* considering how dangerous it was to bring his Soldiers out in open face against their King, thought it the best way to chuse out the most strong and valiant, and set upon his Camp in the night. Going about to do this, ten young men went over to the King and told him the design of the rebels, so that *Molon* was glad to return, and put his other Army left behind him into such an Alarm, for that they were ignorant of the enterprise, that much ado he had to quiet them. The King being provided to fight, drew out his men by break of day, and placed them in a batalia; *Molon* could but do it in great disorder and confusion, by reason of that consternation which fell upon his men in the night. In the fight which presently followed, the right wing of his Army stood fast to him, and fought very earnestly, but the left as soon as it came in sight all revolted, which he understanding, now compassed in with Enemies and considering the torments he was likely to undergo if taken alive, killed himself, and so did all his companions in the conspiracy, but his body being found was nailed, for an example, to a crosse in the highest parts of *Media*. After this Victory *Antiochus* setled the affaires of these Countries, dealing more mercifully with his Subjects than was desired by *Hermias*, and then resolved to invade the Territories of the *Barbarians* lying upon his borders, to terrifie them from assisting his rebels for the time to come; which *Hermias* disliked for the danger of the War, his mind still running upon *Calesyria*, but news being brought that a young son was born to the King, he was content he should expose himself to this danger, hoping that in case he should miscary he must be made Guardian and Protector of the infant, but he was ignorant that his just reward hung over his head. For one *Artabuzanes*, his Country being invaded, being unfit for resistance because of old age, made Peace with *Antiochus*, submitting to what soever he demanded, and at the same time *Apollophanes* the Physician to the King, and his great favourite, perceiving *Hermias* not able to bear that high condition to which

Molon and his Army destroyed.

which he was advanced, any longer, being sollicitous for his Masters safety, and much more for his own, so wrought the King (inclinable enough to it before) as being called to walk abroad one morning more early than usual, before his return he was made away.

And *Hermias* put to death.

14. *Antiochus* his mind was now turned towards *Achæus*, who, though at the first he had born himself very modestly, being elevated with successe, and thinking that the King in his expedition against *Artabazanes* might possibly miscarry, or if he did not, yet hoping that he being at so great a distance, he might have opportunity enough to break into *Syria*, and have help to seize upon the Kingdom, marched with his whole Army from *Lydia*, and coming to *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, then set the Diadem upon his head, and first took the Title of King upon him. He continued his march till he drew near to *Lycaonia*; but there the Soldiers mutined, refusing to fight against their natural King, so that seeing this, he strove to perswade them that he had no intention to invade *Syria*, and diverted his course to *Pisidia*, which harasing, and inriching the Army with booty thereby, he returned home again. The King not being ignorant of any of this, first expostulated it with him, and sending him threatning messages, put off the rest for this time, and set himself with all his might to prepare for the War against *Ptolomy*. Consulting then what way to invade *Syria*, he was perswaded first of all to attempt *Seleucia* (held by the *Ptolomies* ever since the invasion of *Euergetes*, to revenge the death of his sister *Berenice*) being the Chief Seat almost of the whole Empire, from whence would arise much trouble being thus in the Enemies hands, and very commodious by its situation for carrying on the War both by Land and Sea. He first then corrupted some of the Officers of the Garrison within, who promised, that if he could but take part of the Suburbs, they would procure the whole Town to be yielded. This being done, the Conspirators came to the Governour, and moved him to yield, as from the necessity of the thing, who being struck at this consternation, as it appeared, of the Soldiers, surrendred presently the Town upon Composition.

Achæus traiterously assumeth the Diadem, and Title of King.

Yet *Antiochus* maketh War upon *Ptolomy* for *Celesyria*,

And getteth into *Seleucia*,

15. Whilest he was employed about this Town, Letters came to him from one *Theodotus*, desiring him with all speed to come into *Syria*, signifying that he would betray it all into his power; for he being an *Ætolian* born, had done the Kings of *Egypt* special service, but was so well requited for it as he was brought into danger of life, and therefore at what time *Antiochus* went against *Molon*, looking upon *Ptolomy* as a despicable Creature, and distrusting his Courtiers, he had seized upon *Ptolomais* and *Tyre*, and sollicited him to come down. Now therefore *Antiochus* putting off the businesse of *Achæus* till another time, marched down to *Marsya*, the same Valley and Straights as before, where hearing *Theodotus* was besieged in *Ptolemais*, he went, and relieved him, and then having that and *Tyre* delivered up unto him, and beating the Enemy out of the Straights, he had then determined to march towards *Pelusium*, but understanding that *Ptolomy*'s Army was come thither, and all opposition possible making for hindering his passage, he went on in taking in the Towns thereabouts, divers whereof presently submitted, and others stood it out. *Ptolomy* himself being given wholy up to sluggishnesse, though thus betrayed, took no order about his affairs; All the burthen of them lay upon *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*, then the greatest Officers of State, who being able men, sent up and down to raise Forces, and make all speedy preparations for the War, though to divert *Antiochus* they sent Ambassadors to him to treat of peace (as desiring onely to go that way to work) and procured Embassies from the *Rhodians*, *Byzantians*, *Ætolians*, and them of *Cyzicus*, to mediate betwixt them, during which they gained time, and deceived the Enemy, carrying all things so close as his Ambassadors could understand nothing of their Provisions. A Truce was granted by *Antiochus* for four moneths, during which time he willed them to send to him to *Seleucia*, giving hopes to make up the difference, but contrary to his intentions: though now he was in a manner constrained to return into his own Kingdom, for that *Achæus* plotted against him, and held intelligence with *Ptolomy*.

A.M. 3786. *Ol.* 140. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 535. *Ant. M.* 5. *Ptol. Philopatris* 4.

With several other places.

Is by the practices of *Achæus* recalled.

16. The

A Treaty betwixt him and the King of *Egypt*.

15. The Commissioners coming to debate the particulars according to their instructions, *Antiochus* laboured to overcome them with his Arguments for the justnesse of his cause, as well as with his Weapons, pleading he had done *Ptolomy* no injury in making that invasion, for that he had but recovered his right, alleging much the Conquests of those parts by *Antigonus Cocles*, and the possession of them by *Seleucus*, and that *Ptolomy* the first waged not War with *Antigonus* for his own particular, but to help *Seleucus* to the Sovereignty of that Province, but above all he pressed the common agreement of all the Kings, made at that time when *Antigonus* was overthrown, wherein by *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, all *Syria* was decreed to *Seleucus*. On the contrary, *Ptolomy*'s Commissioners aggravated the height of the injury offered to him, by the unworthinesse of closing with the treasonable practices of *Theodotus*, and affirmed, that *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus* intended the Dominion of *Syria* to himself, and joyned with *Seleucus* on no other terms, than that indeed all *Asia* should be his, but *Syria* fall to his own share. Such like objections and replies as these were made often to no purpose, but that which put the greatest stop to the Treary, was the comprehending of *Achæus* in the League, which *Ptolomy* stickled hard for, and the other as impatiently heard, crying out of the unworthinesse of the thing, that he should protect, or make any mention of Rebels. Winter being thus spun out with these discourses, and Spring drawing on, *Antiochus* intending to set upon the Enemy both by Land Sea, drew together his Forces, to the taking in of what remained unconquered of *Syria*; and *Nicolaus* on the other part, as the *Egyptian General*, with *Perigenes* the *Admiral*, made all possible provision for resistance.

His Plea for *Celesyria*.

The answer of *Ptolomy*'s Commissioners, and the Treaty ends without effect.

17. *Antiochus* going to *Marathus*, there entered into Confederacy with the *Aradians*; then entring *Syria* through *Theu-prosopos* came to *Berytus*, in his passage taking in *Botris*, and burning *Trieres* and *Calamus*. The Mountain *Libanus* straightning much the passage betwixt it and the Sea, and almost making it impassible, *Nicolaus* with a party also placed himself in the straights, not doubting but to stop *Antiochus* there; but he dividing his Forces, and having his Fleet constantly near him, caused it first to ingage with the *Egyptian*, in which fight both sides came off on equal terms, but *Theodotus* beating back the Enemy upon the Mountain, got over, and then cleared the passage below for the King. He after this came near *Sidon* with his Army, but judging it to no purpose to set upon the Town very strong with men, and full of Provisions, he gave order to *Diognetus* his Admiral to go with the Fleet to *Tyre*, and marched to *Philoteria* situate upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, which he took, together with * *Scythopolis*. Now he conceived great hopes of the perfecting his work, being come into a Countrey plentifull of Provisions, so that placing Garrisons in these two Cities he took in *Atabyrium* by a Stratagem, making as if he fled before the Inhabitants; but having men lying in wait who arose against them, and then the whole Army with such violence, as put them into a great fear, and they yielded up the place. After this, *Kanæus*, one of *Ptolomies* Chiefest of Officers revolted to him. *Hippolochus* the *Thessalian* brought over with him 400 horse, and the *Arabians* moved by his successe joyned themselves to him. Shortly after he took in *Galatis* and *Gadara* beyond expectation, because of the strength thereof; but the Inhabitants terrified at his preparations yielded themselves: then hearing that a great number of Enemies had met at *Rabath-ben Amon*, or *Rabatana*, a Citie in *Arabia*, and thence made incursions into the Territories of his friends, he marched thither, and striving by force in vain to be Master of the place, at length he effected it by stopping the course of water, for want of which it was then surrendred. Then leaving a strong Garrison here, and sending *Hippolochus* and *Kanæus* to Govern the Coasts of *Samaria*, he went to *Ptolemais*, and there took up his Winter quarters.

Hostility thereupon in Spring is renewed, where by *Antiochus* getteth much.

* Called by *Josephus Bethsan* in the Tribe of *Manasses*, through whose grounds *Jordan* flows.

Ptolomy in the Spring following taketh the field.

18. *Ptolomy* to give him a stop, prepared against the Spring a great Army, and then marched from *Alexandria* with 70000 foot, 5000 horse, and 73 Elephants, and came to *Pelusium*. *Antiochus* hearing this, gathered his

Forces together, amounting to 72000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 Elephants. *Ptolomy* proceeding on his journey came to *Gaza*, and thence near to *Raphia* (the first Citie of *Syria*, except *Rhinocerus*, as one cometh from *Egypt*) and *Antiochus* passing by that place shortly after pitched his Tents at first within ten furlongs of the Enemy, and the next day, partly for the commodiousnesse of the ground, and partly to embolden his Soldiers, approached within five furlongs of them. Being so near, several skirmishes fell out amongst those which on both sides issued forth for provisions, and *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, after a most bold adventure taking but two in his Company, for that he had been in *Ptolomy*'s Court, and knew his manner of life, went out in the dusk of the evening, and not being known got into the Kings Tent where he used to give audience, and though he missed of him being in a more obscure place, yet wounded he two which waited there, and killing outright *Andreas* his principal Physician, escaped back in safety to his own Camp; having onely failed of his purpose for want of informing himself when the King was wont to take his rest. For five dayes continued these two Princes in this posture, and then both resolved to try the matter in a set battel.

A pitch't battel.

19. *Ptolomy* first drew out his men, and then presently *Antiochus* ranged his in battel aray against him. Each of the Armies had two wings, wherein the two Kings met each other, guarded with Elephants, betwixt which the fight was begun, after *Antiochus* had caused the charge to be sounded; their manner being first with their Trunks to thrust each other, and strive for the ground, and then after that for the one by force to remove the other's Trunk, and to fall upon him like a Bull, and gore his sides. Few of *Ptolomies* beasts would fight at all, for that being *Africans*, they could neither endure the smell nor noise of those of *India*, so that the ranks being disordered by them, his left Wing was quite broken by the charge of the Enemy, and put to flight. *Echecrates*, who commanded in the right, stayed first for the ingagement of the former, then seeing that his Elephants would not fight, gave order to *Phinidas* Commander of the Mercenary *Greeks* to invade his opposites, and he himself also wheeling about to be out of the danger of the beasts, fell upon the Flanks and Rear of the Enemie's horse; so that both together they made them all being *Arabians* and *Medes* to give ground, and put all the Wing to flight, thus being even with *Antiochus*. Then came the bodies themselves to ingage: *Antiochus* was busie in the pursute of that Wing wherein he fought; but *Ptolomy* coming to his Army much encouraged the Soldiers, and disheartned his adversaries, who being charged by *Andromachus* and *Sosibius*, the *Syrians* for some time maintained their ground, but the rest scarce fighting one stroak shifted for themselves. *Antiochus* being yet unskilfull and young, was still following the chace, (thinking because he had the better of it in his Wing, that therefore his whole Army overcame) till admonished by some one about him, he returned, and seeing things so contrary to his expectation, endeavoured to break in with his Guard, to the place where his Army stood, but finding all his men fled, retired also unto *Raphia*, being perswaded that he had done as became him, however, by reason of the Cowardlinesse of others the work had miscarried. On his part were slain little lesse than 10000 Foot, about 300 Horse, and 4000 taken prisoners; three of his Elephants were slain outright, and two afterwards died of their wounds. *Ptolomy* lost 1500 foot, and 700 horse, 16 Elephants were killed, and the rest taken for the most part.

The manner of the fighting of Elephants.

Antiochus beaten.

A M. 3788. *Ol.* 140. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 537. *Antiochi Magni* 7. *Ptol. Philop.* 6.

20. *Antiochus* had intended after the rallying of his men to have fortified himself without *Raphia*; but most of them being got into the Town, he desired leave to bury his dead, and then returned into his own Kingdom. *Ptolomy* presently received all *Cœlesyria* again into his power, the Inhabitants accommodating themselves to his present condition (as indeed bearing alwaies great reverence to his family) and striving who should first yield themselves. *Antiochus* coming to *Antioch*, presently dispatched *Antipater* his brother's son, and *Theodotus Herviolius* in an Ambassage to him, fearing exceedingly he should be prosecuted with War, distrusting his Subjects because of his adverse fortune, and suspecting *Achæus* might make use of this opportunity against him. But *Ptolomy* thought of nothing lesse than molesting him, being overjoyed that he had above all expectation recovered *Cœlesyria*, and desiring exceedingly to be quiet, out of his sluggish disposition, and other vices familiar to him; wherefore at first receiving the Ambassadors with threatning language, and complaints of the injuries received from their Master, he presently granted a Truce for a year, and then sent *Sosibius* to confirm the League, wanting onely courage and resolution to spoil *Antiochus* of his Kingdom.

Desireth peace and easily obtaineth it.

21. *Antiochus* spent all the Winter in preparations, and in Spring marched over the Mountain *Taurus* against *Achæus*, whom he besieged in the City *Sardis*. Above a year he lay before it, having onely some times light skirmishes with the defendants, till *Lagoras* a *Cretian*, a man of great experience, observing that the strongest Cities are many times taken at such places as are by reason of their strength least looked to, and perceiving a piece of the wall, beyond which they used to throw carion and filth into a pit, to be destitute of any watch, by the sitting of fouls upon it, which came to feed on the carkeises, he took unto him *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, and *Dionysius*, with some Soldiers, and they made a shift to get over and open the gates; the King to divert the Enemy making as if he would give the onset at another place, and so the Town was taken. *Achæus* and *Aribazus* the Governour got into the Castle, and then were straightly besieged again, till such time as *Sosibius* the chief Minister of State in *Ægypt*, pitying the condition of the former, made means for his deliverance, which by the treachery of the instrument wrought his destruction. There was at that time in the *Ægyptian* Court one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, second to no one Captain, as he was reputed, for prudence, extraordinary boldnesse, and Military skill; with him *Sosibius* dealt, having obliged him by his favours, and assured him that nothing could he perform more acceptable to the King his Master, than some way or other to work the deliverance of *Achæus*. He asking some time to consider of it, within two or three dayes took the businesse upon him, which to effect he had as he said a good opportunity, for that *Cambylus* the Commander of the *Cretians* serving under *Antiochus* was not onely known to him, but his kinsman, and had the charge of a Fort behind the Castle, which, because it could not bee fortified with works, was kept by a continual Guard of Soldiers.

He besiegeth *Achæus* in *Sardis*,

For whose safety *Sosibius* plotteth,

Idem excerpt. lib. 7.

Idem excerpt. lib. 8.

22. Being supplied with money largely by *Sosibius*, and loaded with promises, away he sailed for *Rhodes* to *Nicomachus*, and thence for *Ephesus* to *Melancoma*, his acquaintance, and friends of *Achæus*, with whom dealing about his businesse, he sent one *Arianus* to *Cambylus* to let him know that he was sent from *Alexandria* to raise Forces, and that he must needs speak with him, desiring he would appoint time and place for their meeting, without the privity of any. Having obtained this, and bethinking with himself what to do, he gave him a letter concerning which *like Cretians they had a Cretian conference*, as *Polybius* termeth it. For not respecting the safety of the besieged, or their faith given to those that employed them, but agreeing to divide the ten Talents already given in advance by *Sosibius*, they resolved to acquaint *Antiochus* with the matter, and undertake upon promise of money in hand, and a good reward afterwards, to deliver *Achæus* into his power. This being with great earnestnesse promised, *Bolis* prevails with *Nicomachus* and *Melancoma*, wholly ignorant of his treacherous intent, to write letters in cipher to *Achæus*, which he sent by *Arianus*, for whom passage was procured into the Castle by means of *Cambylus*. *Achæus* being earnestly advised by his two friends to trust *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and withal considering the difficulty for him to escape; hoping if he got out to passe presently into *Syria* whilst *Antiochus* was yet at *Sardis*, and then to get all the parts about *Antioch* into his power, yielded to put himself into the hands of *Bolis*, who

was sent presently by *Melancomas* with great entreaties and promises if he could accomplish the business. *Bolis* went to *Cambylus* at night, and staying with him the next day to consult of the business how it should be managed, after he had been with *Antiochus*, and was much incouraged by him, he went up for *Achæus* into the Castle.

23. Receiving *Bolis* with great respect, and after all his sifting of him perceiving nothing disagreeable to seriousness, he much rejoyced; but bethinking himself how weighty a thing it was, and what a hazard he was like to run, he trembled again at the thought of it, and at first resolved to send some before to *Melancomas*; but at length out he went of the Castle, and according to former agreement, *Bolis* coming behind him by a whistle gave a sign to those in ambush, and held him by the clothes till he was taken. Being brought into *Antiochus* his Tent, who sat late at night with a few attendants to see the issue of the project; the King was amazed, and could not forbear weeping to see him, so eminent a man, lye bound before him upon the ground in so sad a condition; but a Council of War being called, after several wayes of punishment proposed, at last it was agreed, that he should have his outward members and limbs cut off, after that his head, and that being sowed into an Asses bladder, his body should be nailed to a crosse, which was executed accordingly. This end had he who was son to *Andromachus* the brother of *Laodice* wife to *Seleucus*, who had maried *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates*, and had held all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*, having recovered it by his own industry and valour; a man he was exceeding wise, and of great experience, yet left (as *Polybius* observeth for us) a double warning to posterity, not to trust any rashly, and not to be puffed up with prosperity, or be secure of any thing incident to mankind, to which we may add another, *viz.* that none presume to rebel against their Soveraigns, for punishment will overtake them. His death being known within, as they all first agreed in making lamentations for him, so shortly after they fell at odds, being divided into two factions, of which the one stuck to his wife, and the other to *Ariobazus* the Governour; so that having suspition of each other, both parties yielded themselves and the place to *Antiochus*.

But he is betraied by the instrument into the hands of justice.

A. M. 3791. *Ol.* 141. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 540. *Ant. Mag.* 10. *Ptol. Philom.* 9.

24. A year or two after, *Antiochus* undertook an Expedition into the *East* to reduce *Media* and *Parthia* which had revolted, and he passing through both, thereupon caused *Arsaces* to withdraw himself into *Hyrcania*, which he considering, and judging that he would not have forsaken this Country if he had been able to have defended it, resolved to follow him, so that with great difficulty he passed over the hills, and entred also into that Region, where we find that he took some Towns; but what further he did against *Arsaces*, or upon what terms he returned, if *Polybius* his history had been kept entire, we might have known. After this he quieted the upper *Asia*, and coming into *Bactria* for a good while endeavoured to drive out thence *Euthydemus* the King thereof, whom he defeated, and behaved himself most stoutly, whence he got great credit for his valour. At length *Euthydemus* complaining that he was injurious in opposing him thus who had not revolted from him, but cut off the posterity of those that had, beseeching him also not to envy him the name of King, especially considering that by this dissention neither of their affaires could be secure, for that a number of the *Scythian Nomades* hovered at the borders, and were like to overrun the Country, *Antiochus*, who being tired with the tediousness of the War, had sought occasion to make a Peace, not unwillingly now heard the overtures of it, especially after that *Euthydemus* sent his son *Demetrius* to him, with whom he was so taken for his person and parts, as thinking him worthy of a Kingdom, he first promised him one of his daughters, and then yielded that his Father should take the title of King. Then the conditions of the league being written down, and sworn to, and taking with him all the *Elephants* that *Euthydemus* had, he marched over *Caucasus*, and renewed the confederacy with *Sophagasenus* the *Indian* King; then taking with him more Elephants (of which he had now 150) and leaving *Androsthenes* of *Cyzicus* to bring the treasure

Polyb. lib. 10. *excerpt. &* *Appian in Syriacis.*

Antiochus maketh an Expedition into the East.

Polybius excerpt. lib. 11.

The fruits of it.

treasure promised him, he came to *Arachosia*, and so through *Drangiana* into *Carmania*, where he was forced to Winter, having received this fruit by this Expedition, that besides the Countries recovered, and the maritime Cities and Dynasties on this side *Taurus* added to his Dominions, he struck such an awe into his Subjects, as kept them more in order, and he was thought to be esteemed as well by the People of *Europe* as those of *Asia*, worthy to govern.

25. Not long after this, *Ptolomy Philopater* dying and leaving a young son behind him but four years old, *Philip* of *Macedonia* and he (as we before hinted) made a wicked League for the outing him of his Kingdom, and dividing it amongst them, wherefore he striking again at *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnicia*, got *Judæa* into his power, which * as *Josephus* telleth us, was tossed betwixt these two Crowns as a ship with the waves. For *Scopas* the *Ætolian* recovered it again out of his hands for young *Epiphanes*, and yet again not long after lost it with *Cœlesyrie*, being overthrown by *Antiochus* (near the fountains or heads of *Jordan*) at the City *Paneas*, with whom the *Jews* then presently joyned, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* standing still out for *Ptolomy*, their City was taken and razed. In the mean time whilst *Scopas* was recovering the Cities of *Syria*, *Antiochus* himself was busie in invading the Kingdom of *Attalus*, who then being employed with the *Romans* in the *Macedonian* War against *Philip*, had left it naked of defence both by Land and Sea, but upon his complaint to the *Roman* Senate they sent to *Antiochus* to tell him, that seeing *Attalus* was employed by them against *Philip* the common Enemy, he would do a thing very acceptable unto them to abstain form his Territories, adding withall, that it was convenient for all the Kings which were the friends and allies of the People of *Rome* to be at peace amongst themselves; with the authority of which message he was so moved, as he drew out his Army again from the borders. But this respect to the *Romans* continued not many years, he entering upon such courses as gave them offence, and proceeding therein at length to an open War.

A. M. 3803. *Ol.* 144. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 552. *Ant. Mag.* 22. *Ptol. Epiph.* 2. * *Antiquit. l.* 12. *c.* 3. *Livius l.* 33.

He joyneth with *Philip* against *Ptolomy*, getteth *Judæa*, and presently loseth it again.

Falling upon *Attalus* his Territories the *Romans* procure him to desist.

A. M. 3807. *Ol.* 145. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 556. *Ant. M.* 26. *Ptol. Epiphanis* 6.

26. For having reduced all *Cœlesyria* into his power, and wintered at *Antioch*, the next Spring sending before his two sons *Ardyes* and *Mithridates* with the Army, and command to stay for him at *Sardis*, he himself followed with the Fleet to attempt the several maritime Towns of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, which were under *Ptolomy*, and also to help *Philip* both at Sea and Land, who now was busie in the War with the *Romans*. Divers places by fair and foul means together he took in; yet *Coracesium* stood out, and whilst he lay before it came Ambassadors from the *Rhodians* to denounce War against him, in case he came within *Nephelis* the Promontory of *Cilicia*, not out of any hatred to him, as they said, but lest joyning with *Philip* he should hinder the *Romans* now active for the liberty of *Greece*. Though he heard this with much disdain, yet thought he it wisdom to give them good words for the present, and please them in this particular, but they, after all danger was over from *Philip* (who this Summer was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*) not tying themselves with him to the former condition, sent aid to the Cities their associates, and preserved several in their liberty. He took at length *Coracesium*, and after it several others, and amongst the rest *Ephesus*, where wintering, he endeavoured to reduce also the Cities of *Asia*, under the obedience they paied to his Ancestors, and thinking it not difficult to be done by any of them, except two, viz. *Smyrna* in *Æolis*, and *Lampsacus* upon the *Hellespont*, he sent Forces to besiege them both.

Idem ibid.

Yet he minisireth occasion for a War with them.

Antiochus the Great and the *Romans* grow jealous one of another.

27. Now the *Romans*, with all others, doubted not but his Army was for *Europe*, after his affaires had succeeded in *Asia*, and they had the more cause to be jealous of him, for that *Hannibal* their old and sworn Enemy had now been with him; therefore in the setting of the *Greek* Cities at liberty (after the overthrow of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*) the Senate had left it to the Commissioners appointed for that work, to deal as they should think fit with *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth*, the keys of the Country, and whether out of a desire of the glory of setting all the *Greeks* at liberty, or

Livius l. 33.

to

to awe and affright him, they decreed, that all such Cities, as well in *Asia* as *Europe*, should be freed. The ten Commissioners sitting now in *Greece* about these affairs; they of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* (whom he had besieged) sent to them for relief, and *Antiochus* himself thinking fit not to anticipate his opportunities, sent thither also his Ambassadors, to whom the Commissioners lay'd open the pleasure of the Senate, and in case he contain not himself and Forces in *Asia*, threaten him with War: and withall promise that some of their number should come to him. Yet he in the beginning of Spring comes over into *Europe*, got a great part of the *Chersonesus* into his power, and then marching to *Lysimachia*, there found the Commissioners, who pressing him to the things formerly mentioned, he demanded by what right the *Romans* questioned with him about *Asia*, seeing he medled with nothing done in *Italy*; and added, that the *Greek* Cities should obtain their liberty, not by their commands, but his bounty. Now it was moved that those of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might be heard; which being obtained, and the Delegates using their liberty of speech, he out of indignation, that he should be forced to plead with them before those Judges, interrupted them, saying, the *Rhodians* (and not the *Romans*) should have the hearing of the cause; and so the Treaty ended without any conclusion or agreement at all.

Appian in Syriacis. *Polybius Excerp. Legat. 9. & Lib. 17.*

28. A rumour was spred abroad, during this Treaty, that *Ptolomy* the King of *Ægypt* was dead, which much affected both parties, yet strove they to hide it from each other: *Lucius Cornelius* one of the ten, who was also ordered to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, demanded a little time to go into *Ægypt*; and *Antiochus* being restlesse, out of an itching desire to get that Country into his hands, sailed with his Fleet back to *Ephesus*; whence sending again his Ambassadors to treat with *T. Flamininus* chief of the Commissioners (on purpose to hold them a little in hand till he could bring about his design) came to *Patara*, where he heard that *Ptolomy* was alive. Now he changed his purpose of invading *Ægypt*; but withall resolved for *Cyprus*, to attempt that Island; but such a tempest fell upon him, that he almost lost his whole Fleet. Not long after, *Hannibal* being driven from home (by the malice of such as incensed the *Romans* against him, whilst he onely endeavoured the Publick good) returned to *Antiochus*, who though before he did but fluctuate in his resolutions for the War, yet was now confirmed by him so in his purpose, that henceforth he thought not so much of it, as of the reward of the Victory. *Hannibal* denied that the *Romans* could be overcome any where but in *Italy*, and desired but 100 Gallies, 16000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, with which he would first go to *Carthage*, hoping to draw his Countrymen to revolt, and though that should not succeed, yet would he seize upon some part of *Italy*. The King closing with his propositions at this time, he went not himself, but sent a certain *Tyrian* to *Carthage*, who under pretence of trading should break the ice; but he being suspected by *Hannibal*'s adversaries, was glad to shift for himself, and notice thereof was presently given to the *Romans*. In the mean time *Antiochus* sent three Ambassadors to *Rome*, who under colour of procuring a right understanding, should feel how the Senate stood affected. They expostulating the matter, that their Master should be forced to quit the Cities of *Asia*, and forsake his antient right in *Thrace*, were referred to the Commissioners in *Greece* for answer; to whom repairing, *Flamininus* and his Collegue, urged that the King should either leave *Europe*, or the *Romans* have power to protect their friends in *Asia*, and make as many more there as they could. The Ambassadors answer, they neither can, nor will conclude any thing to the prejudice of their Master's crown, and so the Peace was not nearer than before.

Livius & Appian ut supra.

Upon a false rumour of *Ptolomie's* death he resolveth to invade *Ægypt*.

Hannibal's advice to invade *Italy*.

Livius lib. 34. Appian ut prius.

29. *Antiochus* his resolution being set therefore for the Warre, that he might prevent any thing that would divert or call him back, he resolved to make alliances with his neighbours. To *Ptolomy* he maried his Daughter *Cleopatra* (giving with her in portion all *Cœlesyria*, which before he had taken

Livius lib. 35. Appian ibid.

Antiochus intending a war seeketh Confederates.

taken from him) to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* another named *Antiochis*; and a third he offered to *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*, but he being acquainted with his design to make War upon the *Romans*, and by this affinity to oblige him to his party, conceiving it also his interest rather to stick to them whom he had some ground to think would prove victorious; he waved his offer. In Spring he set upon the *Pisidæ*, a people inhabiting about *Selga*, being desirous first to bring all *Asia* to his beck, & at the same time came Ambassadors from *Rome* to discover his designs and preparations, and either to take off the edge of *Hannibals* hatred, or at least by their entercourse with him to render him suspected to the King. Visiting *Eumenes* first, as they had it in charge, they were egged on by him to the war. *Sulpitius* one of them falling sick, was forced to stay at *Pergamus*, but *Villius* hearing how *Antiochus* was employed, went to *Ephesus* where *Hannibal* then lay, & according to his instructions often met and discourse with him. Thence he travelled to *Apamea*, where the King met him; but news coming that *Antiochus* his son (whom he had lately sent into *Syria*) was dead, it broke off the Treaty; so that *Villius* loath to be unseasonable returned to *Pergamus*, and the King breaking off the War, to *Ephesus*, where holding secret consultation with one *Minio*, he gave way that the Ambassadors should be called thither. When they had there arrived, they were referred to *Minio*, and both sides arguing for themselves as formerly, came to the same conclusion, and the *Romans* having scarcely obtained that they came for, returned home.

A. M. 3813. *Ol.* 147. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 562. *Antioch. Mag.* 32. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 12.

30. The Ambassadors being departed, *Antiochus* then fell into another serious debate about the War, to which *Hannibal* being now suspected was not called, till acquainting him how, when a Child, his father had made him swear at the Altar never to be a friend to the people of *Rome*, all jealousies were removed. About the same time came *Thoas*, and others from the *Ætolians* (who being fallen out with the *Romans* about plunder, after the overthrow of *Philip* at *Cynoscephalæ*, had ever since greatly grudged, and now stirred up the several Princes against them) offering him the Command of their Forces, and exhorting him to passe over into *Greece*, where things were ripe enough for the War, and not expect the coming down of his Army from the Inland Countreys. They having gotten *Demetrias* (a Town of prime note) into their hands by a wile, in confidence of an opportunity thence arising, he came over with an Army of 10000 foot, 500 horse, and six Elephants, after which going to the general meeting, he was by a publick Decree received as General, and then sending to summon *Chalcis*, had the Gates opened to him, and so easily became Master of all *Eubœa*. In the midst of Winter holding another Council, he thought fit the *Thessalonians* should be, by all means, drawn in to joyn with them; but *Hannibal* pressed above all things that *Philip* and the *Macedonians* might be dealt with; for then as he said, the *Thessalians*, and other *Græcians* (seeing themselves invaded by the *Romans*) would easily return to their accustomed duty: he advised further, that the Forces with all speed should be sent for out of *Asia*; and this onely was observed. *Antiochus* returning to *Chalcis*, fell in Love with an obscure Girle, daughter to *Cleoptolemus* his Host, with whom prevailing at length to marry her, he spent all the remaining of the Winter in feasting and jollity, his Army for Company falling into idleneſſe and all excesse.

Livius & Appian ut prius.

The *Ætolians* stir him up to the War, and he passeth over into *Greece*.

Livius lib. 36.

A. M. 3814. *Ol.* 147. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 563. *Antioch. Mag.* 33. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 13.

Marrieth an obscure Girle at *Chalcis*.

31. Hitherto the *Romans* had rather severally, every man by himself, designed him an Enemy, than made any preparations against him. *Italy* was Decreed this year to both the *Consuls*; onely one of them, if need should require, was to be in readiness to march to any other place, and *Attilius Serranus* one of the *Prætors*; was ordered with his Fleet to go into *Greece*, and attend the affairs of the Confederates; and with him four Commissioners, men picked out, who by their authority might perswade much. Moreover *Marcus Bebius* was commanded to draw down the Legions towards *Tarentum* and *Brundusium*, that thence, if need should be, they might passe over into *Macedonia*. But upon *Antiochus* his crossing the *Hellespont*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*

The preparations of the *Romans* resolved on.

mus sent his brother *Attalus* to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that the *Ætolians* were preparing to joyn with him; whereupon *Bebius* was then ordered, with all his Forces, to passe over into *Epirus*, and hover about *Apollonia*. The next year came over *M. Acilius Glabrio* the *Consul*, with 10000 foot, 2000 horse, and fifteen Elephants; who taking in divers places held by *Antiochus* his Garrisons, marched towards the Bay of *Malea*, took *Thaumacha*, and wasted the Territories of *Hypata*. *Antiochus* something herewith awakened, sent to the *Ætolians* to have all their Forces in readinesse, and then came down with lesse then 10000 foot, and 500 horse; but fewer of the *Ætolians* came together than usual, and his own Army, expected out of *Asia*, loitered, so that wanting it, and forsaken of his Confederates, he fortified himself in the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, and sent the *Ætolians* (whereof there were but 4000) to keep *Heraclea* and *Hypata*. Upon the approach of the *Consul*, bethinking himself of the Mountains, which he knew had been formerly passed by some of *Xerxes* his Army, and fearing the *Romans* should come over upon his back, he procured some *Ætolians* to secure the passages. But *Glabrio* hearing of it, sent *M. Porcius Cato* (then a Colonel in the Army) and *L. Valerius Flaccus* to beat them off, which being done by the former, he got over, and approaching the Enemies Camp, they at the first sight supposed them to be friends; but then again understanding their error, cast away their Arms and fled. But being closely pursued 500 of them onely escaped, though but fifty of the *Romans* were missing.

Glabrio the Consul sent over.

Overthroweth *Antiochus* at the Straights of *Thermopylæ*.

32. *Antiochus* flying to *Chalcis*, passed thence with his new married wife unto *Ephesus*, after whose departure the Gates of *Chalcis* were presently opened to the *Consul*, who having taken in *Phocis* and *Bœotia* in his passage thither, all *Eubœa* presently returned to obedience. Then fell he upon the *Ætolians*, whom (though not long before they had sent to the King for aid, yet) now he forced to yield, and after he had used their Ambassadors something roughly, and threatned to chastize them to purpose; through the intercession of *T. Flamininus*, gave them liberty to send their Ambassadors to *Rome*. *Antiochus* now lay at *Ephesus* altogether secure of the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* told him, he rather wondred they were not there already, than doubted at all of their coming, and procured the Forces to be sent for out of the upper Provinces; and with those ships which were ready the King sayled into the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, fortifying it, and placed stronger Garrisons in *Sestus* and *Abydus*, where the *Romans* were to passe over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*. At this time *Livius Salinator* being sent from *Rome* to succeed *Attilius* in the Government of the Fleet, came with it to *Delus*, which *Antiochus* hearing, hasted from *Thrace* to fight him before the *Rhodes* and *Eumenes* should joyn with him; but they coming in in good time, his Fleet was worsted, and chased as far as *Ephesus*.

Antiochus his acts in *Asia*.

He is defeated at Sea.

33. After this defeat he set himself with all his might to repair his Navy, and left his son *Seleucus* in *Æolis* to look to the Maritime Coasts. *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral coming into the *Hellespont*, took *Sestus*, and had done the same by *Abydus*, had not *Polyxenidas* a Fugitive of *Rhodes*, destroyed by Treachery all the Fleet belonging to that Island; whereupon he raised his siege and departed. *Selencus* fell upon the Territories of *Pergamus*, and then besieged the Citie it self (*Attalus* being unable to grapple with him in the field) with whom also at length *Antiochus* himself joyned, till hearing that the *Roman* and *Rhodian* Fleets were coming to relieve the place; and, worse than this, that *Lucius Scipio* the *Consul* (together with his brother the *African*) was already in his march as far as *Macedonia*, and preparing now to passe the *Hellespont* against him, he sent to *Æmylius Rhegillus* who had succeeded *Livius* in the Fleet, to treat of a peace. He calling *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and the Officers of the *Rhodians* to consult, these were content to Treat, but *Eumenes* being averse to it, and urging that nothing could be concluded of, before the coming of the *Consul*, an answer to that effect was returned to the King, who leaving his son still before *Pergamus*, harrased the Territories of the *Roman* Confederates, and taking divers places, *Livius lib. 37.*

ces, returned to *Sardis*. *Seleucus* was presently beaten off, and forced to raise his siege, by 1000 foot, and 100 horse, sent to relieve the place by the *Achæans*, and *Hannibal* returning with ships from *Syria*, was met by the *Rhodians*, who put him to flight, and caused him to be blocked up in *Pamphilia*.

Hannibal worsted at Sea.

34. *Antiochus* from *Sardis* sent to *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*, to joyn in Confederacy with him against the *Romans*; but he (though he formerly hung in suspense, yet) of late was fully drawn to their party by the Letters of the *Scipio's*, and an Ambassage sent from *Rome* for the same purpose. Failing therefore in this enterprize, he went to *Ephesus* to his Navy, where (concluding that no other way could he hinder the Consul's passing the *Hellespont* than by being strongest at Sea) he resolved to try another battel, and so set upon the Maritime Town near to *Ephesus*, that the *Romans* coming in to succour their friends, *Polyxenidas* his Admiral might have an opportunity to work some notable feat. But he ingaging with 90 Gallies against *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who made up a Fleet together of about 83. being overmatched both in the valour of his men, and the nimblenesse of his Vessels, he lost 42 of his Navy (13 of which, together with the men, were taken) having broken but two of the *Romans*, and by meer chance carryed a *Rhodian* away with him to *Ephesus*. The King now terrified at the message of this third overthrow, madly drew out his Garrison from *Lysimachia* (which might have given a stop to the passage of the Consul) lest it should be cut off; and raising his siege from before *Colophonia*, departed to *Sardis*, whence he sent into *Cappadocia*, to *Ariarathes* his son-in-law, for aid, and all over else where he could bethink himself, he raised forces, neglecting in the mean time his true opportunities. For, the *Scipio's* in the mean while came to *Lysimachia*, where they were received with such plenty of all things, as if Provision had been made for the *Roman* Army, and thence marched through the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace* to the *Hellespont*, where all things being in readinesse through the care of *Eumenes*, they passed over without any disturbance into *Asia*.

A. M. 3815. *Ol.* 147. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 564. *Ant. Mag.* 34. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 14.

And *Polyxenidas* defeated.

Antiochus his imprudence.

Polybius Legat. 23.

35. *Antiochus* being so besotted as to ly still, and suffer the *Consul* quietly to come over, was now exceedingly discouraged, and sent out of hand to him, and his brother, to treat of peace; with order also to deal in private with the *African* about it, whose authority he knew would sway his brother to either side indifferently. The Ambassador being arrived at the *Roman* Camp, deferred the delivering of his message till the *African's* coming, who was yet behind; but after his arrival, and audience given, had these conditions set him: *To pay all the expences of the War, of which* Antiochus *had been the cause, and not onely quit the Cities in* Æolis *and* Ionia, *but all* Asia *on this side the Mountain* Taurus. Being no whit satisfied with the propositions, he made no further overtures to the *Consul*; but, according to his instructions, offered to his brother (in case he would procure a peace on the terms proposed by his Master) the restitution of his son who had been taken prisoner, as much money as he would ask, and more than that, to be partaker of what the Kingdom it self would amount to. The *African* answered, that the discharging of his son would exceedingly oblige him, and as for the rest, had he kept *Lysimachia* in his hands, fortified the passage into the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*; or at least had he opposed them at the *Hellespont*, and then offered these conditions, much might have been done for him. As things now stood, he advised to consider into what estate he had brought himself, by all means to decline the War, and refuse no conditions offered to him. But he thought no harsher terms could be imposed upon one already Conquered, and therefore casting off all thoughts of peace, made what Provision he could possible for a battel.

He sendeth to the Consul about a peace.

Rejecting the terms,

36. The *Consul* being desirous to do something before Winter (which now drew on) resolved, if possible, to fight him, though his brother the *African* falling sick, had departed to *Elea*, to whom *Antiochus* now to comfort

He prepareth for a battel.

him, restored his son without any ransom; which hapning as a Cordial to him in that condition, he advised him in way of requital (being able to do no more at present) that he should not ingage in fight with his brother, before his return to the Camp. Being much moved with his authority, he declined an ingagement to his utmost endeavour, but the *Consul* still dogging him from place to place, and being ready to storm his Camp, for fear of utterly discouraging his men, he was forced to draw them out. (*a*) Some say he had 70000 Foot, and about 12000 Horse (though others (*b*) mention but 70000 in all) with 54 Elephants. The Consul brought into the field but 30000, whereof two, being *Macedonians*, were left to keep the baggage; and sixteen *African* beasts placed in the rear for a reserve, lest (being worsted by the *Indians*) they should break their ranks. The battel was fought near *Magnesia* a Town situate at the Foot of the Hill *Sipylus*. It hapned then that such a mist fell as blinded so the Kings Army, that both the wings thereof could not be seen to one standing still in the same place; and their weapons were also spoiled with the wet. His chariots armed with sithes which he had placed in the front, proved his ruine; for the Horses being gored with arrows (according to the direction of *Eumenes*) brake down all behind them, and so disordered the rancks, that the Auxiliaries fled; which occasion the *Romans* taking, pressed hard upwards, and discomfited the whole left wing. In the right he had better fortune; for he put both Horse and Foot to flight, and drove them to their Camp; but *M. Æmilius Lepidus* who was left there for the security of it, met them, and forced them to face about and to charge the pursuing Enemy, so that he and *Attalus* (the brother of *Eumenes*, who came in in good time with 200 Horse) renewed the battel with such earnestnesse, that now the King (who ere while gave the charge) betook himself to his heels. The *Roman* Cavalrie, in the pursure, did great execution, and the rather, because of the multitude of Chariots, and Camels, which blocked up the way; insomuch as 54000 were slain, and 1400 taken. Of the *Romans* fell but three hundred forty nine.

(*a*) *Livius ut supra.*
(*b*) *Appian in Syriacis.*

Wherein he is overthrown

37. *Antiochus*, with a few about him, fled to *Sardis*, and thence to *Apamea*, making *Zeno* Governour of the former, and *Timon* of *Lydia*; but they were despised by the Soldiers and Townsmen that held the Castle, who gave up the places to the Consul; which was followed as an example by divers Cities of *Asia*. The Consul being once arrived at *Sardis* (with his brother now upon his recovery) the King presently sent and desired safe conduct for some Commissioners to treat of Peace. This being granted, *Zeuxis* who had formerly governed *Lydia*, and *Antipater* the Kings brothers son, shortly after arrived, desiring their Master might know upon what terms to purchase the friendship of the People of *Rome*. *Publius Scipio* the *African*, in the name of the rest, answered, that the *Romans* used not to insult over their conquered Enemies, and therefore nothing should be required of him more than formerly; save onely *to pay 15000 Talents of Eubœa to defray the charges of the War, by certain portions; 400 to Eumenes (together with such Corn as was due to him, by virtue of an agreement made with his Father) to give up Hannibal, Thoas the Ætolian, and other incendiaries, and lastly, to deliver for the performance of these conditions twenty Hostages.* These proposals being accepted of, Ambassadors were out of hand dispatched to *Rome*, to pray the confirmation of the Peace, which accordingly was ratified both by Senate and People; and for that *Eumenes* and the Ambassadors of *Rhodes* differed about some Cities in *Asia*, it was ordered by the *Fathers*, that the People inhabiting on this side *Taurus*, which before obeyed *Antiochus*, should now be subject to *Eumenes*, except *Caria* and *Lydia*, as far as *Maander*; and these should be delivered up to the *Rhodians*. As for the *Greek* Cities, they which were formerly tributaries to *Attalus*, should so remain under *Eumenes* his Successor; but such as had been under the jurisdiction of *Antiochus*, should be left to their own Laws: and ten Commissioners were sent to compose all differences risen betwixt the several Cities and States.

Livius & Appian ut prius. Polyb. Legat. 25.

And hath well nigh the same terms as formerly were set him.

38. *Anti-*

38. *Antiochus*, unwilling to give up *Hannibal*, gave him notice of what was required, that he might shift for himself. The Province of *Asia* being taken from him, he said the Conquerours dealt bountifully with him therein; for now seeing his Kingdom was contained within moderate bounds, he was onely discharged from too great a burthen of Government. Two or three years after, he got another Army together, and having declared his son *Seleucus* his Successor, made a progresse into the upper Provinces; where (either for that he really wanted money to pay the Tribute imposed on him, or took that occasion to pretend poverty) hearing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in *Elymais* to be exceeding rich, he went with his Forces by night and spoiled it of a vaste treasure, making a show as if War had been made upon him by the Inhabitants thereabouts, who getting knowledge of it, came upon him, and without the help of any other, destroyed him and his whole Army. This is the end which, by the consent of Historians, hapned to him; though one there be * that telleth us, how after he was overcome and banished beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, he was slain by his companions, whom he had beaten in a drunken fit. He died when he had reigned 36 years, A. M. 3818. in the second of the 148 *Olympiad*, 185 before the *Æra* of Christ: *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *C. Flaminius* being *Consuls*.

Justin lib. 32. Valerius Maximus. l. 4. c. 1. Justin ibid. Strabo lib. 16. & excerpt. Diodori.

He is slain in *Elymais*.

* *Aurelius Victor de viris illustribus c. 4.*

His son *Seleucus* surnamed *Philopater* succeedeth him.

39. *Seleucus* his son succeeded him (whom he formerly declared his Successor as was said) in the 35 year of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. This *Seleucus* Surnamed *Philopater*, was no stirring man, and might have an excuse for it, being so weakned by that blow his Father received from the *Romans*. Once he got together a considerable force of men, and prepared to passe over *Taurus* to the aid of *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus* (who now waged War with *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*) but bethinking himself that it was not lawful to do it, by virtue of the League which the People of *Rome* had made with his Father, he gave over his enterprize. He reverenced much at first the Temple of *Hierusalem*, allowing out of his own revenues the charges of the publick Sacrifices; but afterwards his bounty was almost turned into rapacity by the means of *Simon* a *Benjamite*. This man being Captain of the Temple, and in contention with *Onias* the *High Priest*, when he could not have the better of him, told *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnicia*, that in the treasury there were great sums of mony, which the Priests having no need of, it might well enough be taken out into the Kings Coffers. *Apollonius* acquainting the King with this, he sent *Heliodorus* his Treasurer to seize upon the money, to whom *Onias* declared that it belonged to widdows and orphans, that the sum of it amounted but to 400 talents of Silver, and 200 of Gold, and that such was the holinesse of the place, that it must not be violated. *Heliodorus* not being perswaded by this, entered the Temple, and was smitten by an Angel dead for the present, but being restored by the prayers of *Onias*, returned to the King, declaring the holinesse of the place, and power of God. *Simon* after this calumniated *Onias*, as if he, who had well deserved of his Nation, had been the cause of this evil, and being backed by *Apollonius*, in his fury proceeded to slaughters, so that *Onias* was forc'd to go to *Seleucus*, and, as some have it, got him banished, though it seems not incredible that the King was dead ere he came to him, being slain by the treachery of *Heliodorus* after he had reigned twelve years.

A. M. 3818. *Ol. 148. ann. 2. V. C. 567. Seleucidarum 126. Ptol. Epiphanis 17. Appian ibid. Excerpt. Diodor. per Valesium. 2 Maccab. 3.*

The treachery of *Simon* a *Benjamite* against his religion and Country.

Seleucus is slain.

40. He left a son behind him named *Demetrius*, whom he sent, being but young, to *Rome*, an Hostage in the room of *Antiochus* his younger brother; for that he was tied by the agreement made with his Father, to change the Hostages at the pleasure of the *Romans*. But when he died *Antiochus* was in his way home come as far as *Athens*. *Eumenes* therefore and *Attalus*, that they might bind him to them, being now a little offended at, and jealous of the *Romans*, drove out *Heliodorus*, who affected the Kingdom, and placed him in possession of it. He was called by the *Syrians Epiphanes* or *Illustrious*, because strangers usurping the Kingdom, he appeared the vindicator of the Dominion of his Ancestors, though others accounted him rather

Appian in Syriacis. Excerpt. Diodor. Siculi per Valesium.

Epimanes or *Mad*, because of his fanatick practices, and by the Angel he was termed *a vile person*. Being possessed of the Kingdom, he would slip privately out, with two other in his company, and wander about the City, keep company and drink with the meanest persons, coming on a sodain upon them with his cup and musick. Laying off his robe he put on a gown, and according to the custome of the *Roman Candidates* (who stood for Offices) took the People be the hand, desiring their voices for the *Ædileship* or *Tribuneship* of the People. Having then obtained the Magistracy by the Suffrages of the People after the *Roman* manner, he sate and gave Judgment out of an ivory chair with such diligence, as the wisest wondered what he meant, some attributing it to simplicity, some to imprudence, and others to madnesse it self.

Antiochus his brother succeedeth him, Sirnamed *Epiphanes*.

A. M. 3829. *Ol.* 151. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 578. *Ptolom. Philometoris* 5.

41. In *Syria* he was not acknowledged at first by those who favoured *Ptolomy*; but afterwards obtained it by a counterfeit clemency, and then having enrered into League with *Eumenes*, setled himself strongly enough. In the beginning of his reign *Jason* the brother of *Onias* the third; the High-priest of the *Jews*, purchased the Priesthood of him for 360 Talents of Silver, and another rent of 80 Talents; and not satisfying himself with wronging his brother, promised 150 more for a licence to set up in *Jerusalem* a place of exercise for the training up of youth after the fashion of the Heathen, whereby an inlet was made, as unto idolatrie, and prophaneness, so unto that bloodshed and cruelty which ensued from the wickedness of this Prince, his instruments and successors. For three years onely kept he this Office, being then served in his own kind. For, sending *Menelaus* the brother of that *Simon* whom we before mentioned, to the King, to carry the money promised, and sollicit his affaires, he circumvented him after the same manner he had done his brother, promising for the Priesthood, over and above what he paied, 300 Talents; so that he had his desire, and *Jason* was forced to flie into the Country of the *Ammonites*. *Antiochus* being seized of *Cœlesyria*, *Ptolomy Philopater*, who pretended it belonged to him, being passed over to his father as his mothers portion, sought to recover it out of his hands, whereupon he marched down to *Ægypt*, which, having overthrown his Enemies in battel betwixt *Pelusium* and the mountain *Casius*, he easily got into his power, pretending friendship to the young King for all this, and a provident care for his affaires. *Menelaus* taking occasion at his absence, took divers Golden Vessels out of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, some of which he gave away, and others he sold to *Tyre*, and other places, for which being accused of Sacrilege by *Onias* the lawful High-priest, he procured him to be murdered. Going on in such mischiefs he was accused to the King; but bribing *Ptolomy* the son of *Dorymenes*, got off, and procured the death of his accusers. At this time *Antiochus* went down the second time with a great power into *Ægypt*, which he recovered again (the King thereof flying before him) and getting the fortified Towns into his hands, there staied, till the sons of the *Jews* procured his return to their destruction.

Hieronym. in Dan. cap. 11. *Appian ibid.*

2 *Maccab.* 4.

Jason the *Jew* having bought the High-Priesthood out of his brother's hands, is served in the same manner by *Menelaus*.

Antiochus seizeth on *Ægypt*.

Again.

a *Maccab.* 5.

42. A false rumour being spread abroad of his death, *Jason* having got 1000 men at his heels, set upon *Jerusalem*, and getting the City into his hands, forced *Menelaus* into the Castle, and then made slaughters, as if he had not been amongst his Countrymen and kindred, but foreiners and Enemies, yet obtained he not the Priesthood, but was forced to betake himself back into the Country of the *Ammonites*, where being accused to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, he fled from place to place like a Vagabond, hated of all men as a forsaker of the Laws, and as the publick Enemy of his Country, and died at length at *Lacedæmon*. *Antiochus* hearing in *Ægypt* that they at *Hierusalem* rejoyced at the report of his death, and suspecting because of these stirs of *Jason*. that *Judæa* was about to rebel, in a great rage departed thence, and came and took the City by force, and giving no quarter for three dayes space, put 80000 to the Sword, and afterwards sold as many. Yet not contenting himself with this, he prophanely entered the Temple, *Menelaus* that Traitor to his Country being his guide, and rifling it of the holy Vessels, killed

Jason rageth at *Jerusalem* against his Countrymen.

Antiochus his cruelty and prophaneness against *Jews* and Temple.

killed swine upon the Altar, and with the broath of the flesh of them sprinkled the place; then taking away with him 1800 Talents, he got him back to *Antioch*, leaving behind him to afflict still the People at *Jerusalem* *Philip* a *Phrygian*, and *Andronicus* in *Samaria*; and besides them *Menelaus* more grievous to, and despighteful against, his fellow Citizens, than the other. Two years also after this, he sent *Apollonius* a cruel man with an Army of 22000, commanding him to kill all that were arrived at ripenesse of age, and sell the women and children for slaves. He coming to *Jerusalem*, kept himself still until the *Sabbath*, and then taking the opportunity of the solemnity of the day, set upon those imployed therein, then running through the City slew a great multitude, plundering it and setting it on fire, pulled down the houses and walls round about, and led away many women and children into captivity, whilst *Antiochus* his Master was busie again in his attempts upon *Ægypt*.

Joseph. Amiq. lib. 13.

43. For *Ptolomy* being stirred up by *Æulains* the *Eunuch* to attempt again the recovery of *Cœlesyria*, to prevent that, he went down into *Ægypt*, where putting him again to flight, he might have destroyed all his men, but riding to and fro himself to forbid it, he thereby procured such love, as he presently got into his hands *Pelusium*, and not long after all *Ægypt*, except *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy* after this sent his Ambassadors to him, with those of the *Achæans*, *Athenians*, and others, to excuse the matter, and lay all the blame upon the *Eunuch*; but getting no good thereby, after he had spent some time carelesly without any further provision for his affaires, he departed to his younger brother to *Alexandria*, whom the Citizens there had made King after his overthrow. The *Alexandrians* at first received him, and made him partaker with his brother, but afterwards for some distaste banished him again, at which *Antiochus* took an opportunity, as thinking it best to accomplish his designs, by pretending to protect and reduce him into his Kingdom; wherefore he engaged at *Pelusium* with *Ptolomy* the younger in a naval fight, and getting the better, on a sodain laid a bridge over the *Nile* and besieged *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* his sister being in this danger, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to crave aid; but he attempting once the walls, and experiencing the strength of the places, having sent his Ambassadors also to *Rome* after the other, raised his siege. About this time came the Ambassadors of the *Rhodians* to him to intercede, whom he put off, saying, that his intent was onely to re-establish the elder *Ptolomy*, which if the *Alexandrians* would admit of, all things with his consent might be composed. Presently after this, leaving at *Memphis* *Ptolomy* the elder, for whose sake he pretended to wage this War, and giving up the rest of *Ægypt* to him, he only left a strong Garrison at *Pelusium*, and so departed into *Syria*, concluding with himself, that keeping this in his power, the key of the Country, he might safely suffer the two brothers to try out the quarrel; for the Conquerour being wearied beforehand, would easily be brought under by him.

Excerpt. Diodori per Val.

He getteth all *Ægypt* into his hands except *Alexandria*.

Justin lib. 34. *Polybius Legat.* 84. *Livius l.* 44, *&* 45.

A. M. 3835. *Ol.* 152. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 584. *Antioch. Epiphan.* 6. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 10.

Retreateth.

44. The Ambassadors of *Ptolomy* obtained their desire, the *Romans* being jealous of the increasing power of *Antiochus*. For, *C. Popillius Lenas*, with two others, were sent with order first to go to *Antiochus*, after that to *Ptolomy*, and to denounce unto them, that except they gave over the War, him that was the hinderer of the Peace they would not account as their friend or allie. Whilst they were on their way, *Ptolomy* the elder bethinking himself what little cause he had to trust *Antiochus*, sent to his brother, and through the mediation of *Cleopatra* was reconciled to him, and reigned with him, the *Alexandrians* being willing to receive him, because their City was much straightened for provisions, by reason of the Warre. *Antiochus* hearing this, contrary to his former pretences, was grievously fretted, and then more eagerly than ever preparing for the War against them both, sent a Fleet against *Cyprus*, where *Ptolomie's* Forces were worsted, and in the beginning of Spring marched down for *Ægypt*. In *Cœlesyria* the Ambassadors of *Philometer* met him, and gave him thanks in their Master's name, for that by his means he had obtained the Kingdom, desiring he would continue

Idem ibid. Polyb. Legat. 89.

He returneth into *Egypt*.

tinue his friend, and protect what he had helped him to, and rather say what he would have done, than by force to attempt it as an Enemy; but he replied, he would neither withdraw his Fleet nor Army, except he had all *Cyprus*, *Pelusium*, and all the ground lying upon that Mouth of the *Nile* given up unto him, and he set a day whereon at furthest he would have an answer to these conditions. *Popillius* and his Companions hearing of his design (*Perseus* of *Macedonia* being now overthrown) made haste to get to him before he reached *Alexandria*, and staying some time at *Rhodes*, they came to him, when he was but four miles off from the Citie, upon the sight of whom he reached out his hand to *Popilius*; but he being a severe man, reached him the Tables, wherein was written the Decree of the Senate, which commanded him to abstain from War, bidding him first to read them. Having perused them, he said he would consider with his friends what was to be done, and then give an answer, but *Popilius* after a certain insolent fashion, made a Circle round about him with his rod, and commanded him to answer before he went out of it; at which the King being amazed, after a little pause, said he would do whatsoever the people of *Rome* commanded; and so within a short time prefixed, grievously unwilling, and sorrowing, but judging it fit for the present to yield to the time, he drew out his Forces from *Egypt* and *Cyprus*.

Livius ibid. Polyb. Legat. 92. Valerius Maximus lib. 6. cap. 4. Appian ut prius.

But is taken off by the *Romans* from further attempts.

45. After this he published an Edict, commanding all throughout his Dominions to observe one and the same religion, and relinquishing their own and former Rites, to conform themselves to the religion of the *Greeks* under pain of death, sending divers Overseers who should compel each people to the observation of his Order. Into *Judæa* he sent an old man of *Athens*, with order to defile the Temple, and name it the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, as that at *Gerizim* the Temple of *Jupiter Hospitalis*; he commanded the sacrifices to be left off, the Sabbath he prohibited, he commanded them to defile the Sanctuary, build up Altars, Groves, and Chapels to Idols, to sacrifice Swine, and other unclean beasts, not to Circumcise their sons, but to forget the Law: Moreover, an order was sent unto the Neighbouring Cities, that they should force the *Jews* to partake of their sacrifices, and kill those which would not come over to their Rites, so that many by fear obeyed, the Temple was pollured by the dalliances of the *Gentiles*, the abomination of desolation, *viz.* the abominable idol of *Jupiter Olympius* was set up therein, the Scriptures burnt, and a Decree published, that with whomsoever they should be found, or whosoever should approve them, should be put death. Many yet were they that stood out, contemned the Kings Edict, and defiled not themselves, so that being inraged he caused divers to be brought before him to force them by Torments, but they stood out couragiously, and enduring the pains sealed the truth with their bloud; amongst whom are very notable the Mother and her seven Sons, from the eldest of them called *Maccabæans*. The rage of this persecution coming to *Modin*, a Town situate near to *Diospolis* found some opposition; for there *Mattathias* a Priest eminent in degree, especially for his five sons, not onely refused to sacrifize, but killed a *Jew* at the Altar that was so doing, and after that the Kings Officer who was sent to compel the people. Then exhorting all that were zealous for their Law to follow him, he fled with his sons into the Mountain.

1 Maccab. 1. & 2 Maccab. 6.

He persecuteth the *Jews* for their religion.

1 Maccab. 2.

Mattathias maketh opposition.

46. Many went out after him, and lived with their Wives, Children, and Cattel, in Dens and Caves, which coming to the knowledge of *Philip* the Governour of *Jerusalem*, the Garrison Soldiers were presently drawn out to pursue them, so that falling on them on the Sabbath, and they not at all resisting for the observance thereof, they cast in fire, and burnt them to the number of 1000 persons. *Mattathias*, and they that were with him hearing this, resolved for the time to come to repulse the Enemy on the Sabbath, and then the *Asidæans*, a sort of religious men joyning with him, with such as dayly fled out of the Countrey, he made up a little Army, and therewith prosecuted the wicked ones, and drove them to fly to the Nations about, pulled

led down the Altars, and Circumcised ~~such Children~~ as they found in the Coasts of *Israel*; then after he had been Captain of this wandring Company the space of a year, he died, leaving his son *Simon* for a Counsellour, and *Judas* sirnamed *Maccabæus* for a Captain to them. This *Mattathias* was the son of *John*, and Grand-son to *Simeon*, sirnamed *Asmonæus*. * *Jacobus Cappellus* thinketh that this *Simeon* was *Simon* the second, son of *Onias* the second, and Grand-son to *Simon* the first, sirnamed *Just*. But *Schinlerus* thinketh this *Simeon* to have been the son of *Hasmonæus*. From the * words of *Josephus* it should seem that *Mattathias* was the Great-grand-son of *Asmonæus*, so called, or *Hasmon*, from whom his posterity were named *Hasmonæans*. * *David* useth the word *Hasmanim* to expresse *Ambassadors*, *Princes*, or *Great-men*. It is also observed that the *Jews* in *Italy* call the *Cardinals Hasmannim* or *Hasmonæans*.

1 Maccab. 3.

* *Ad A. M.* 3832.

* *Matthias*

* Ὑὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου.

* *Psal.* 68. 32.

And *Judas* his son after him.

47. *Judas* being assisted by his brethren, and his fathers followers, fell upon the Enemy, burnt divers of their Towns, and seized upon the Commodious places, coming usually upon them in the night, so as he forced many of them to quit the Land; *Apollonius* the Governour of *Samaria* coming against him, he overthrew, and slew him, and getting his sword ever after used it in the Wars, and after him he overthrew also *Seron*, who governed *Cele-Syria*. *Antiochus* in this mean while lying about *Antioch*, made there Magnificent Games and Shows, imploying the money he had got in *Egypt*, and out of the Temples he had rifled, to that end and purpose, and entertaining his Guests in a vile and servile kind of observance. This being ended, an Ambassador from *Rome* arrived at his Court, sent on purpose to spy out his designs. Whom he received with such courtesie, as over doing in that point, he easily concealed the grudge he had conceived for his stop at *Alexandria*, and the bent of his mind which was sufficiently alienated from the *Romans*. But hearing of the

Polyb. Legat. 101. & 109.

Which inraging *Antiochus*.

successe of *Maccabæus*, and the losse of his Forces, he was exceedlingly inraged, mustered all his Army, to which he gave a years pay, and commanded they should be ready at all occasions.

48. He purposed to march against *Maccabæus*, but seeing his Treasury exhausted by the pay of the Army (for that the *Jews* now being revolted, he thereby lost his 300 Talents of annual Tribute, and much also which he was wont to receive from other places, which being unwilling to quit their own religions as well the other, were in combustions) and fearing he should not have to satisfie for his gifts, wherein he took a pride to exceed all his ancestors, he resolved to make a progresse into *Persia*, and the upper Countreys, to gather the Tributes thereof, and fill his Coffers. But before his departure, making *Lysias* his Kinsman Governour of the Regions betwixt *Euphrates* and *Egypt*, to whose care he also committed his young son, he gave to him half his forces, and this in charge, to blot out the Nation of the *Jews* utterly, and to give their Countrey to strangers to inhabit. *Philip* the Governour of *Jerusalem* seeing to what an height *Maccabæus* was grown, wrote to *Ptolomy* the son of *Dorymenes* the Governour of *Cœlesyria* and *Cilicia*, who presently dispatched *Nicanor* one of his chiefest friends, and the son of *Patroclus* with 20000 men, joyning *Gorgias* to him, a man of great experience; and not long after he himself was sent by *Lysias* with more aid, so that all three together made an Army of 40000 foot and 7000 horse. *Antiochus* at this time was behind hand in his Tribute to the *Romans* 2000 Talents, therefore *Nicanor* resolved to raise this money out of *Jewish* slaves, and sent about for Chapmen for them, promising 90 persons for a Talent; so that 1000 Merchants came together with ready money into his Camp; more forces also from *Syria* and the Countrey of the *Philistins* came in to him.

1 Maccab. 3.

Who intending to go against him, yet changeth his mind and giveth order to *Lysias* to destroy the *Jews*.

2 Maccab. 8.

He sendeth several Captains into *Judæa*.

49. *Judas* having kept a fast at *Morpah* (because the Heathen now held *Jerusalem*, and the Temple was defiled) for his good successe against so great an Army, having himself but 6. or 7000 men, give all the fearfull, those that had built houses, married Wives, or planted Vineyards leave to depart, according to the Law of *Moses*; then marched down to *Emmaus* where the

1 Maccab. 4.

Enemy

Enemy was incamped. That night *Gorgias* thinking to oppresse the *Jews*, at unawares, came to their Tents with a party of 5000 foot and 1000 horse; but *Judas* having notice thereof, turned it to his own advantage, resolving to go and fall upon *Nicanor* in the absence of the other, whom he knew to be the more experienced Captain. *Gorgias* finding the Camp empty, thought the owners had fled for fear of him into the Mountains, and sought for them there, but they being got to *Nicanor* ingaged with him in the morning, and routed his whole Army, laying above 9000 dead upon the place; so that he and his men perceiving presently what was done by the smoke of their Camp now set on fire, fled amain, and the *Jews* coming to plunder the field found great Treasure, of which part being set aside for the infirm, Widows, and Orphans, the rest the Soldiers divided amongst them. After this, *Judas* overthrew *Timotheus* and *Bachides*, both of the Kings party, killing above 20000 men, so that then they recovered many strong holds, at which *Lysias* was exceedingly troubled, things falling out so contrary to his expectations, & the next year invaded *Judea* with an army of 60000 choice foot, and 5000 horse, but being met by *Judas* with 10000 men, he was received with such resolution that with the losse of 5000 he was glad to retreat to *Antioch*, intending greater preparations for his next expedition. *Judas* returning to *Hierusalem* cleansed the Temple, & offered sacrifice upon a new Altar, after the Heathen had held it just three years; then kept they a feast for eight dayes, and ordered it to be observed to posterity, which in the Gospel is called *the Feast* of the *Dedication*.

But they are defeated.

And *Lysias* himself.

2 Maccab. 10.

50. *Antiochus* in the mean while waged War against *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and that with such successe, as cutting off many of his men, he took him prisoner. Afterwards hearing that the Citie *Elymais* in *Persia* was exceeding rich, and therein a Temple (of *Venus*, or *Diana*, both being asserted) wherein were laid up very rich Arms left by *Alexander* the Great, he being greedy of this prey, attempted to rifle them both, but the Inhabitants taking Arms, repelled, and caused him shamefully to retreat. Being come to *Ecbatane*, he there heard of the overthrow of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, and then journeying towards *Babylon*, in the Borders of *Persia*, of the defeat given to that great Army of *Lysias*, the throwing down the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, and the fortification of the Sanctuary, whereupon he fell into a great rage, resolved to revenge himself upon the *Jews* for his shamefull retreat, and commanded his Chariot driver to make speed, saying, he would make *Jerusalem* the common burying place of them when he should come thither. Scarce had he made an end of threatning, when he was suddenly struck with exceeding torment in his bowels, which yet reduced him not to any good constitution of mind, he still breathing fury and revenge against the *Jews*, and crying out to make haste, but the Chariot being driven very fast, he was shaken out of it, and by the fall so sore bruised, that he was constrained to betake himself to his Litter, and then Worms crawled out of his body, the flesh whereof rotted, and fell from him yet alive. None could endure to carry him for the stench thereof, which also offended his Army, wherefore being forced to stay his journey for *Oxbyton*, he stayed at *Taba*, a Town in *Persia*. Before his death he confessed this to have fallen upon him for the injuries offered to the *Jews*, acknowledged the Soveraignty of God, and his own pride, vowed if God would restore him, to grant immunities to his people, to adorn his Temple, to turn *Jew* himself, and to travel through the habitable world to declare his strength and power. And when he perceived his end to draw near, he wrote most kind Letters to the *Jews*, desiring them to stand faithfull to him, and his son after him, then constituting *Philip*, who had been brought up with him, the *Protector* and Guardian of his son, till he should come to age, he died, after he had reigned 12 years, A. M. 3841. after the beginning of *Seleucus* the 149. the first of the 154 *Olympiad*.

Antiochus in the mean time prospereth in the upper Countreys.

And in his return hearing of the miscarriage of *Lysias*, and the rest breathes revenge, but is presently struck with a foul disease.

And dieth.

Appian. in Syriacis.

2 Maccab. 9.

A. M. 3841. *Ol.* 154. *ann.* 1. *Seleucida* 149. *Ptol. Philomet.* 17.

51. *Antiochus* his son, a Child of nine years old succeeded him, surnamed *Eupator* by the *Syrians* for his fathers virtue. Him *Lysias* governed, who had brought him up; so that *Philip* his designed Guardian by his father fled into *Egypt*, and *Ptolomy* the son of *Dorymenes*, for that being convinced how the *Jews*

Appian. in Syriacis. Antiochus Eupator.

2 Maccab. 10.

Jews were wronged, he went about to compose the difference with them, was forced to drink poyson. *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, whom we before said to have been sent Hostage to *Rome*, hearing there of his Uncles death, desired of the Senate that he might be restored to his Fathers Kingdom, so long unjustly detained from him, affirming he esteemed of *Rome* as his own Country, in which he had been brought up; of the sons of Senators as his brethren, and themselves as so many Fathers; but they judging it more for their interest that the Kingdom of *Syria* should be under a child than one of mans estate (such as he was, being now 23 years old) resolved it should be secured to *Antiochus*, and presently ordered three Commissioners to be sent thither to settle the affaires thereof, according to instructions received from themselves, which might now be done easily enough, the King himself being so young, and his Courtiers thinking they were well enough dealt withall, so *Demetrius* was not restored; but especially they gave them in charge to burn all the ships they should find there, not allowed to *Antiochus* by the League, and hough the legs of all the Elephants, and diminish the Kings strength as much as possible. These things being executed, provoked one *Leptines* so far as he slew *Cn. Octavius* the chief Commissioner (and who first brought the Consulship into his family, out of which *Augustus Cæsar* issued) whom *Lysias*, though he was suspected to incense the People against the *Romans*, honourably buried, and dispatched quickly Ambassadors to *Rome* in the King's name to disclaim any consciousnesse to the fact.

Demetrius the sonne of *Seleucus Philopator* and the right heir, desireth of the *Romans* to restore him; but they out of policy refuse it.

Polyb. Legat. 107.

52. *Gorgias* being Governour of the parts about *Judea*, fomented a continual War with the *Jews*, and with him joyned the *Idumeans*, who received all runnagates, and gave them entertainment. Against those therefore, *Judas Maccabæus* marched, took divers places, and put 20000 to the Sword, after which turning upon the *Ammonites*, he overthrew them in divers ingagements, and taking *Jazer* with the Territories thereto belonging, returned again into *Judea*. *Timotheus* the General of the *Ammonites* hereat inraged, and gathering many men out of *Asia*, came as if he would devour *Judea*, but *Judas* with his having humbled themselves, and called upon the name of God, gave him battel, in which 20500 Foot, and 600 of his Horse being slain, he fled to *Gazara*, a strong Garrison, kept by his brother, but that being taken, he was pulled out of a cave where he had hid himself, and slain, together with the other. After this the Nations about *Galaad* and *Galile* afflicting sore the *Jews*, *Maccabæus* divided his Army into three parts, one of which (*viz.* 3000 men), he delivered to his brother *Simon* to relieve them of *Galile*, the second to *Joseph* the son of *Zechariah*, to defend *Judea*, giving it in charge not to fight with any Enemy till his return, with the other he marched himself to the succour of them in *Galaad*. *Simon* fought many battels with the Enemy, and killed many of them, brought his Countrymen into *Judea* with great gladnesse, and *Judas* had the like successe, taking many Towns, and putting many thousands to the Sword; but those that were left at home desiring also upon the report hereof to archieve some military glory, marched to *Jamnia*, whence *Gorgias* issuing out, put them to flight, and following the chase as far as the borders of *Judea*, killed about 2000 of them.

2 Maccab. 10.

Gorgias fomenteth a War with the *Jews*.

1 Maccab. 5.

Judas is victorious.

53. *Lysias* the King's *Protector* and chief Minister of State, was displeased at the report of *Judas*'s successe, and taking 80000 Foot with all the Horse along with him, resolved to make *Jerusalem* an habitation for the *Greeks*, the Temple to pay tribute, and the Priesthood thereof to set to sale every year. He came and besieged *Bethsura* nigh to *Jerusalem*; but *Maccabæus* then meeting with him killed 11000 of his Foot, with 1600 Horse-men, and forced him with the rest (many of them wounded and disarmed) to shift for themselves. Considering this defeat, and that God fought for the *Jews*, he sent to them to treat of Peace, and according to his promise brought the King to yield to such reasonable conditions as were offered by *Maccabæus*; but it was quickly broken by *Timotheus*, and other Captains, that governed the places adjoyning to *Judea*, at which time they of *Joppe* also drawing

2 Maccab. 11. & 12.

Lysias again defeated.

200 *Jews* craftily on shipboard, drowned them in the sea. *Judas* hearing this, went and burned all the Vessels in the Haven at *Joppe*, and understanding that the inhabitants of *Jamnia* had also intended such a thing against his Country-men; he did as much for them; then marching against *Timotheus*, the *Arabian Nomades* set upon him, being 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse, but were so entertained, as yielding themselves, with a promise of giving up their Cattel, and being at his beck for the time to come, they obtained Peace. After this he stormed the City *Caspis* (wherein was such a slaughter made of the Inhabitants, that a Lake thereto adjoyning seemed to be full of blood) and then proceeding 750 furlongs came to the *Jews* called *Tubieni* inhabiting the Land of *Tob* (concerning which mention is made in the Book of *Judges*) whence *Timotheus* was departed, but had left a strong Garrison, which being taken by *Dositheus* and *Sosipater* two of *Judas* his Officers, they put to the sword above 10000 men.

And the Scythian Nomades,

chap. 11.

54. *Timotheus* gathered together from the Nations round about him and the *Arabians* 120000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, wherewith, putting up the women and children into a strong Fort called *Carnion*, he came and pitched his Tents against *Raphon* beyond the brook; but his great multitude was so surprized with fear upon the approaching of *Judas*, that every man shifted for himself, and what by their running upon one anothers swords, and the pursute which *Maccabaeus* followed on with much earnestnesse, 30000 of them were slain, and he himself fell into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Sosipater*, from whom he obtained his liberty, upon promise of dismissing such of their Countrymen as he had taken. *Judas* then proceeding took *Carnion*, wherein 25000 were put to the sword, after which he gathered all the *Jews* out of *Galaad* to bring them into *Judaea*, and for that the City *Ephron*, through which they must needs passe, denied them entrance, they took it by force, and destroying the Inhabitants, went through and came up to *Jerusalem* to the Feast of *Pentecost*. The Feast being ended, he taking 3000 Foot, and 400 Horse along with him, went and fought with *Gorgias*, whom one *Dositheus* of *Bacenor* his Company had once taken, but holding him by the cloak, a certain *Thracian* came and cut off his shoulder, so that the prisoner escaped. After the Victory the *Jews* coming to strip and bury such of their own party as had fallen that day, found under their coats certain things dedicated to the idols of *Jamnia*, so that it appearing that this being forbidden them by the Law was the cause of their death, they betook themselves by Prayer to God, intreating that it might not be charged upon them all. After this *Judas* subdued the *Edomites*, and the *Philistines*, their idols he burnt, and overthrew their altars, and then returning into *Judaea*, for that he found the King's Garrison Soldiers which yet kept the Castle to straighten and infest the *Israelites* about the Sanctuary, with all the People, he besieged them close, but some of them with certain *Jewish* fugitives getting out, went straight to *Antiochus*, and perswaded him with all expedition to come and give a check to the growing power of the *Jews*.

1 *Maccab.* 5. & 2 *Maccab.* 12.

As also Timotheus

And Gorgias.

The Edomites and Philistines subdued.

1 *Maccab.* 6.

55. *Antiochus* gathering together all his friends and Captains, and a great Army (concerning the number of which the two Books of *Maccabees* differ) in a great rage marched thither, intending to deal worse with them than his father had done before him, and to him *Menelaus* joyned himself, hoping by his means to regain the Priesthood. Passing through *Idumaea* he came and sate down before *Bethsura*, where *Judas* by night with a choice party fell upon his Camp, and piercing as far as his own Tent slew 4000 men, and the prime Elephant, with those upon him, and giving an Alarm to the whole Army at break of the day, safely retreated, whereupon the King marched towards him the next day, and coming to an engagement lost 600 men more; but the *Jews* seeing themselves overpowered, retreated. Then returned he to the siege, which *Judas* sore molested, cutting off many of his men, and relieving the besieged with provisions, who being not provided within themselves, because this was the *Sabbatical* year, yielded up the Town upon composition. *Antiochus* having herein placed a Garrison marched up to *Jerusalem*, and there made

Ibid. & 2 *Maccab.* 13.

Antiochus besiegeth *Bethsura*,

Which being taken, he besiegeth *Jerusalem*,

made all provision possible for gaining it, all manner of engines being raised for the casting of fire and stones; which the besieged resisted as well as they might by others of their own, but as for provisions, were in no better condition than they of *Bethsura* had been, which gave opportunity enough to the King; but before he could perfect his work, came news that *Philip*, whom his Father had ordained to be his guardian, being returned out of *Ægypt*, was coming with the Forces which *Epiphanes* had left in *Persia* and *Media* to recover his right usurped by *Lysias*. Hereupon both he and his Captains were presently perswaded by *Lysias* (because their provisions began to fail, the place was strong, and the affaires of the Kingdom required it) to make Peace with the besieged upon such terms as they required.

But is called away by the motions of *Philip*.

56. Going to the Temple he offered sacrifice, and shewed civility and respect towards the place, but a little after considering the strength thereof, caused the wall round about to be demolished, contrary to his oath. Then returning to *Ptolemais*, the Inhabitants being great Enemies to the *Jews*, stickled hard to break the League, but *Lysias* by his defence quieted their minds, and confirmed the Peace. The King hasting thence towards *Antioch*, *Lysias* accused *Menelaus* the High-priest to him, as an incendiary, and he that had been the cause of the War, so that being thrown into a Tower full of ashes, he there miserably ended his life, and in his room was substituted one *Alcimus* of *Aron*'s line, but not of the family of the Priests, through *Lysias* his direction, which *Onias* the son of the last *Onias* the Priest understanding, went into *Ægypt*, where insinuating himself into *Ptolomy Philometor* and *Cleopatra*, he obtained a Temple like that at *Jerusalem* to be built in the Province of *Heliopolis*, and himself to be made Priest thereof. *Antiochus* coming to *Alexandria*, found *Philip* Master thereof, but setting upon it he took it by force, and taking him therein put him to death, and so quickly quieted these stirs, being reserved with his Guardian, though but a little time, for others more dangerous. His Ambassadors now, which *Lysias* had sent about the death of *Octavius*, had been at *Rome*, where labouring to clear him of the fact, they were sent back without answer, whereat *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus* being much startled, began to cast again in his head how to obtain his freedom, and the Kingdom, according to his title, which was so clear and evident.

A. M. 3842. *Ol.* 154. *an.* 2. *Seleucidarum* 150. *Antiochi Eupatoris* 2. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 18. *V. C.* 591. *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 15.

A Temple built to God at *Heliopolis* by the procurement of *Onias*

57. Consulting with *Polybius* the *Achaean* and *Historian*, whether he should not once more move the Senate in the businesse, he advised him not to dash himself twice against the same Rock, but attempt something of himself worthy of a Kingdom, hinting thereby what he would have him to do. But he being ruled by one *Apollonius* his intimate friend, but a young unexperienced man, requested the Fathers again, that at least he might not be constrained to stay there as an Hostage, seeing they had secured the Kingdom of his Cousin *Antiochus*. They yet remained of the same opinion, and resolved as formerly; so that then he consulted how to escape, first with *Diodorus* a cunning man, who was come from *Syria*, and had belonged to him, and then with *Polybius*, who procured *Menethyllus* the *Ægyptian* Ambassador to hire a *Carthaginian* ship just then sailing for *Tyre*; so that *Diodorus* being sent before to feel the People's mind, and seek for advantages, he taking a few friends along with him supped at a friends house, whither, for fear he should stay too long, *Polybius* sent him a secret hint, not to let slip this opportunity; whereupon making as though he was sick, he arose from the table, and came that night to *Ostia* upon the mouth of *Tyber*. *Menethyllus* going before told the Master of the ship, that he had received orders from his Prince to reside still at *Rome*; but that he would send some young men of approved fidelity to him, to acquaint him with the affaires of his negotiation: So *Demetrius* and his followers going on shipboard, away they sailed by break of day. At *Rome* nothing was known of his escape till the fourth day. On the fifth the Senate met about it; yet did not make any provision for the pursuing of him, thinking it to be too late; but a few dayes after, they sent three Commissioners into *Greece*, who viewing the affaires there,

Polybius Legat. 114. 1 *Maccab.* 7. & 2 *Maccab.* 14.

Demetrius the right heir escapeth from *Rome*.

A. M. 3843. *Ol.* 154. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 592. *Seleucidarum* 151. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 19.

there, were commanded thence to passe into *Asia*, and amongst other things have an eye to what he should attempt.

58. Landing in *Lycia*, he thence wrote to the Senate, that he had no intentions to disturb his Cousin *Antiochus*, but onely revenge upon *Lysias* the death of *Octavius*; then getting into his hands *Tripolis*, a Town of *Phœnicia*, as sent by the Senate to possesse the Kingdom, none gain-said him; so that he seized also upon *Sparnea*. Thence, having gotten some forces together, he marched towards *Antioch*, out of which *Antiochus*, with *Lysias* his Governour (for that they thought he was sent by the *Romans*, and therefore feared to oppose him) coming out to meet him in a friendly manner, was presently made away, after he had reigned about two years. *Demetrius* having thus obtained the Kingdom, displaced *Heraclides*, whom *Epiphanes* his Uncle had made Treasurer at *Babylon*, and his brother *Timarchus*, whom he had also placed Governour there; for that he had badly behaved himself in his Office, whence from the *Babylonians* he got the surname of *Soter*, the next after *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus Nicator*, as * *Appian* observeth. The *Roman* Commissioners being now come to *Ariarathes* into *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menocharis* thither to them, to deal with them about his confirmation in the Kingdom; offered also to *Ariarathes* the Widow of *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, and his sister to wife; but he refused her for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. After the return of *Menocharis* and his report, thinking it his main interest to oblige these men, he cast off all other things, and labouring to please them, sent first to them into *Pamphylia*, then to *Rhodes*, offering to do any thing whereby to purchase his being acknowledged King by the *Romans*, and *Tiberius* one of the Commissioners stood him in great stead for the obtaining of this his desire. He shortly after sent *Menocharis*, and others in Ambassage to *Rome*, and with them *Leptines* the murderer of *Octavius* (who offered himself to be sent) and a Crown of Gold in token of his thankfulnesse for his good usage all the time of his being an Hostage. The Senate long deliberating upon the businesse, resolved at length not to receive *Leptines*, lest they should seem to be satisfied for the publick affront; but rather lay the blame upon all *Syria*, and reserve to themselves an occasion of revenge, when, and as often as they should see convenient: as for *Demetrius* himself, they bestowed their friendship upon him, with this condition, if he would give sufficient caution to be thenceforth as much in their power as formerly.

Zonaras ex Dione. Joseph. lib. 12. cap. 16. Justin. lib. 34. Lib. Maccab. ut supra.

Getteth the Kingdom, and killeth Seleucus.

* In Syriacis. Polybius Legat. 120 & 122.

He courteth the Commissioners of Rome that he may be owned as King.

A. M. 3844. Ol. 154. ann. 4. V. C. 593. Seleucid. 152. Demet. Soter. 2. Ptol. Philom. 29.

59. *Alcimus*, who had procured from *Eupator* to be made High-Priest, and now was not received nor owned by the people, because that in the dayes of *Epiphanes* he had defiled himself, came to *Demetrius* with other Apostates, and such like as himself, and accused his Countrey-men, especially the *Hasmonæans* (i.e. *Judas* and his brethren) that they had cut off, and banished his friends; whereupon he sent one *Bachides* a trusty friend with great forces into *Judæa*, confirming the Priesthood to *Alcimus*, whom he sent back with him. All their design, being arrived there, was to get *Judas* into their hands; divers *Scribes* going out to them to sollicit for peace, being confident because the Priest was of the seed of *Aaron*, he most wickedly, and contrary to his Oath given, slew sixty of them in one day; then *Bachides* going from *Hierusalem*, sent about, and caused divers that had fled from him, and many of the people whom being slain he cast into a great pit, and so committing the Countrey to *Alcimus* (to the defence of which he left him some forces) he returned unto his King. After his departure, *Alcimus* striving to confirm himself in the Priesthood, made great havock of the people, to restrain which, *Judas* went throughout the Countrey, and compelled his party to shut themselves up within their holds, and growing stronger, he restrained their invasions, so that *Alcimus* being afraid of him goes once more unto the King, carrying along with him a Crown of Gold, a Palm, and of the boughs which were used solemnly in the Temple; and seeing he could not have any more accesse to the holy Altar, taking a fit opportunity when he was asked of the affairs of his Countrey, accused the *Asidæans*, and especially *Judas*, as seditious, of depriving him of the Priesthood (the honour as he said of his Ancestors)

1 Maccab. 7. 2 Mac. 14.

Bachides sent by him against the Jews.

Leaveth Alcimus the High-Priest with some forces.

Ancestors) and plainly affirmed that as long as *Maccabæus* lived the Kings affairs could not be secure. This being seconded by some ill-willers to the *Jews*, *Demetrius* was inflamed, and sending for *Nicanor* one of his chiefest Princes, and a bitter Enemy to the *Israelites*, made him Captain over *Judæa*, and sent him forth with a Command to slay *Judas*, to scatter them that were with him, and make *Alcimus* High-Priest of the great Temple.

Who accusing Judas, Nicanor is sent against him.

60. When he was come thither, and understood the courage and resolution of *Judas*, his brethren and companions, for the defence of their Countrey, he feared to try the chance of War, and sent to make peace with the people, who having agreed unto the Covenants, the two Captains came together to consult about the League. *Nicanor* was so taken with *Judas* as he continued with him, loved him in his heart, and perswaded him to marry, and beget Children; and so remained constant in his affection to him, till *Alcimus* perceiving it, and understanding the Covenants which were made betwixt them, took a third journey to the King, told him that *Nicanor* had taken strange matters in hand, and appointed *Judas*, a Traitor to the Realm, to be his Successor. *Demetrius* being hereat displeased, by Letters checked him for these things, and commanded him in all haste to send *Maccabæus* bound unto *Antioch*, which grievously troubled him, that he, who had done no hurt, should be thus used, but conceving it necessary for him to comply with the pleasure of the King, he waited for a convenient opportunity to accomplish it. Behaving himself thenceforth more roughly to him, the other suspected something by the great change of his carriage, and therefore gathering a few of his men, withdrew himself from him, but he followed him with a strong power to *Hierusalem*, and drawing him out to talk with him, had prepared some to seize on him; yet he having notice hereof got away, and would see him no more. Seeing his design to be discovered, he went and fought with him near *Capharsalama*, in which he lost about 5000 of his men, and the rest fled into the Citie of *David*. After this he came up to Mount *Sion*, and some of the Priests with the Elders of the people went forth of the sanctuary to salute him peaceably, and shew him the burnt-offering that was offered for the King; but he jeering hereat, demanded *Judas* to be delivered unto him, and they affirming with an Oath that they knew not where he was, he stretching out his hand against the Temple, swore that except *Judas* and his forces were delivered up, he would when he should return in peace, set the sanctuary on fire, demolish the Altar, and build there a stately Temple to *Bacchus*. The Priests hearing this went in, and standing before the Altar, with tears begged of God that he would frustrate the mans intentions, and be avenged upon him and his Host for his blasphemous words.

Nicanor at first much loveth Maccabæus.

Then complained of by Alcimus seeketh his destruction.

His blasphemous threats.

61. Hearing that *Judas* was gone from *Jerusalem* into *Samaria*, he went and pitched his Tents in *Bethhoron*, where new supplies from *Syria* came to him, the Enemy being in *Hadasa* 30 furlongs off, with no more than 3000 men. He would fain have fought on the Sabbath day, which the *Jews*, who were constrained to follow, friendly dehorting him from, with great blasphemy uttered against God, he refused to hear them, demanding if there were a living Lord in heaven, who commanded that seventh day to be kept, and saying, he himself was mighty upon earth to command them to Arm themselves, and to perform the Kings businesse. But coming to the ingagement, he himself was slain first, which when his Army saw, they cast away their Arms and fled, and the *Israelites* following the chace slew 30000. so that not one of the Army was left remaining. Coming to the plunder of the field they cut off *Nicanor*'s head and hands, and carried them to *Jerusalem*, where they were hung up before the Temple, his tongue being cut in pieces, and cast unto the Fouls. Then they decreed, that the 13th day of the 12th moneth *Adar* (as the *Syrians* call it) the day before *Mardocheus* his day, should be observed every year, as the Author of the second book of *Maccabees* tells us, who with this story finisheth his work, being the *Epitome* of the five books of *Jason*, a *Jew* of *Cyrene*. After *Nicanor*'s death, *Judæa* was quiet for some time, and

1 Maccab. 7. & 2. 15.

He is slain in battel.

The end of the second book of Maccabees.

1 Maccab. 8. & 9.

and then *Judas* hearing of the power of the *Romans*, and their compassion of the distressed, and how much *Demetrius* stood in awe of them, sent *Eupolemus* the son of *John*, and *Jason* the son of *Eleazer* on an Ambassage to the Senate, that entring into society with them, the People might be freed from the yoke of *Demetrius* and the *Greeks*. But *Demetrius* hearing of the mischance of *Nicanor* and his Forces, sent *Bachides* and *Alcimus* again into *Judæa* with the greater part of his forces, who coming to *Jerusalem* to seek for *Judas*, marched thence with 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse against him, who had but 3000 men in all. With these few he setting upon *Bachides*, all of them forsook him but 800, with which yet he so charged him, as fighting from morning till night, he put to flight the right wing in which he stood, but they of the left perceiving this, followed him behind as he gave the charge, and compassing him in, slew him, all his men then shifting for themselves. This hapned A. M. 3844. of the *Greeks* or *Seleucidæ* the 152. in the second of *Demetrius Soter*, and after he led the People, from his Fathers death, six years.

Bachides and *Alcimus* sent into *Judæa* against *Judas*.

Maccabæus is slain.

62. A great famine then raging, almost all the Country submitted to *Bachides*, that they might the more commodiously get bread, and he made such wicked persons Governours, as bringing to him the friends of *Judas*, he mocked them, and revenged himself upon them. But such of them as remained, and could do it, assembled themselves together, and chose *Jonathan* (Sirnamed *Apphus*) their Captain in the room of *Judas* his brother, which *Bachides* hearing sought to kill him, but he understanding thereof, fled into the Desert *Thecoa*, having sent his brother *John* (Sirnamed *Gaddis*) with a party to the *Nabathæan Arabs*, to desire they might leave their baggage amongst them. He going down with it, was met in the way by the children of *Iambri* from *Medaba*, who killing him and those with him, seized upon the prey; but no great joy had they of their booty; for *Jonathan* and his brother *Simon* hearing that they were about to make a great mariage, and bring the bride from *Medaba* with great pomp, being the Daughter of one of the noblest Princes of *Canaan*, they went, and hiding themselves under the covert of the Mountain, when the Bridgroom and his friends came forth with Timbrels and instruments of Musick, rose up out of the ambush, slew many of them, and took the spoil; so having revenged the death of their brother, they returned again unto *Jordan*. When *Bachides* heard this, he marched down, and came thither with a great Army upon the Sabbath Day, and *Jonathan* being beset behind and before with the Enemy, and on each side with the River and Marishes, encouraged yet his men to fight, and lifting up his hand struck at *Bachides*. But he declined the blow; then seeing himself too weak for the Enemy he leaped into the River after he had slain 1000 of them, and swom over with his men to the further side. *Bachides* would not adventure to follow, but returning to *Jerusalem*, built up the strong Forts throughout the Land, and placed therein strong Garrisons, that thence making excursions, he might endammage the *Jews*. He fortified the Cities *Bethsura* and *Gazara*, with the Castle at *Jerusalem*, where he placed Soldiers with provisions, and taking the sons of the chief of the Country for Hostages, he secured them in the later.

Jonathan his brother chosen Captain in his room.

1 *Maccab.* 9.

A. M. 3845. *Ol.* 155. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 594. *Seleucid.* 153. *Demetr. Sot.* 3. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 21.

63. The Ambassadors sent by *Maccabæus* to the *Romans* were well received, and entered into a League and society with the *Romans*, which being written in Tables of brasse, contained an ingagement mutually to succour and relieve each other. The Senate also wrote to *Demetrius*, charging him no more to hurt or indammage the *Jews*, being their confederates, under pain of being prosecuted with War both at Land and Sea. Not long after *Alcimus* the High-priest commanded the wall in the Temple, which severed the Court of the People from that of the *Gentiles*, to be pulled down, which had been built by *Zorobabel*, and the Prophets, whose monuments he began to pull down and destroy; but at the same time he was so smitten that he could not open his mouth, being taken with a Palsie, so as he could not speak nor give order concerning his house, and died with great torment. When *Bachides*

1 *Maccab.* 8.

Demetrius is forbidden by the *Romans* to hurt the *Jews*.

1 *Maccab.* 9.

Alcimus his ill end.

chides saw that he was dead, he returned unto the King. Two years then did the Land continue quiet, but at the end thereof, certain wicked persons sent for *Bachides* to return, telling him he might easily apprehend *Jonathan* and all his Company in one night, at which message he arose with great haste, and sent letters privily to his adherents to take them, but they having notice of it, took fifty of these men, which had been the greatest sticklers, and slew them. Then *Jonathan* departing into the Wildernesse, built up the walls of *Bethbasin*, and fortified it, which *Bachides* having notice of went down thither, and closely besieged it; but such was his entertainment from the besieged (who getting out killed his men, and burnt his engines,) that having lain before the place a long time to no purpose, and seeing his journy to be frustrate, he eased his stomach against those that had been the cause of his Expedition, and putting to death many of them, resolved to retreat into his own Country. *Jonathan* having notice of this, sent to him to treat of Peace, and exchange the prisoners, which he gladly accepted of, and made an oath never more to disturb him. Returning then home he never brake it; so that the Warre being removed, *Jonathan* dwelt at *Machmas* (or *Michmash*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, began to govern the People, and destroy the ungodly out of *Israel*.

Bachides sweareth never more to molest the *Jews*.

64. *Ariarathes* (the fifth of that name) King of *Cappadocia*, maried (as we said before) *Antiochis* the daughter of *Antiochus* the Great. She having no children by him at the first, introduced two suppositious boyes, *Ariarathes* and *Orophernes*, he knowing nothing hereof; but a little after growing fruitful, she brought forth two daughters, and a son called *Mithridates*, and then acquainting her husband with what she had formerly done, procured the two Counterfeits to be sent, the one to *Rome*, and the other into *Ionia*, lest they should disturb the true one in his succession, who, being named *Ariarathes*, and brought up in the fashions and customs of the *Greeks*, obtained the Kingdom after his Fathers death. *Orophernes* afterwards resolving to venture for it, came to *Demetrius*, complaining he was injuriously deprived of the Kingdom by his younger brother, and craved his assistance for the recovery of it. He being offended at *Ariarathes* for the refusing the mariage of his sister the widdow of *Perseus*, bargained with *Orophernes* for 1000 Talents, and expelled *Ariarathes* from *Cappadocia*, though he was helped by *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. *Orophernes* having thus invaded the Kingdom, behaved himself not like one who intended to secure it to himself in the love of his People, but raging against them with pillages and slaughters, and corrupting himself with the luxurie of *Ionia* (where he had been brought up) pulled upon him the hatred of all his Subjects, which he perceiving, made onely as an occasion further to prosecute his wicked and unseasonable designs. *Ariarathes* went straight to *Rome* to crave aid; and the Ambassadors both of *Demetrius* and the other, followed to excuse what was done, and recriminate him, which those of *Orophernes* performed so dexterously, that no body being present that could confute their lies, they seemed to gain credit, and *Ariarathes* because he had been the confederate of the *Romans*, was ordered to reign together with his brother. This was all he got at *Rome*; but shortly after *Attalus* the brother and successor of *Eumenes* expelled *Orophernes* and *Demetrius* quite out of *Cappadocia*, and restored him to the entire possession of his Kingdom.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi & Polyb.

Orophernes one of suppositious brood getteth *Cappadocia* by the help of *Demetrius*.

Ariaphernes the true heir restored by *Attalus*.

65. Not long after, *Demetrius* casting in his head how to inlarge his Dominions, offered *Archias*, the Governour of *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy Philometor*, 500 Talents to betray the Iland into his hands; which the man consented to, but being discovered and sentenced, prevented the execution by hanging himself. Being thus frustrated in this design, he thenceforth giving himself up to idleneſſe, having built a Castle fortified with 4 Towers not far from *Antioch*, wherein he passeth away the time without any attendance of State affaires, out of the sight of his Subjects. Hereby he contracted such hatred, that the *Antiochians* revolted from him, and made choice of *Orophernes*, then living in exile at his Court, who so badly requited him for his former

Excerpt. Polybii per Valesium.

mer kindneſſe, as to conſpire with them to rob him of his Kingdom and life. He getting knowledge of this, ſpared his life, leſt he ſhould free *Ariarathes* from the fear of a competitor, and cauſed him to be kept ſecurely at *Seleucia*; but the *Antiochians* not at all terrified from their attempt, went on in their rebellion, to which *Attalus* of *Aſia*, *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Ptolomy* lending their helping hand, they ſuborned a young man of the baſeſt condition (by one (*a*) called *Prompalus*, by others (*b*) *Balus*, and (*c*) *Balles*) giving him the name of *Alexander*, and reporting him to be ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to recover as it were his Fathers Kingdom by force. This youth, together with *Laodice Antiochus* his daughter, did (*d*) *Heraclides* (whom *Demetrius* caſt out, as we ſaid, of the Office of Treaſurer at *Babylon*) cary to *Rome*, where he brought him into the Senate, and cauſed him to deſire that he might be helped in the recovery of the Kingdom, at leaſt that he might not be hindred in his indeavour that way; then he ſeconding him inveighed againſt *Demetrius*, and heaped up the praiſes and merits of *Antiochus* ſo far, as though to all ſober minded men his impudence was diſtaſteful as well as his perſon, yet he ſo bewitched the generality of the Fathers, that a Decree was made, whereby power was given to them to return, and aid ordered them for the recovery of the Kingdom (being the children of their late friend and allie) as they had required.

One *Balas* ſuborned by ſeveral Princes for the ſon of *Epiphanes*,

(*a*) *Juſtin. lib.* 35. (*b*) *Strabo lib.* 16. (*c*) *Joſephus lib.* 13. *c.* 8. (*d*) *Polybius Legat.* 140.

66. *Heraclides* having obtained this act of the Senate, preſently hired Souldiers, and getting many eminent men to joyn with him, went to *Epheſus*, where he made all poſſible preparation for the Way. Not long after *Alexander* got *Ptolemais* a City of *Phœnicia*, being betrayed to him by the Garriſon Soldiers, which *Demetrius* hearing, gathered together his Forces to go and fight with him, but conſidering the uncertainty of the chance of War, ſent away his two ſons *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* unto *Cnidus* to be out of the danger, and be reſerved to revenge his death or deprivation if need ſhould require. He ſent alſo to *Jonathan* the Captain of the *Jews*, to renew Peace with him, giving him power to raiſe forces againſt *Alexander*, and commanding the Hoſtages kept in the Caſtle at *Jeruſalem* to be reſtored to him, which he uſing as a good opportunity, began to build *Jeruſalem* anew, and repair the walls, but *Alexander* having notice of *Demetrius* his meſſage, and the promiſes made by him, ſent to him in like manner, and amongſt many priviſeges and immunities granted to the Nation, appointed him to be the High-prieſt, ſending him Purple and a Crown of Gold. So, in the ſeventh moneth of the 160 year of the *Seleucidæ*, *Jonathan* put on the holy robe, in the ninth after the death of his brother *Judas* (the Prieſthood having been vacant ſeven years from the death of *Alcimus*) being the firſt of the *Haſmonæans* that arrived at this dignity, and of the prieſtly family, but not of the *Pontificial*, to which *Onias* (who now was in *Ægypt*) was next heir. *Demetrius* hearing of the agreement his Enemy had made with the *Jews*, was ſore troubled thereat, and laboured again by incredible promiſes to allure them to his own party; but they having had experience formerly how his affections ſtood towards them, refuſed to entertain his overtures. *Balas* gathering his forces together, not onely thoſe that revolted to him in *Syria*, but his Auxiliaries alſo ſent from *Jonathan*, *Ariarathes*, *Attalus*, and eſpecially from *Ptolomy Philometor*, gave battel to *Demetrius*, whoſe left wing put thoſe to flight which fought againſt it, but the right having the contrary fortune was forced to run, which yet he would not do, though in it, but fighting manfully, light with his Horſe into a bog, where he fought ſtoutly on his feet, till at laſt he was ſlain with many wounds, after he had reigned twelve years. A. M. 3854, the ſecond of the 157 *Olympiad*, of the *Seleucidæ* the 161.

1 *Maccab.* 10.

Contendeth for the Kingdom of *Syria*

Juſtin ut prius. Appian in Syriacis.

A. M. 3850. *Ol.* 156. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 601. *Seleucid.* 160. *Demet. Sot.* 10. *Ptol. Philom.* 28.

And *Demetrius* being ſlain in battel

67. *Alexander Balus* obtained the Kingdom, and ſhortly after his poſſeſſion of it, remembring how much he was beholding to *Ptolomy Philometor* for it, ſent to him for his Daughter to wife, which he willingly aſſenting to, brought her to *Ptolemais*, and maried her to him with royal magnificence. Thither came down *Jonathan* from *Jeruſalem*, bringing preſents for both the Kings,

1 *Maccab.* 10.

Alexander Balas getteth the Kingdom and marieth *Ptolomie's* daughter.

Kings, but was followed by divers naughty perſons to accuſe him; Yet *Alexander* was ſo far from liſtning to any tales, that he cauſed him to be clothed in purple, to ſit near him, and by proclamation commanded all his accuſers to forbear, at which they being diſcouraged, went their wayes. After this *Alexander* giving up himſelf to idleneſſe, & luxurie, and minding nothing elſe, the affaires of the State were wholly managed by one *Ammonius*, who made ſlaughter of all his friends, and amongſt the reſt ſlew *Laodice* the Daughter of *Epiphanes*. Which being heard by *Demetrius* the eldeſt Son of *Demetrius Soter*, he hired Soldiers in *Crete*, and came into *Cilicia*, at which the other being affrighted, haſted to *Antioch* to ſecure his eſtate before his coming, where he made *Hierax*, and *Diodotus* (or *Tryphon*) governours. With *Demetrius* joyned *Apollonius* the Governour of *Cœleſyria*, who being ordered to fight againſt the *Jews*, who ſtill ſtood true to *Alexander*, with great pride provoked *Jonathan* to fight with him, and he accordingly marched from *Jeruſalem* againſt him with 10000 men. In his way he took *Joppe*, which *Apollonius* underſtanding marched to *Aſdod*, and left an Ambuſh in the way to intrap him, but he getting clear of the Ambuſh, put all his forces to flight, whereof many men fled into the Temple of the idol *Dagon*, which he ſet on fire, and what by this means and by the ſword periſhed about 8000 men. This coming to the ears of *Alexander*, he honoured *Jonathan* more than ever: he ſent him a button of Gold, wont to be given to the Kings kinſmen, and gave him *Accaron* a City of the *Philiſtins* with it's Territories as an inheritance.

Joſeph. lib. 13. *cap.* 8. *& Livius lib.* 50. *& Juſtin. l.* 35.

Demetrius the ſon of *Demetrius Soter* maketh for the Kingdom.

A. M. 3857. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 606. *Seleucid.* 165. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 33.

68. *Ptolomy Philometor* with great forces both by Land and Sea, came out of *Ægypt*, under pretence of aiding his ſon in Law, but indeed with an intention to ſeize upon *Syria*, and accordingly all the Cities being commanded to receive him honourably, he placed therein Garriſons of his own. He got into his hands all the maritime Cities as far as *Seleucia* upon *Orontes*, and then being clear out of conceit with *Alexander* (for that he demanding *Ammonius* who had plotted his deſtruction, he would not deliver him up) he ſent and made an agreement with *Demetrius*, promiſing him to take away his daughter from *Balas* and give her to him, together with the recovery of his fathers Kingdom. The *Antiochians* ſlew *Ammonius*, and let *Ptolomie* into their City, who there put two Diadems upon his head; but preſently brought them to receive *Demetrius*, promiſing them that this ſhould make amends for the injury formerly offered his Father, and then the Soldiers revolted alſo. *Alexander* being now in *Cilicia* conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo Sardonicus*, from which he had anſwer, that he ſhould *look to himſelf in that place which had brought forth a double formed ſpectacle*, which ſeemed to point out the City *Abas* in *Arabia*, where a certain woman named *Herais*, being maried to one *Samias* turned to a man; and where he was ſlain not long after. For invading *Syria* with fire and ſword, *Ptolomy* with *Demetrius* his new ſon in Law met and overthrew him at the River *Oenopara*, and then he flying to *Abas*, his head was cut off by *Zabd* the Prince of the place, and ſent to *Ptolomy*, who though he received it with much joy, yet having in the fight received a great hurt in the head, upon the ſearching of the wound he died alſo the third day after. Such end had the ſtrange fortune of this counterfeit *Alexander*, after he had reigned about five years.

1 *Maccab.* 11. *Joſeph. & Juſtin ut ſupra.*

Ptolomy aſſiſteth him in recovering his Fathers Kingdom.

Diod. Sicul. apud Photium.

Alexander ſlain,

A. M. 3858. *Seleucidarum* 166.

And *Ptolomy* dieth of his wounds.

69. *Demetrius* then according to his right obtained his Father's Kingdom, and for that he had ſubdued this counterfeitor of his family had (the next after *Seleucus* the founder of the race) the Syrname of *Nicanor* or *Nicator*. About this time *Jonathan* beſieged the Caſtle at *Jeruſalem*, and did all he could with his Engines to reduce it; but this being by ſome illwillers made known to *Demetrius*, he wrote to him, in anger, to raiſe the ſiege, and appear before him at *Ptolemais*, which he obeyed ſo far as to go to him; and partly by his preſents and otherwayes ſo appeaſed him, as rejecting his accuſers, he confirmed to him the Prieſthood, and upon promiſe of 300 Talants granted him immunity from tribute, with the Principality of three other places. After this, ſeeing his Realm to be quiet on every ſide, *Demetrius*

Appian in Syriacis. 1 *Maccab.* 11. *Excerpt. Diod. Siculi.*

disbanded all his old Soldiers, retaining onely some *Cretians* and other *Islanders*, which so inraged them, being wont by the former Kings to be kept in pay, as an incouragement to them for future service, that they thenceforth became his Enemies, and shewed it upon occasion which he also himself presented them, being wholly ruled by one *Lasthenes*, who had helped him in the recovery of the Kingdom. By this man's advice, thinking himself secure enough of his estate, he cruelly raged against such as had been against him, and plunged himself into bad courses; which (together with the alienation of the minds of the Soldiers) one *Diodotus* an *Apamean*, and one of *Alexander Balas* his Captains, considering, went to *Elmalchuelus* the *Arabian*, with whom *Antiochus* the young son of that *Alexander* by *Cleopatra* was brought up, and acquainting him how things stood, at length obtained to have the boy delivered to him, to be restored to his Father's Kingdom.

The Son of *Balas* set up against *Demetrius* by *Diodotus* or *Tryphon*.

Demetrius seeing his soldiers alienated from him, desired of *Jonathan* a supplie, with great promises of respect and succour. He sent him 3000 men, which stood him in good stead, for he going about to disarm the *Antiochians*, they flatly refused it, and rising, came many thousands to the Court to make an end of him, but these *Jews* so repelled them, as slaying a great number they set the City on fire, whereupon the inhabitants were glad to submit.

A. M. 3860. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 609. *Seleucid.* 168. *Ptol. Physconis.* 2. 1 *Maccab.* 11. *Joseph. l.* 13. *c.* 9.

70. *Diodotus*, or *Tryphon*, took *Antiochus* the young son of *Balas*, brought him out of *Arabia* into *Syria*, and there crowned him, giving him the surname of *Theus*. Hereupon all the disbanded Soldiers came over to him, so that *Tryphon* made open War against *Demetrius*, and overthrowing him in battel forced him to flie to *Seleucia*. Then sent *Antiochus* to *Jonathan* messengers with presents, and great promises, to draw him to his party, which he easily did, because *Demetrius* had falsified his word, and proved very ingrateful towards him, who now therefore gathering his men together, reduced the Country beyond *Iordan* as far as *Damascus*, and overthrew a party which there met him, killing to the number of 3000 men, after which he sent an Ambassage to the *Romans*, to renew the alliance made with them by *Judas*. *Tryphon* having brought his design thus far on, as to break the power of *Demetrius*, and having to that end desired the friendship of *Jonathan*, yet now desired his ruine above all things, as standing in his way for the accomplishment of his intended treason. He resolved to seize upon the Kingdom himself; but fearing *Jonathan* might stand fast to the interest of his young King, and oppose him, came down to *Bethsan* to see if he could apprehend him. Thither came *Jonathan* down with 40000 men to meet him, who entertained him with exceeding great respect, and advised him to dismisse all his Army, and with a few go along with him to *Ptolemais*, which he promised to put into his hands. He consenting to this, sent all his men back but 1000, which taking along with him, upon their entrance into the Town they were all cut off, he himself being kept prisoner. Then *Tryphon* invaded *Judea* with a great Army, which to oppose, *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* was chosen General in his stead by the People; so that he seeing the *Jews* prepared for resistance, feigned as if *Jonathan* was onely detained for 100 Talents of Silver which he was in arrear, which if they were sent, together with his two sons for Hostages, he promised he should be released. *Simon*, though he distrusted him, yet lest it should be said that he neglected any thing for his brothers safety, sent his nephews with the money, which having received, he nevertheless slew *Jonathan*, and then returned into *Syria*.

Appian ut supra.

1 *Maccab.* 12. & 13.

Tryphon intending to set up for himself,

Circumventeth and killeth *Jonathan*.

71. He presently after made away young *Antiochus*, for giving out he was troubled with the stone, under pretence of cutting him for it, he caused the Physicians to kill him. Then after he had gotten the Kingdom, he laboured to confirm himself therein by the approbation of his most powerful Neighbours, sending to *Rome* an Ambassador not empty-handed, but the Senate taking the present (a Golden image of Victory of great value) instead of his name, ingraved that of his young King whom he had murdered. For all this he proceeded with great resolution, coyned money with his own effigies and name, having taken that of *Tryphon* upon him. *Simon* being dis-

1 *Maccab.* 13. *Strabo lib.* 16. *Livius lib.* 55.

Then killeth *Antiochus* his new made King.

Seeketh friends in vain.

disobliged, and accounting his acts to be but as Robberies, sent a Crown of Gold to make his peace again with *Demetrius*, who considering the respect the *Romans* had shewed his Nation, promised to bury all things in Oblivion, and confirmed the immunities formerly granted; so that the yoke of the *Gentiles* now being removed, the people began to date their instruments according to the years of their High-Priests. The year after he had the Castle of *Jerusalem* surrendred to him, the Defendants being almost all consumed with famine, which he cleansing and fortifying anew, together with the Hill of the Temple, dwelt then in *Jerusalem*, and after he had been High-Priest about three years, by a publick instrument of the Priests, Nobles, and the people (after a recapitulation of his merits and services to his Nation, amongst which an Ambassage lately sent to *Rome*, and there well received, was a great inducement) *he was made their Prince and High-Priest perpetually, till God should raise up the true Prophet, and all Ornaments and Prerogatives of Majesty were given to him.* This being made in brasse, was fastened to the Wall that compassed the sanctuary, in an open place, and a Copy thereof was laid up in the Treasury, that *Simon* and his sons might have it.

A.M. 3863. *Ol.* 159. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 612. *Seleucid.* 171. *Ptol. Physconis* 5. *Simonis* 2. 1 *Maccab.* 14.

The *Jews* chuse *Simon* for their Prince.

72. But the Cities all over revolting from *Demetrius*, who, we said, was driven to *Seleucia*, that he might shake off suspition of lasinesse, he resolved to make War upon the *Parthian*, who had extended his Empire from the River *Indus* as far as *Euphrates*, and done no lesse things than *Arsaces* himself. The *Macedonians* and *Greeks* not well bearing the pride of their new Masters, the *Parthians*, sent to him often, with promise to revolt to him if he would but come up. He being tickled at this Message, made haste thither, not fearing but if he once were Master of these Provinces, with ease to drive *Tryphon* out of *Syria*; and being received with great alacrity, and strengthned with the Auxiliaries of the *Persians*, *Bactrians*, and *Elymæans*, he overthrew the *Parthians* in several battels, but at length being circumvented by the cunning of one of their Princes (sent, under colour of treating of peace, to entrap him) having lost his Army, he fell into their hands, and then being carried for a laughing stock up and down the revolted Countreys, was cast into prison. *Arsaces* having so soon recovered all, raged not against the Revolters, but carried it towards his people with humility and respect, and not long after sending *Demetrius* into *Hyrcania*, there maintained him with royal equipage, and not onely so, but gave him his daughter in marriage, with promise also to restore him to his Kingdom. But whilest *Demetrius* lived thus in exile, *Tryphon*'s Soldiers being weary of his conditions revolted to *Cleopatra* his wife, which then lived in *Seleucia* with her Children, and now taking it in great disdain that he had married *Rhodoguna* the *Parthian*'s daughter, sent to his brother *Antiochus* (the second son of *Demetrius Soter*, whose surname he also obtained from the *Jews*) offering him marriage, and the Kingdom. He willingly accepting of the offer, took the name of King upon him, sent into *Judea* to *Simon*, offering him great privileges to joyn with him in Alliance, and returning into *Syria* presently married *Cleopatra*.

Justin lib. 36. *Joseph. ut supra.* 1 *Maccab.* 14. *& 15. Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.*

Demetrius taken by the *Parthian*.

Joseph. lib. 13. *cap.* 12.

His brother *Antiochus* maketh for the Kingdom,

73. All the Army except a few revolted to *Antiochus* surnamed *Sidetes*, or *Hunter*, so that *Tryphon* seeing himself thus forsaken fled to *Dora*, a Maritime Town of *Phœnicia*, whither he was straight pursued & blocked up both by Sea and Land; yet got he out on shipboard, and betook himself to *Orthosias*, another Sea-Town of the same Tract, & afterwards to *Apamea* to his own Countrey-men, where some way or other (for 'tis uncertain how) he was slain. Whilst *Antiochus* lay before *Dora*, *Simon* by virtue of their Alliance sent him out of *Judea* a party of 2000 choice men, with silver and gold, and much furniture for the War; yet he would not receive them, but brake the League, and sending *Athenobius* to him, complained of his holding *Joppe*, *Gazara*, and the Castle at *Jerusalem*, his destroying the borders, and having the Government of divers places of his Kingdom, requiring him either to deliver up the Cities with the Tributes of such places as were without the borders of *Judea*,

1 *Maccab.* 15.

And dispossesseth *Tryphon*.

A. M. 3867. *Ol.* 160. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 616. *Seleucid.* 175. *Ptol. Physconis* 9. *Simonis* 6.

or else to pay 500 Talents for the Cities, and the harm he had done, and for the Tributes of the places other 500, upon pain of being prosecuted with War. To these things *Simon* answered, that he held no Towns belonging to any other, but had recovered his own by right of War; but as for *Joppe* and *Gazara* which had done great harm to his people, he offered to pay him 100 Talents, at which the King was so displeased, that following at that time *Tryphon* to *Orthosias*, he left *Cendebæus* to oversee the Sea-Coasts, with order to build up *Cedron*, whence he might make War upon the *Jews*. He coming to *Iamnia* made inroads upon *Judæa*, and built up that Town according to order, which *John* the son of *Simon* then lying at *Gazara* understanding, gave notice thereof to his father, who now being decrepit, committed the War to him and his brother *Judas*. He taking with him 20000 foot, and a party of horse, marched straight down against *Cendebæus*, and then placing his horse in the midst of the foot, that it might protect, and be protected against the Cavalry of the Enemy, which was exceeding strong, he overthrew him, and putting the whole Army to the rout, some betook themselves into the Fort newly built, and others flying away, he pursued them as far as the Towers of *Azotus*, which having set on fire, and slain 2000 men, he retreated safe into *Judæa*.

Cendebæus sent by *Antiochus* against the *Jews*, is defeated by *John* the son of *Simon*.

74. This successe of *John* sufficiently moved *Antiochus* to punish *Simon*, but it was done to his hand by one who of all others might least have done it. There was one *Ptolomy* the son of *Abubus*, son-in-law to *Simon*, and by him set over the Province of *Jericho*. He entertaining his father-in-law as he went his Circuit about the Countrey, to take care for the Government thereof, slew him treacherously after a feast, together with his two sons *Mattathias* and *Judas*, when he had governed the people 8 years. His design was, being rich, to obtain the Principality of that Countrey where he lived, and therefore he presently certified *Antiochus* of his fear, desiring an Army of him, wherewith he might subdue the Cities of *Judæa*. He also sent certain cut-throats to murder *John*, *Simons* son, wrote to the Collonels of the Army to draw them over to him, and sent others to seize upon *Jerusalem* and the Temple; But *John* having timely notice of his treachery, prevented his death by that of the Messengers, and was made *High-Priest* in the room of his father: and here the Author of the first books of *Maccabees* concludes his work, having therein delivered the history of 40 years. *Antiochus* taking the opportunity of *Simons* death, came into *Judæa*, which wasting round about, he drove up *John* (sirnamed *Hyrcanus*) into *Jerusalem*, to which he laid close siege, his Army being divided into seven parts. The besieged, being exceedingly helped from the strength of the Walls, stood out manfully, so that he raised an hundred Turrets, from which he endeavoured to scale the Walls, and compassed in the Town with a double Trench, that none might escape, but they still defending themselves, sometimes sallied out, and did him harm. *Hyrcanus* seeing a great and useless multitude in the Citie, which consumed the victuals, put out the more infirm out of the Walls, whence being hindred from going any further by the siege, they wandred about the Walls almost famished, till at the *feast of Tabernacles*, out of pity, they were again admitted.

Simon and his two sons murdered by his son-in-law.

Antiochus besiegeth *Jerusalem*.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 16.

75. At this feast of *Tabernacles*, *Hyrcanus* sent out to *Antiochus* to desire a Truce for seven dayes, because of the celebration thereof. He not onely granted this, but sent in also Bulls with gilded horns, golden, and silver Cups, with all sorts of spices, and beasts for sacrifice, and made a feast to the Army, by which the other taking notice of his great humanity (whence he was sirnamed *Pius*, as also, uncertain for what other reason, *Sidetes*) withall, considering that the *Sabbatical* year being now at an end, and the people being hindred from sowing, a famine was likely to insue, he sent out to him, desiring that the *Jews* might be suffered to live according to their own Laws. Many about the King advised him utterly to destroy the Citie, to blot out the very name of the *Jews* from under heaven, at least to dissolve their Laws, and change their course of life, so diverse from, and disagreeable to other Nations: but he being moved by a principle of magnanimity and bounty, rejected this counsel, and approving of the piety of the *Jews*, commanded them to *deliver up their Arms, pull down their Walls, pay Tribute for* Joppe *and other Towns without* Judæa, *and receive a Garrison*, upon which conditions he offered them peace. They yielded to all but the last, because they would not converse with the Gentiles, yet in *Lieu* of it chose to give Hostages (amongst others *Hyrcanus* his own brother) and pay 500 Talents, whereof 300 at present, whereupon the siege was removed, and they were freed from any further incumbrance. *Hyrcanus* opening the sepulcher of *David*, who had been the richest of Kings, took out thence 3000 Talents, wherewith filling his Coffers, he first listed strangers in his Militia, and entertained *Antiochus* and his Army in *Jerusalem* very plentifully.

But departeth upon good terms for the besieged. A. M. 3870. *Ol.* 161. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 619. *Seleucid.* 178. *Ptol. Physconis* 12. *Joh. Hyrcan.* 1.

76. *Antiochus Sidetes* in the eighth year of his reign, three years after his departure from *Jerusalem*, undertook an expedition against *Phraates* the *Parthian*, to fetch back his brother *Demetrius* still kept there in free custody, who had twice attempted an escape, but being retaken still, was sent back to his wife and children; not so much out of any pity or respect of alliance, as because that King having an itching desire of getting *Syria* also into his power, preserved him to use against his brother, as time and opportunity should serve. *Antiochus* with a great (but extraordinarily effeminate) Army marched into *Media*, where many Eastern Princes met him, with all their hearts giving up themselves and Countreys to him, and cursing of the pride of the *Parthians*, whereby he got such strength, as overthrowing the Enemy in three several battels, he reduced him within the bounds of his own Countrey. But what he thus suddenly got, he almost as quickly lost again; for upon the approach of Winter, quartering his Soldiers abroad in the Countrey, the people were so oppressed, what by the exaction of provisions, and their insolence, that they again revolted to the *Parthian*, and upon agreement, at one and the same time, set upon them as they were severally disposed of in their quarters. *Antiochus* hearing this, with that party which lay with him came in to relieve the next to him, and there met with *Phraates* himself, against whom he fought most courageously, till being forsaken of his men he was slain, or else killed himself. *Phraates* had a little before this, to divert him from *Parthia*, sent back his brother *Demetrius* with a Guard of *Parthians* to seize upon *Syria*; but now repenting him of that, sent some to pursue him, and bring him back; but he fearing such a thing, had by his speed prevented it. *Phraates* finding a daughter of his, which her Uncle *Antiochus* had taken along with him in his expedition, fell so in Love with her, as he married her out of hand.

Iustin. lib. 38. *Appian in Syriacis & Livius lib.* 59.

Antiochus Sidetes is slain by the *Parthians*.

A. M. 3877. *Ol.* 163. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 626. *Seleucid.* 185. *Ptol. Physc.* 19. *Hyrcani* 8.

77. *Demetrius* then recovered all the Kingdom of *Syria*, though not long likely to hold it, by reason of that malice he contracted both from Soldiers and People. *Hyrcanus* the *High Priest* and chief Magistrate of the *Jews* taking this occasion, leads down an Army to the Cities of *Syria*, supposing indeed as it was, that he should find them unmanned, took *Medeba* in the sixth moneth, then *Samega* and *Sicima* the Metropolis of the *Samaritans*, and so to no King after *Antiochus Sidetes* were the *Jews* subject, but shook off the yoak of the *Syrian* Kingdom. The *Parthian* King intended to make war upon him, but was hindred by the *Scythians*, whom having sent for to aid him against *Antiochus*, because they came something too late, he denied them their pay, for which they harrassed his borders, and he opposing them with the *Greeks*, whom he had taken before in the War, and cruelly used, was betrayed by them, and so slain with the rest of his Army. *Demetrius* being absent in *Ægypt*, the *Antiochians* first, then other Cities revolted, not enduring his pride as they pretended, which he had increased by his durance in *Parthia*, so that he was forced to return; but they sent to *Ptolomy Physcon*, desiring him to send them some one of the posterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them. He sent them a young man, an *Ægyptian*, the son of one *Protarchus* a Merchant. A fable was invented of his being adopted by *Antiochus Balas*, whereupon his name being *Zabinas* (or *Zabinaus*) he was sir-

Iustin. ibid.

Iosephus Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 17.

Iustin lib. 42.

Idem lib. 39. *Iosephus ut prius.*

Demetrius having recovered the Kingdom, is outed of it by his rebellious Subjects, and *Zabinas* a counterfeit, and is slain at *Tyre*.

firnamed *Alexander*, and the *Syrians* being willing to have any rather than *Demetrius*, readily received him. Being come into *Syria*, it happned that the reliques of *Antiochus Sidetes* were sent at the same time into *Syria*, which being received very solemnly by all the Cities, he also counterfeited a true mourner, and got himself thereby much favour from his new Subjects, not discovering his tears to be feigned. Not long after he fought with *Demetrius* near to *Damascus*, and overthrew him, who then fled to *Cleopatra* his wife to *Ptolomais*; but being excluded by her and his sons, with a few servants he went to *Tyre*, hoping to save himself there by the religion of the Temple, and was slain by the procurement of his wife, or *Zabinas*, after his return from *Parthia*, in the 189 year of the *Seleucidæ*, A. M. 3881, the first of the 164. *Olympiad*.

Appian ut supra & Josephus.

78. *Alexander Zabinas* then a counterfeit succeeded *Demetrius*, by the favour of the People, though he left two sons by *Cleopatra*, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* firnamed *Grypus* from his hooked nose. The former of these taking a Diadem upon him, at the years end his mother slew him with a dart by her own hands, because he did it without permission, fearing perhaps he might revenge his Fathers death, or being caried out with that height of spirit wherewith she ordered (and ruined) all things. *Alexander* entered into a League and alliance with *Hyrcanus* of *Judæa*. Three of his greatest Captains revolted from him, and seized upon *Laodicea*, but he reduced and yet pardoned them, being of a mild and pleasing deportment, whereby he got the affections of all men. But him he alienated from him whom it most concernd him still to oblige, viz. *Ptolomy*, who of late had set him up. He despised *Ptolomy* now, growing insolent, as being able to stand on his own legs, which the other taking in great disdain, that a creature whom he had raised out of the dust should so require him, laboured faster to pull him down than ever he had done for his advancement. He reconciled himself to his sister *Cleopatra*, and for that *Antiochus* whom she had by *Demetrius* was yet alive (unto whom having bestowed the title of King she ruled all her self) he sent him great aid, and his daughter *Tryphæna* for a wife, which the People seeing, began to revolt apace from *Alexander*. At length they ingaged in a battel, in which *Alexander* was overthrown, who then fled to *Antioch*, where wanting money to pay his Soldiers, he took out of the Temple of *Jupiter* an image of Victory of massie Gold, jesting it out, that *Jupiter* had lent him Victory. But a little after attempting to remove secretly and take away *Jupiter*'s image it self of an infinite weight, he was discovered, and forced to run away by the multitude, after which being oppressed with a grievous Tempest, and forsaken by his followers, he was taken by thieves, and by them brought to *Antiochus Grypus*, was killed (though some give other accounts of his death) after he had reigned four years.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.

Justin lib. 42.

Antiochus Grypus son to *Demetrius* defeateth and killeth *Alexander Balas* the usurping counterfeit.

79. His mother was sore grieved at his Victory, thinking her dignity was lessend by it, having an ambitious desire of reigning her self, with which she was so far driven, as to offer him a cup of poyson, as he once came in from exercise, which he having knowledge of beforehand, refused as it were in civility, desired her to do it her self, and then urging her to it, at length producing witnesse of her wicked intent, told her there was no way to clear her self but by drinking that which she had prepared for her son; so that being forced to do it, her wickednesse fell upon her own head. Being thus rid of his unnatural mother, he reigned securely eight years, but then *Antiochus* his half brother, the son of *Antiochus Sidetes* (begot on his mother, and from *Cyzicus* the place where we was brought up under *Craterus* the Eunuch, called *Cyzicenus*) began to be his emulator for the Kingdom, whom he then going about to poyson, provoked him to a more speedy attempt of what he had but before designed. At this time it hapned that *Cleopatra* the sister and wife of *Ptolomy Lathurus*, being divorced from him by the means of that notable woman her mother, came into *Syria*, and maried with this *Cyzicenus*, and for that she would not seem utterly to come without a dowry, brought over to him the Army of *Cyprus*, whereby thinking himself sufficiently

Idem ibid. & Appian ut supra.

Is emulated by *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half brother and cousin german.

ly strengthned against his brother, he joyned battel with him, but was forced to retire unto *Antioch*. *Cleopatra* continuing here was besieged by *Grypus* and taken; and then *Tryphana* his wife and her sister required her to be delivered into her hands, that she might put her to death as her enemy and emulator, and though he refused it utterly, as being against the custom of Warriours to rage against the weaker Sex, especially when allied in blood so near as she was, and protected by the religion of the Temple to which she fled; yet she being more hereat enflamed, as judging his answer to proceed from love rather than pity, sent some Soldiers in, who murdered her imbracing the image of the Goddesse. This was not left long unrevenged, for *Cyzicenus* renewing the War, and giving battel again to his brother, now by the turning of the chance of War overthrew him, and taking *Tryphæna*, with her blood appeased the ghost of his wife, and expelling *Grypus* out of *Syria* seized on the Kingdom.

And expelled out of *Syria*.

80. *Antiochus Grypus* fled to *Aspendium*, whence he got the firname of *Aspendius*; but the next year returning, ordered the matter so with his brother, that the Kingdom being divided, he made him be contented with *Cœlesyria*. Both of them after this gave up themselves to nothing but idleness and luxurie, onely preying upon each other as their opportunities served them, which difference of theirs mightily conduced to the setlement of the affairs of the *Jews*. *Cyzicenus* getting of *Ptolomy Lathurus* 6000 men, went to relieve *Samaria*, which *Hyrcanus* besieged, by wasting his territories, but to no purpose. Afterwards it hapned that *Lathurus* being expelled *Ægypt* by his mother, and she fearing that by the help of *Cyzicenus* he might recover his Kingdom, she sent great supplies to *Grypus*, with *Selenes* for a wife (whom she had taken from her son before his expulsion) to provoke him thereby against his brother, whence succeeded those civil Wars betwixt them, concerning which we have onely the title left unto us in the *Epitome* of the 68 Book of *Livie*, who related the story. *Grypus* died first, being slain by the treachery of one *Heracleon*, after he had lived 45 years, and reigned 26, wherof 15 were in conjunction with his brother. He left five sons, whereof *Seleucus* his eldest and successor made War upon his uncle *Cyzicenus* for the Kingdom, and overthrew him in battel, after which the Horse of *Cyzicenus* ran away with him into his Camp, wherein, when he was about to be taken, he killed himself, after he had reigned eighteen years. *Seleucus* after this, obtained *Antioch*, and the Kingdom, but against him arose *Antiochus* firnamed *Eusebes*, or *Pius*, the son of *Cyzicenus*, who having avoided his snares by the help of a certain Courtizan that extremely loved him, went to *Aradus*, where taking a Diadem, he gathered forces, and in one battel clearly overthrew him. *Seleucus* then fled into *Cilicia*, where being received by the *Mopsuestians* (as they are called) when he began to exact money of them, had fire set to the house wherein he lay, and was burned quick with those about him.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 17, & 18.

The two brothers reign together.

Justin ut prius.

Joseph. ut supra cap. 21.

Great stirs amongst their sons.

Porphyr. apud Eusebium.

81. Two twin brothers of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, caried down forces to *Mopsuestia*, which having taken, in revenge for their brothers death, levelled it with the ground; but *Antiochus Pius* coming presently upon them overthrew them in fight. *Antiochus* taking the River *Orontes* in his flight was drowned. *Philip* escaping caried the title of King, and gathering again considerable forces, strugled hard with *Antiochus* for the whole Realm, till such time as *Ptolomy Lathurus* calling from *Cnidus* his fourth brother *Demetrius*, made himself King at *Damascus*, so that they joyning their forces together, they both opposed *Antiochus*, who though he manfully resisted, yet was put to the worst, and glad at last to flie into *Parthia*; whence yet returning after two years he re-obtained *Syria*. *Philip* being thus deprived of that Kingdom, fell into contest with his other two brothers, *Demetrius Eucærus* and *Antiochus* firnamed *Dionysus* for the Kingdom of *Damascus*, and being driven into *Berœa*, was there besieged by *Demetrius*. *Straton* the Governour of *Berœa* being *Philip*'s friend calls in *Zizus* the *Arabian* Captain, and *Mithridates Sinax*, who coming with a great power overthrew *Demetrius*,

Idem ibid.

Josephus ibid.

Appian in Syriacis.

Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 13. cap. 22, & 23.

Demetrius, raiſed his ſiege, and taking him priſoner ſent him into *Parthia*, where he was honourably treated till his death, and *Philip* marching to *Antioch* again, as it's ſaid, obtained the Kingdom of *Syria*, or (as is moſt probable) part of it. *Antiochus Dionyſus* the younger brother getting *Damaſcus* into his hands, made War againſt the *Arabians*, and was ſlain in a battel with their King *Aretas*, who then was choſen King by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, and thereby obtained the Kingdom of *Cœleſyria*. The hiſtories which onely give us hints of theſe things are ſo confounded, as no certain thing concerning the ends of *Antiochus Pius* or *Philip* can be aſſigned; yet this we find, that the *Syrians* taking occaſion at theſe diſſentions and Wars of the *Seleucidæ* amongſt themſelves, began to think of forein aides; and caſt their minds upon forein Kings. At length they all agreed to make choice of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who being called in, held *Syria* for the ſpace of 18 years, and by his dealing with them, made them know they had had no reaſon to rebel againſt their natural and rightful Princes. *Juſtin lib. 40.*

Tigranes getteth *Syria.*

82. *Antiochus Pius* being outed thus by *Tigranes* of all *Syria*, from *Euphrates* to the Sea, and alſo of part of *Cilicia*, lay hid in another corner of it, which neither the *Armenian* nor *Roman* as yet touched; and his wife *Selene* with her two ſons reigned (as it's termed) in *Phœnicia*, with ſome part of the lower *Syria*, till being beſieged in *Seleucia* a City of *Meſopotamia*, or *Ptolomais*, ſhe was therein taken by *Tigranes* and killed, for that ſhe endeavoured to recover *Syria*, as juſtly ſhe might, out of his hands. For fourteen years *Tigranes* governed the Country by one *Magadates*, till ſuch time as ſiding with his Father in Law *Mithridates* the Great of *Pontus*, againſt the *Romans*, and overthrown by them, he was forced to recall him with his Army. *Antiochus* the ſon of *Antiochus Pius*, ſirnamed *Aſiaticus*, taking this opportunity, inſinuated himſelf into the Principality, the *Syrians* being not unwilling, out of reſpect to the dignity of his family; and *Lucullus* the *Roman* General (whoſe work it was to drive *Tigranes* out of his new acquired poſſeſſions) envying him not the inheritance of his Anceſtors. Four years he kept it, till ſuch time as *Pompey* the Great having finiſhed the War againſt *Tigranes*, reduced it into the form of a *Roman* Province, though he challenged it as his inheritance; But it being eaſie to deal with him as he liſted, who was utterly unarmed, he put it off, by affirming it to be unreaſonable, that after the *Romans* had been at all the coſt and pains to conquer *Tigranes*, the reward ſhould fall unto another, and with ſaying that he would not leave it to him, leſt he being unable to protect it, it ſhould bee rendered obnoxious to the depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabians*. Thus *Antiochus* having never ill deſerved of the *Romans*, was commanded to content himſelf within *Comagena*, whence his poſterity never ſtirred, and the Kingdom of *Syria* fell. A. M. 3942, the ſecond of the 179 *Olympiad*, ſixty one years before the *Æra* of Chriſt, in the 250 of the *Seleucidæ*, the 270 after the battel at *Iſſus*, after which it fell under the power of *Alexander* the Great, *M. Tullus Cicero*, and *C. Antonius Nepos* being *Conſuls*.

Appian in Syriacis & Mithridaticis. Juſtin lib. 40. Joſeph. lib. 13. cap. ult.

Appian in Syriacis.

Antiochus Aſiaticus recovering it.

Appian in Mithridaticis & Juſtin ibid.

Is untimely ſpoiled of it by *Pompey.*

A. M. 3942. *Ol. 179. an. 2. V. C. 691. Seleucid. 250.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The *Ægyptian* Kingdom.

From the death of Ptolomy *the ſon of* Lagus, *to the death of* Cleopatra, *and the reducing of* Ægypt *into the form of a* Roman *Province, containing the ſpace of* 254 *years.*

Ptolomy the ſon of *Lagus* had ſeveral ſons by *Eurydice* his wife, the daughter of *Antipater*, and by *Berenice*, which woman was ſent down by *Antipater*, onely to accompany her, with whom yet he fell ſo in Love, as marrying her, he paſſionately affected her alwayes, and a year or two before his death made one of her ſons, called afterwards *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, his Copartner in the Kingdom, and more than that, ſerved him ſometimes as one of his attendants, ſaying it was more excellent than a Kingdom to be the ſon of a King. His eldeſt ſon by *Eurydice* ſeeing this, thought it was no ſtaying for him in *Ægypt*, but fled to *Seleucus*, by whom being honourably entertained, with ſome hopes of being ſetled in *Ægypt* after his fathers death, he ſo badly requited him, as he treacherouſly ſlew him, as we before ſhewed, *Philadelphus*, after his fathers death made away two of his brothers, the one as conſpiring againſt his life, and the other as ſuſpected to raiſe a Rebellion in *Cyprus*. In power and riches he ſurpaſſed his father. Being learned himſelf above the common raite of Princes, he ſought to promote knowledge, by rewarding the moſt eminent and induſtrious (of which flouriſhed many in his time) and founding that his famous Library at *Alexandria*, conſiſting of 200000 Volumes. *Demetrius Phalereus* that noble Philoſopher, and ſometime Prince of *Athens*, being he that was imployed in the Colle-ction, perſwaded him to ſend to *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt* of the (a) *Jews* to deſire their Law, and that he might be the eaſilier induced to ſend it, by the Counſel of *Ariſteus* (who wrote the ſtory) he purchaſed the liberty of all ſuch *Jews* as were ſlaves in *Ægypt*, to the number of about 100000. which coſt him more then 460 Talents. He ſent alſo extraordinary rich gifts to the Temple; and the *High-Prieſt* chuſing out 72 men moſt eminent for birth, learning, and experience, diſpatched them into *Ægypt* with the Law to be tranſlated by them into *Greek*. Being nobly entertained, and feaſted by him for ſeveral dayes, they were ſet to their work in the Iſland *Pharos* right over againſt *Alexandria*, which in 72 dayes with admirable agreement they are ſaid to have finiſhed, after which the King having exceedingly admired the wiſdom of the Law-giver, and commanded the book carefully to be kept, diſmiſſed them with great Rewards to themſelves, and Preſents to him that ſent them.

Ptolomy Philadelphus.

Pauſan. in Atticis. Juſtin lib. 16.

(a) *Vide circa res Judaorum Joſephum contra Apionem lib. 2. Tertull. in Apolog. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. & Ariſteas de 70 Interp.*

The Tranſlation of the *Septuagint.*

2. He got the ſirname of *Philadelphus*, not for any love ſhewed to his brothers (two of whom he put to death) but to his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, whom after an inceſtuous (though *Ægyptian*) faſhion he married, having Children before by another *Arſinoe* daughter to *Lyſimachus*; by his ſiſter he never had any, ſhe dying before ſhe was delivered. *Demetrius Phalereus* laboured to diſſwade his father from leaving him his ſucceſſor, and counſelled him to beſtow the Kingdom on ſome of *Eurydice*'s ſons, for which he was now caſt out of favour, and died by the biting of an Aſp, which he put to his hand. He had a brother by his mothers ſide named *Magas*, whoſe father was one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, but of baſe Original. Him his mother had procured to be made Governour of *Cyrene*, the Inhabitants of which he now raiſed, and cauſed them to revolt from him, and marched with an Army towards *Ægypt*; and *Ptolomy* ſecuring all the paſſages, went out to encounter him. But news coming in the way that the *Marmaridæ*, a people of the

Pauſan. in Atticis.

Laertius in vita Demetrii. Pauſan. ibid.

Magas his brother obtaineth *Cyrene*.

Lybian Nomades had rebelled, *Magas* retreated in all haste back to *Cyrene*, and *Ptolomy* then intending to follow him, was hindred by the *Galls* in his Army, whom he having hired amongst others, he found to have plotted to seize upon *Egypt*; but he brought them all to the number of 4000 through the *Nile* to a desart Island, where with famine, and other wayes, they were made away. *Magas* after this having married *Apames* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter*, perswaded him to break the League betwixt him and his brother, and invade *Egypt*, which he prepared to do; but *Ptolomy* sent several parties abroad into *Syria*, and found him so much work at home, that he could have no time to look abroad, and *Magas* before his death having a desire to be friends with his brother, betrothed his daughter to his son. Betwixt this *Ptolomy*, and the next *Antiochus* sirnamed *Theos* were continual Wars, till both being weary thereof entered into an Alliance, *Ptolomy* giving him in marriage his daughter *Berenice*, which proved but an occasion of greater trouble, and the destruction of the Bride, though he lived not to see it. For he, notwithstanding all his learning, gave himself up to luxury, and fondly dreaming he should live alwayes, and that by him alone was found out immortality, presently died, after he had reigned 38 years alone, and one (with some odd moneths) together with his father, A. M. 3758. and the 2d of the 133th *Olympiad*. *Justin lib.26.* *Athenæus lib. 12. cap.17.*

3. *Ptolomy* his son by *Arsinoe*, the daughter of *Lysimachus*, succeeded him in the 16th year of *Antiochus Theos*, and was sirnamed *Euergetes*. As soon as he came to the Kingdom, he had work enough made him in *Syria*; for there *Antiochus*, who had put away his former wife (upon the marriage of *Berenice* his sister) now overcome with Love, took her, and her Children, again into his Court, whereupon she fearing yet his fickleness, and another disgrace, to prevent it, procured him to be poysoned, and conveyed his Kingdom to *Seleucus Callinicus* her eldest son. *Berenice* she committed to two of the Chief of *Antioch* to be made away, but the Lady, when she heard that some were sent to kill her, shut up her self in *Daphna*, where being besieged, the Cities of *Asia*, moved with the remembrance of the Dignity of her family, sent her aid, and *Ptolomy* her brother marched in all haste possible to deliver her, but ere she could be relieved she was circumvented by those that with an Oath promised her security, and slain together with her young son. Out of disdain at this unworthy act the Cities revolted to *Ptolomy*, who entring *Syria* killed *Laodice*, passed to *Babylon*, and got almost all *Asia* into his hands, at which time he visited *Jerusalem* also, where he offered many sacrifices of praise to God, and dedicated gifts suitable to so great a victory. The Kingdom of *Syria* had become a Province to that of *Egypt*, in all probability at this time, had he not been recalled by domestick troubles, which being very urgent, he left *Cilicia* to the Governance of *Antiochus* his great favourite, to *Xanthippus* another of his Captains the Provinces beyond *Euphrates*, and so plundring *Seleucus* his Kingdom of 40000 Talents of silver, he carried down also many costly Vessels and Images of Idols to the number of 2500. amongst which were those which *Cambyses* had after his overthrow of *Amasis*, and *Psammiticus*, conveyed out of *Egypt*: And therefore the *Egyptians*, because after so many years he had restored to them their gods, honoured him with the sirname of *Euergetes*. *Justin lib.27.* *Appian in Syriacis.* *Hieronym. in Daniel.* *Ptolomy Euergetes* his Wars with *Antiochus Theos*. *Josephus contra Apion. lib.2.*

4. *Seleucus* provided a Fleet for the recovery of the places revolted, but before he could come to use it, lost it all by a Tempest, which yet proved the greatest gain; for the Cities out of commiseration of his estate, and as if he had already sufficiently smarted for his paricide, returned again to their obedience. Being exceedingly encouraged, and animated herewith (as richer by his losse) he then made War upon *Ptolomy*; but as if he had been born for a laughing stock to fortune, and not recovered the Kingdom for himself, he was overthrown again in battel, and as destitute of followers, as after the shipwrack, fled to *Antioch*, when applying a remedy worse than the disease, he sent to his brother *Antiochus* (from his ravenous disposition sirnamed *Hierax*) for aid; and so *Ptolomy* fearing himself not to be able to graple *Justin ut prius.*

His wife *Berenice's* hair giveth name to a Constellation.

graple with both, made a Truce with him for ten years. Whilest he was abroad in *Asia*, his wife *Berenice*, daughter to his Uncle *Magas*, and betrothed to him, as we said before, vowed to consecrate her hair to the gods, in case he returned safe, and accordingly cutting it off, laid it up in a certain Chapel, whereupon *Conon* the *Mathematician*, who flourished at this time, out of flattery to them both, feigned it to be taken up into heaven, and invented that constellation which yet is known by the name of it. In his time a *Phœnix* is reported the third time after the dayes of *Sesostris*, and the next after them of *Amasis* to have flown (being a bird sacred to the Sun) accompanied with a great number of other birds, admiring her new face, to the Citie *Heliopolis*, as *Tacitus* tells us, who reports that the same thing hapned afterwards in the reign of *Tiberius*; *Paulus Fabius*, and *L. Vitellius* being *Consuls*. To this *Ptolomy* fled *Cleomenes* the King of *Sparta* after his overthrow received from *Antigonus Doson* of *Macedonia*, and the *Achæans*, who honorably receiving him, and prizing him very much for his worth, was much ashamed that he had suffered such a man to be defeated, and promised to re-establish him; but he died before he could bring it about, after he had reigned 24 years, in the 139th *Olympiad*, within which *Polybius* * observes both *Antigonus Doson*, and *Seleucus Ceraunus*, King of *Macedonia*, to have left the World, and their Kingdoms to their Successors. *Annal. lib.6.* *Polyb. lib.5. & Plutarch in vita Cleomen.* * *Sub finem lib.2.*

5. His son succeeded him, being sirnamed *Philopator*, ironically, if we believe *Justin*, who out of *Trogus* accuseth him of making away both father and mother. Certainly if we look at his general carriage and disposition, he was likely enough to do it, giving up himself to all luxury and effeminateness, thereby neglecting his affairs, whence he obtained the name of *Tryphon*. Finding his brother *Magas* by his mothers means to be very great with the Army, he made them both away by the means of *Sosibius*, who was his greatest Counsellour, and manager of his publick businesse. His lazinesse, and neglect, encouraged *Antiochus* the Great to make War upon him for *Cœlesyria*, in which, though he got the better, yet can it not be ascribed to any thing of his, he thinking of nothing lesse than preparation for resistance, and whereas he had opportunity enough after the battel to have outed his Enemy of *Syria*, yet being overjoyed that he had recovered *Cœlesyria* onely, he sent *Sosibius* to confirm the peace. In his return out of *Syria* he went to *Jerusalem*, and would needs see the inward holy places of the Temple, but was smitten so with a blind horror, that he fell, and could scarcely be recovered to himself, but departing home raged against the *Jews* at *Alexandria*. Then with great earnestnesse returning to his a little intermitted jollities he doted so upon *Agathoclea* his Concubine, that he killed his sister and wife *Eurydice*, and forgetting all credit and Majesty, spent the nights in filthinesse, and the dayes in feasting. These things at first privately acted within the Court Walls, presently shamed nor at the publick view; the impudence of the Strumpet containing it self in no bounds, being increased by the favour of her brother *Agathocles*, one of as filthy a life as her self, and the Conjunction of her mother *Euanthe*, who spent high, and presumed much on the score of her Children's great grace with the King. Henceforth these women not contenting themselves with the King, possessed the Kingdom also, and shamed not to appear in publick in great equipage to be reverenced. As for *Agathocles*, he reigned, and not *Ptolomy*, by the direction and advice of his two Assistants, Mother and Sister, disposing of Offices and Commands in the Army at his pleasure. *Ptolomy Philopator.* *Lib.29. & 30.* A. M. 3783. *Ol.139. ann.2.* *V. C. 532.* *Antioch. M.2.* *Polybius lib.5.*

6. Yet, had *Ptolomy* the strange fortune to overcome all difficulties he met with. *Cleomenes* the *Spartan* entertained, as we said, lovingly by his father, with promise to endeavour his restitution, now finding things to make for it at home, by the death of *Antigonus*, and the Conjunction of the *Ætolians* with them of *Sparta* against the *Achæans*, earnestly desired to be dispatched away; but he minding nothing but his pleasures, and buried in sottishnesse, regarded him not at all. *Sosibius* indeed considered of the thing, *Polybius ibid. & Plutarch. in Cleomen.*

thing, & called his friends to advise about it; but upon mature deliberation concluded it not wisdom to dismiss him provided of men and arms, lest finding all clear abroad, his Enemies being now dead, or quiet, he, who knew sufficiently the state and condition of *Egypt* under such a Prince, might attempt some-
Stirs about *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta.* thing rather beneficial for himself, than safe for it. Hereupon its resolved he shall be retained still, and after some time an occasion was found to confine him. For one *Nicagoras* a *Messenian*, who ought him an injury, coming to Town, he not at all considering to whom he spake, jeered the King to him for his filthy manner of life; which he being glad of, as having an opportunity against him, acquainted *Sosibius* with his words, and they two plot together that *Nicagoras* at his departure should leave a Letter directed to the other, wherein he should accuse *Cleomenes* of an intention to make stirs in *Egypt*, except he were sent away according to the promise of *Euergetes*. This being laid to his charge by *Sosibius*, and soundly aggravated to the King, he was secured in free custody, having a large house, but kept with a Guard, assigned to him; whereupon growing desperate, one day when *Ptolomy* was gone out of Town, he made his Keepers drunk, and with his followers brake out into the streets, and called the people to liberty. But none stirring, being all astonished at the greatness of the Enterprize, they made for the Castle, which finding to be strongly defended, he and all with him, after a *Laconian* fashion, as *Polybius* termeth it, killed themselves. This was the end of this famous man, who being indued with a singular dexterity and promptness of wit, had a genious suitable to great and weighty matters, and was fitted by gifts of nature as well as experiences, for the Offices either of a great Commander, or a Prince.

7. Though *Cleomenes* his sodain and unexpected attempt made no such impression upon the City, as that any insurrections ensued thereupon; (and indeed the luxurie of the Court had infected it and the whole Land with the same distemper) yet the minds of the People being something scowred by the Wars with *Antiochus* from this rust, and elevated upon their successe against him, after the battel at *Raphia*, and the recovery of *Cœlesyria*, they began to slight their lawful King, and then arose to such an height, as they clearly revolted, intending to set up against him a Captain of their own making, which shortly after they did, and waged War with him; though in what manner, or with what end, we know not, further than thus, that, as it seemeth, he had the better of it, for he retained his dignity and power. About this time 60000 *Jews* are said to have been slain in *Ægypt*, who seeing they amounted to such a number, we may have ground enough to think that they took part with the People, and that his cruelty towards them ensued as a revenge hereupon, though others there be that judge the contrary, and deliver it as a thing not to be doubted of. This is certain, that about this time he grievously persecuted those of that Nation which lived at *Alexandria*, abusing them first with libels, and seeking to withdraw them from their Religion. Those that refused to turn, were either put to death, or being deprived of all dignity and liberty, were branded with the image of an Ivy leaf as the badge of
The *Jews* persecuted. *Bacchus*; and because they were suspected to withdraw others from their obedience to the King, all the *Jews* throughout the Land were in forty dayes space gathered together, to be destroyed by 500 Elephants, to which was given wine mingled with much frankincence to inrage them. But in the morning when *Ptolomy* should have come out to the fight, a sluggish fit is said to have detained him until dinner, and on the next day such a forgetfulness to have seized on him, as he thought them mad which mentioned the thing to him; and then on the third, when the beasts were ready to be let loose, two terrible Angels appeared, which struck King and People with extraordinary horror, and drove the Elephants upon those who came to be spectators of the cruelty. Hereupon ensued such a change of the Kings mind, as he dismissed the *Jews*, after he had feasted them seven dayes, and giving them leave to kill the Apostates, acknowledged God to be their protector. At length
Ptolomy dieth. he died (leaving a childe of five years old, and begotten of his sister, behind him)

Polyb. ut prius.

Eusebius in Chronico. 3. *Maccab.* *Josephus Asserius Annal. Vet. Test. pag.* 510.

A. M. 3789. *Ol.* 141. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 538. *Ant. Mag.* 8. *Ptol. Philop.* 7.

him) after he had reigned about eighteen years, A. M. 3801, in the first of the 144 *Olympiad*.

8. His son a child of five years succeeded him, being declared King by him before his death, in the 20 year of *Antiochus* the *Great*, King of *Syria*, and was sirnamed afterwards *Epiphanes*. The death of *Philopator* was for a long time kept close, by *Agathocles* and his party, till his mother and sister had rifled the Court, and he had found out such a way as he thought most effectual for the establishment of himself in that power he already enjoyed. Then brought he out the King to the *Macedonians*, and with great expressi-
His son *Ptolomy Epiphanes* a child of five years succeeded him. ons of sorrow for the death of his Father, tells them the childe was by him delivered into the arms of *Agathoclea* his sister, inveighs bitterly against one *Tlepolemus* (who being a true Patriot was an eye-sore to him) as if he intended to seize upon the Kingdom, labouring to impose upon the belief of the Soldiers, and secure himself by their strength; but no man gave any credit to whatever he said, so intirely was he hated by all. The remembrance of the former outrages committed by him and his, being more freshly renewed by some other attempts of cruelty whilst things still hung in this condition, so inraged the multitude, that from all the quarters of the City flocking to the Court, they would not be satisfied, till having the young King first delivered to them, they broke open the dores, and getting him, his sister, mother, and other of his creatures into their hands, they put them to death, mangling their bodies afterwards; it being natural to that People to be cruel if once in choler. After this, such as had an hand in the murder of *Euridice* the Queen were knocked in the head by her women. The infamy of the Nation being thus in some measure expiated by the slaughter of these miscreants, *Aristomenes* an *Acarnanian* was made *Protector* of the King, his Realms and Dominions, who though for his own interest he beforetime temporized with *Agathocles*, yet now managed the affaires of his Prince with much honesty and wisdom. And indeed such there was need he should be at this time, when the King, being obnoxious by reason of his years to injury and wrong, was struck at by two the greatest Princes then living, viz. *Antiochus* King of *Sy-*
Antiochus and *Philip* gape after *Ægypt.* *ria*, and *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, who pretending fair things to his Father, and nothing towards him but kindnesse, now sought to devour him, and make a prey of his Kingdom; *Philip* by laying hold upon *Ægypt* and *Caria*; and *Antiochus* on *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnicia*. The onely remedy was to send to *Rome* to complain, and desire aid; and an Ambassage was quickly dispatched away for that purpose.

A. M. 3801. *Ol.* 144. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 550. *Ant. Mag.* 20.

Polyb. lib. 15

Justin lib. 30

Idem lib. 3.

9. The Ambassage was no whit displeasing to the *Romans*, who sought an occasion against *Philip*, for his entering into alliance with *Hannibal*, and were seldom backward to medle in the affaires of other Nations, especially now fearing none of them after the overthrow of the *Carthaginians*. Ambassadors were sent then to the Kings, to require them to abstain from *Egypt*, and *M. Lepidus* thither to be Governor and Protector of the young King, whose Father, at his death, left him to the tuition of the People of *Rome*; over and
Antiochus his Conquests. above that it was now desired of his friends. But ere the Ambassadors could reach to him, *Antiochus* had got *Phœnicia*, and other Cities belonging to *Ptolomy* into his power, and then despising their errand, went on in his conquests. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* a year or two after sent into *Cœlesyria* with a great Army, reduced many Cities thereof, with *Judæa*, to *Ptolomie's* obedience, but again quickly lost all, being overthrown by *Antiochus* at the head of the River *Jordan* near to *Panea*, whence he fled to *Tyre*, where the King besieged him with 10000 men; and though *Æropus* and *Menocles*, two famous Captains were sent out of *Ægypt* to relieve him, yet was he forced for want of provision to yield the Town, and march thence without his Arms. *Antiochus* then in pursute of this Victory, besides what he did in *Cœlesyria*, withdrew divers places in *Cilicia* and *Caria* from *Ptolomy*, concerning whom also a rumour being spread that he was dead, he made haste to seize upon *Cy-*
prus. What Cities he had got in *Asia*, the *Romans* divers times by Ambassadors demanded to be put into their hands, which being refused by him, this, with

Justin lib. 30 & 31.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. *c.* 3. & *Hieronymus in Daniel.*

Appian in Syriach.

with his ambition, and other things, miniſtred occaſion of a Warre betwixt them (as is ſhewed before) and that turned to the commodity of *Ptolomy*. For he being unwilling to have any Enemies at his back, ſought to enter into affinity with ſeveral Kings; and amongſt the reſt gave to him in mariage his daughter *Cleopatra*, and with her in dowy all *Cœleſyria* and *Judæa*; having this alſo in his eye, by means of her to get ſome footing in *Ægypt*, though he was miſtaken. For *Ptolomy* his Officers underſtanding his cunning well enough, behaved themſelves more warily; and *Cleopatra* together with the man maried his intereſt, and acted accordingly.

He marieth his daughter to *Ptolomy*.

10. *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, *Ptolomie* his General in *Cœleſyria*, returning to *Alexandria* after this overthrow, fell into diſcontent, and thence to plot againſt the King and State. Yet though he had many Soldiers at his command, had he no heart to ſtir, and though having a ſufficient opportunity in the minority of the King, he ſtill delayed to execute his deſigns, till he was prevented. For *Ariſtomenes* having diſcovered what he was about, juſt when he was plotting with his aſſociates, ſent for him to the Council, whither being conſtrained to come, he was accuſed by the King firſt now ſitting in Council, then by *Polycrates* the Governour of *Cyprus*, and laſtly by *Ariſtomenes*, who laboured to prove him guilty of what was alleged, for that he was found in conſultation with his friends, and refuſed to come unto the King when ſent for; and he confirmed the charge from the teſtimony of divers eminent *Gracians*, and the Ambaſſadors of the *Ætolians*, who were then ſent about a Peace. His anſwers were no whit ſatisfactory; ſo that being condemned not onely by all the Council, but ſuch forein miniſters as were preſent, and being ſecured that night, was together with his complices the next day taken away by poyſon, being a man ſo extraordinarily covetous above all others, that having broke down the walls (as *Polybius* terms it) of the Kingdom, he had exhauſted it with rapines. With him fell *Dicearchus* one of his companions, who being tortured to death, thereby (as the Hiſtorian tells us) made ſatisfaction to all *Greece*, againſt which he was made Admiral of the Fleet by *Philip* of *Macedonia*, when he wickedly ſet upon the Iſlands *Cyclades*, and alſo to the gods, into whom as well as men he thought to ſtrike a terror, for caſting anchor in the Haven, he there erected two altars, one to *Impiety*, and another to *Iniquity*, on which he ſacrifized to them as gods. This conſpiracy being thus ſuppreſſed, ſuch *Ætolians* as would, had leave to depart with all they had, and then the Country betook themſelves to prepare for the ſolemnity, conſtantly obſerved when any one was ſaluted King, termed *Anacleteria*; for though he was as yet ſomething too young, yet they thought that when it was known he was his own Maſter, and at his own diſpoſal, his Kingdom would be more quiet, and his affairs be more promoted.

Polyb. lib. 27.

Scopas the *Ætolian* plotteth againſt the King and receiveth his reward.

A. M. 3809. *Ol.* 146. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 558. *Aut. Mag.* 28. *Ptolom. Epiphan.* 8.

11. He caried himſelf exceedingly well for ſome time, and with great commendation, but afterwards was undone by flatterers, and ſo far corrupted, as he poyſoned *Ariſtomenes*, whom he had before conſtantly obſerved as a Father, and who had deſerved well of him and the Commonwealth. After this he degenerated more and more, whence he contracted ſuch hatred of his Subjects, as he well nigh had loſt his Kingdom thereby. Towards his later end, having ſome high deſigns in his head, he ſent *Demetrius* an Ambaſſador to the *Achæans*, to renew friendſhip and alliance with them, who gladly accepting of his offer, ſent back to him *Lycortas* Father to *Polybius* the Hiſtorian, *Theodoridas* and *Rhoſiteles* to confirm it by oath on their part, and to receive the like aſſurance from him, which they obtained with a great preſent of money and arms. Some ſix years after he ſent other Ambaſſadors to them, now having well nigh fallen out with the *Romans*, offering them ten ſhips of fifty oares, ſufficiently manned and furniſhed for War, which as of concernment, amounting almoſt to ten Talents, they accepted of moſt gladly, and diſpatched back to him *Lycortas* again with *Polybius* his ſon (though he was too young by the Laws for ſuch an employment) with *Aratus* the ſon of famous *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, to give him thanks for the former preſent, and

excerp. Diodori Siculi.

Polybius Legat. 37, 40, & 47.

Ptolomy contracteth amity with the *Achæans*.

and fetch the ſhips into *Peloponneſus*; but he was dead ere they could get out of their own Country. For plotting now againſt *Seleucus Philopator*, who had ſucceeded *Antiochus* his Father in the Kingdom of *Syria*, and preparing an Army againſt him, when one of his Captains asked him where he would get money ſufficient for ſuch an enterprize, he anſwered, that his friends were riches to him, which being told abroad amongſt the People, his Officers fearing he would fleece them to ſupply himſelf, took him away by poyſon, after he had lived 27 years, and reigned 24 thereof. A. M. 3825, and the firſt of the 150 *Olympiad*.

Hieronym. in Dan.

Is poyſoned.

Ptolomy Philometor.

12. He left two ſons and one daughter, all very young, of which the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, being ſirnamed *Philometor*, in the eighth year of *Seleucus Philopator* King of *Syria*. After his *Anacleteria*, his mother *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus* the *Great* being lately dead, through the perſwaſion of *Eulæus* the Eunuch, and *Lenæus* his principal Counſellours, he began to caſt his thoughts upon *Cœleſyria*, which being given to his mother as a portion, was unjuſtly kept from him as he conceived, by his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who now had ſucceeded his elder brother in the Kingdom of *Syria*. *Antiochus* hearing of their preparations for the War at *Alexandria*, came down into *Egypt* to prevent them, and overthrew the King ſeveral times as hath been ſaid, and got the whole Country, except that City, into his power; after which *Ptolomy* deliberating with *Comanus* and *Cineas* what was to be done, it was reſolved, that a Council of the moſt expert Captains ſhould be erected, by the advice whereof all things ſhould be managed. The firſt reſolve of this Council was, that ſuch *Gracian* Ambaſſadors as were preſent, ſhould be ſent to *Antiochus* about an agreement, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned of his own two others. The firſt day after their arrival, they were entertained very nobly, and on the next had audience, wherein they laid all the blame upon *Eulæus* the Eunuch, and urging the youth and kindred of the King to him, laboured to pacifie him. He after he had aſſented to them in theſe things, and ſpoken more to the ſame purpoſe, laboured with much earneſtneſſe to demonſtrate, that *Cœleſyria* belonged to the Crown of *Syria*, alleging it to have belonged to *Antigonus* the firſt founder of that Kingdom, and produced the conveiances of it to *Seleucus* after the death of the other, from the *Macedonian* Kings. Moreover calling to their remembrance, that *Antiochus* his Father had lately obtained it again by right of conqueſt, he flatly denied that ever he paſſed it over as a portion with his daughter, to the late King of *Egypt*, and ſo having diſcourſed on this ſubject to the ſatisfaction of all his hearers, he then departed to *Naucratis*, where friendly treating the Inhabitants, and giving a largeſſe to ſuch *Greeks* as dwelt there, he thence departed for *Alexandria*, deferring to give any anſwer to thoſe that had been ſent to him, till ſuch time as *Ariſtides* and *Theris* were returned, ſaying, he would have all the publick miniſters of *Greece* to be conſcious to, and witneſſes of, all his intentions.

A. M. 3825.

Idem. ibid.

Prepareth for *Celeſyria*.

But his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes* preventeth him by getting all *Ægypt* into his hands.

Polyb. Legat. 81, 82.

13. But no ſatisfactory anſwer (if any) was given, or any thing done for *Philometor* by *Antiochus*, ſo that being thus outed of his Kingdom after 12 years reign, and giving up himſelf for all that to nothing but ſluggiſhneſſe and luxurie, the *Alexandrians* took upon them to make his younger brother King, ſirnaming him *Euergetes*, (though the badneſſe of his manners made them afterwards change it into *Cacergetes*) being alſo called *Phyſcon* from his extraordinary fat paunch. *Philometor* was forced at length to betake himſelf to the *Alexandrians* too, who receiving him, made him partaker with his brother in the Kingdom, but ſhortly after again expelled him; which thing *Antiochus* made uſe of, and under pretence of reſtoring him continued the War, and overthrowing young *Ptolomy* in a Sea-fight, beſieged *Alexandria*; but ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, aroſe and departed into *Syria*, leaving *Philometor* at *Memphis*, to whom he reſtored all *Egypt*, except *Peluſium*, which he kept as the key of the Country in his own hands, not doubting but when one of the brothers had ruined the other, to come, and with eaſe enough devoure the Conquerour. But though his two Nephews were otherwiſe

Porphyr. in Gracis Euſeb.

Athenæus lib. 12. *cap.* 17.

Ptolomy Phyſcon made King.

Polyb. Legat. 83, & 84.

Livius l. 45.

wise foolish enough, yet in this they shewed prudence, to disappoint him, for the elder seriously considering how little he ought to trust him, sent to *Cleopatra* his sister, who seconding him to her brother, both by advice and entreaty, procured a peace to be made with consent of both their friends, the Citizens of *Alexandria* giving way the more readily, because of the dearth which troubled them, by reason of the War as well when they were at liberty as besieged. This drew off the Vizard from *Antiochus*, who, whereas he ought to have rejoyced, if he really intended the restitution of *Philometor*, fretted exceedingly hereat, and nothing would serve him, but needs he must come down again into *Egypt*, and had laid siege to *Alexandria* the second time, had not the *Roman* Ambassadors terrified him from his purpose (as we shewed in its more proper place) and forced him to quit both *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. A.M. 3839. *Ol.* 153. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 586. *Ant. Epiphan.* 9. *Ptol. Philom.* 13.

The two brothers agree, and are saved harmlesse from their Uncle by the *Romans*.

14. The *Roman* Ambassadors took some pains by their Authority to make them two friends, not being throughly reconciled before, and so they continued for six years peaceably together. But then differences betwixt them arose so high, that the Senate at *Rome* wrote to their Ambassadors, sent into *Syria* after the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by all means to reconcile them, of which mediation we yet hear of no fruit at all, for presently the younger expelled his elder brother. *Philometor* being thus spoyled of his Kingdom, with a very few attendants, and in a pitifull habit, came to *Rome* for help, making his Inn the house of an *Alexandrian* Painter; which when the Senate understood, they sent for him, and made as formal an excuse as possible, that they had neither sent a *Quæstor* to meet him (after the fashion of the receiving persons of his quality) nor entertained him at the publick charge, which hapned not by any neglect on their part, but by reason of his sudden and secret arrival. Then was he conducted from the Court to the publick House of entertainment, and desired, that laying off his unseemly habit, he would move for audience, and a *Quæstor* was appointed to make him presents every day. At length, according to his desire, *Canuceius* and *Quintus* were sent back with him to *Alexandria*, who restored him to the Kingdom, and made the two brothers assent to a division of it, whereby *Philometor* was to hold *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, and *Euergetes* possesse *Cyrene*, the Covenant being most solemnly confirmed. But *Euergetes* not being at all satisfied in his part, hasted to *Rome* to reverse the agreement, alleging that he gave not his consent freely at all, but out of necessity of yielding to the times; wherefore he desired of the Senate that *Cyprus* might be also adjudged to him, with the addition of which his part would yet be far inferiour to his brothers. *Menethyllus* being sent after him by *Philometor*, replied, that he ought not onely *Cyrene*, but his life also to his brother, so great hatred had he contracted from their subjects, that with the wonder of all, and beyond his hopes was that Kingdom bestowed on him, and urged the agreement most religiously made and confirmed, with faith given on both sides. But *Ptolomy* denying stifly all this, the Senate, for that it seemed to them that the parting of the Kingdom was not yet fully concluded, and especially thinking it to be for their interest that the division should be equal, assented to his request, and ordered *T. Torquatus*, and *Cn. Merula* to go with him, and put *Cyprus* into his hands. For the *Romans* understanding now fully the strength of *Egypt*, and considering what it might aspire to if united, wisely made use of this difference, and gratified the two brothers one after the other in their ambitious (but imprudent) desires. *Idem ibid.* *Porphyrius ut prius.* *Polybius Legat.* 107. *Valerius Max. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. *exemp.* 1. *Philometor* being expelled by his rebellious brother is restored by the *Romans*, & *Euergetes* or *Physcon* complaining, they also give him relief. *Polybius Legat.* 113. *Polyb. Legat.* 115. 16. 17.

15. Departing out of *Italy* into *Greece*, he there hired a strong band of men, intending to sayl with them for *Cyprus*; but the *Roman* Commissioners calling to mind the Decree of the Senate, which was, that they should reduce him without force, perswaded him again to dismisse them, and passe over to *Cyrene*, and they in the mean time going to *Alexandria*, would endeavour to perswade his brother to comply with the Senate, and bringing him along with them meet him in the Confines of both Kingdoms. He accordingly went to *Crete*, where hiring 9000 Soldiers, he passed over to *Libyna*, where he

he expected to hear from *Alexandria*; but the *Romans* there treating with his brother about a reconciliation, and the yielding of *Cyprus* up to him, something he assented to, and put off others, on purpose drawing out the time in length. Fourty dayes with extraordinary entertainment he detained them at *Alexandria*, during which time news came to *Euergetes* that the *Cyrenians* had revolted from him, who understanding well the mind of his brother from his present carriage, and seeing nothing suitable to royalty in *Euergetes*, acting all things after a Tyrannical manner, could not bring themselves to submit any longer to his Government. Hearing this, he sayled to *Catabathmus*, thence to make for *Cyrene*, in which place he found the Straights kept against him, but sending some about to come upon the Defendants on their backs, set upon them also himself, and so cleared the passage, but coming to *Cyrene*, and ingaging with the Natives, was worsted by them. Whether he recruited himself again, and recovered his Sovereignty here or no, we have nothing from History to speak expresly; but not long after he was in a capacity to attempt *Cyprus* (being encouraged by the Senates renouncing their friendship with his brother upon his account) where he was also overthrown by his brother, and then besieged, and taken in the Citie *Lapithus*. Yet did *Philometor* spare him, what for his innate clemency and brotherly affection, and for fear of the *Romans*; and not onely so, but made a Covenant with him when Conquered, wherein he restored him *Cyrene*, and for *Cyprus* certain Cities with a quantity of Corn yearly, and promised him his daughter in marriage, worse than this being not accounted incest in that Countrey.

16. Not long did they accord, for *Euergetes*, some two or three years after, being incouraged by his former successe, made another journey to *Rome*, where in the Senate he made another loud complaint against his brother, accusing him of plotting against his life, for a witnesse of which design he shewed skars upon his body, and aggravating the thing with all his might, endeavoured to move the minds of all to compassion. Two Ambassadors were present from *Philometor* to answer to whatsoever he should accuse him of, but all mens ears were so filled with the others accusation, that no place would be found for their defence; so that they were instantly commanded to be gone, and five Commissioners were appointed (furnished all with Gallies) to go, and bring him into possession of *Cyprus*; their Associates also, both in *Greece* and *Asia*, being written to, and leave given to as many as would to assist him in the recovery of it. What was done as to the recovery of it, through defect of History, we are ignorant, though some grounds we have to think he did not obtain the Island, and no more do we hear of him till his brothers death. *Polyb. Legat.* 132. *Josephus Antiquit. lib.* 13. *cap.* 6.

Onias the *Jew* buildeth a Temple in *Egypt*.

In the dayes of this *Philometor*, *Onias* the son of *Onias* the third, *High-Priest* of the *Jews*, seeing the Priesthood to be alienated from his family into that of the *Hasmonæans*, living in *Egypt*, and having well deserved of the King in his Wars, that he might eternize his memory, petitioned him for leave to build a Temple in the Province of *Heliopolis*, after the fashion of that at *Jerusalem*, signifying that thereby would be better provided for the quiet of his Kingdom, the *Jews* badly agreeing amongst themselves through the variety of their places of worship in that Countrey, and misapplying the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, concerning the spiritual Priesthood, and reign of Christ, to this his ambitions and unlawfull design. His Petition was granted, and in that Countrey built he a Temple resembling the true, and lawfull one, 180 furlongs distant from *Memphis*; onely he put therein no Candlestick, but hung up a Lamp in a Golden string, which cast a light about like to the Sun-beams. *Chap.* 19. A. M. 3853. *Ol.* 157. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 602. *Demet. Soteris* 11. *Ptol. Philom.* 29.

17. In the time of this *Philometor*, the *Jews* and *Samaritans* inhabiting *Alexandria* fell out about their way of Worship, they contending earnestly that the Temple of *Jerusalem*, those that that at *Gerizim* was founded most according to the prescript of *Moses*, and so earnest was the dispute, that both parties appealed to him and his Council for a decision of the controversie, who being to judge according to evidence produced out of the Law, *Josephus ibid.*

Dissention betwixt the *Jews* and *Samaritans*.

was to put to death those pleaders which could not make good their cause. For the *Jews* appeared *Andronicus* the son of *Messalani*, for the *Samaritans* *Sabbæus*, and *Theodosius*, who being heard by *Ptolomy* in a full Assembly, all were so well satisfied in the proofs brought by *Andronicus*, as the King gave sentence on his side, and condemned *Sabbæus* and *Theodosius*. *Philometer* about this time was deeply ingaged in the affairs of *Syria*; for, *Demetrius* *Soter* having molested him much with War, together with *Attalus* King of *Asia*, and *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, all these agreed to suborn a young man of base condition, who counterfeiting himself the son of *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*, spoiled *Demetrius* both of his Kingdom and life. This *Alexander* (as he is called) being especially beholden to *Ptolomy* for this change of his condition, desired of him his daughter in marriage; which he readily agreed to, and brought her (named *Cleopatra*) to him to *Ptolemais*, where the nuptials were solemnized with great state. Afterwards *Alexander* giving up himself to cruelty and luxury, *Demetrius*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, having hired Soldiers in *Crete*, attempted the recovery of his fathers Kingdom. *Ptolomy* with great forces both by Land and Sea, came then into *Syria*, under pretence of helping his son-in-law; but getting a great part of the Countrey into his hands, as far as the River *Orontes*, and the Citie *Seleucia*, he had other intentions, having conceived great prejudice in his mind against *Alexander*, the special occasion of which was, that whereas one *Ammonius*, a great Officer of his had conspired against his life at *Ptolemais*, he refused to give him up to him upon his demand. Wherefore, though he went to *Antioch*, and there set two Diadems on his head, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Egypt*, yet perswaded he the *Antiochians* to receive *Demetrius* for their King, and taking away his daughter from *Alexander*, gave her to him; *Alexander* was overthrown, after which he fled into *Arabia* (as we said) and there was made away. But in the fight it hapned that his Horse being affrighted at the noise of an Elephant, threw him, which the Enemies perceiving came upon him, and gave him such a wound in his head, that for four dayes he lay senceless, and though coming to himself, on the next, he was mightily pleased at the sight of the head of *Alexander Balas*, which was sent him; yet proved it not such a Cordial, but the third day after, as his Physicians were busie in dressing his own he died, after he had reigned 34 years, A. M. 3859. in the third of the 158 *Olympiad*.

Ptolomy fighting against *Alexander* King of *Syria*, whom he had formerly set up, received a wound and dieth.

1 Maccab. 10. & 11.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 8.

A. M. 3859. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 608.

Livius Epit. lib. 52.

18. After his death the order of succession was first changed in this Kingdom. For whereas hitherto the son had continually followed his father, and now *Cleopatra* his wife with the help of the Princes, endeavoured to have it so, in his son and hers; yet his brother *Euergetes* the second, or *Physcon*, then reigning in *Cyrene*, withstood her purpose, and forced her, for to put an end to the controversie, to marry him. Coming to *Alexandria*, he first caused the favourers of the Child to be slain, and then the boy himself in the arms of his mother on their Wedding day, and amidst the solemnities; according to which beginning he proceeded, being nothing milder towards those that had sent for him. For, giving liberty to the outlandish Soldiers to kill, and rifle, he filled all places with slaughters; many being accused, as though they had plotted against him, were made away with cruel torments, others under some pretence or other banished, and their goods confiscate. Having a son born of this his sister, he named him *Memphitis*, after the place of his birth, but whilest he was keeping his birth-day, that he might also feed his cruel humour, he put to death divers *Cyrenæans*, who brought him into *Egypt*, for taxing him somewhat liberally for his too much familiarity with *Irene* his Concubine. As his cruelty, so also his lust knew no bounds; for ravishing first his wives daughter, and his own Niece, both by Father and Mother, he put away his wife and married her; whereat the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* being affrighted, for fear of death quit their habitations, so that he being left alone as a King of houses, and not of men, by Proclamation called, and gave leave to strangers to inhabit them. It hapned that at such time as they flocked thither came also

Justin lib. 38. *Valerius Max. lib.* 9. *cap.* 1. *Exter. Exemp.* 5.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.

Ptolomy Physcon unjustly obtaining the Kingdom his cruelty.

Val. Max. ibid.

so *P. Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Sp. Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*, sent from *Rome* to visit the Kingdoms and States of the East, and compose their differences. *Scipio* being landed, and having his face covered, the People flocked about him, and desired him to uncover himself, which he granting, they out of the great pleasure conceived at the sight of such a person, gave a shout. *Physcon* himself coming out to meet them, was exceedingly ridiculous to them, being a man otherwise sufficiently deformed, of a low stature, and such corpulence, as his belly resembled rather that of a beast than a man. He provided magnificent entertainment, but they despising his dainties (as corrupting the manners of men) ate very sparingly, onely minded that they came about, and travelled into the Country, where viewing the several places thereof, considering the populousness, strength, and convenience of their situation, they concluded *Egypt* a convenient seat for the greatest Empire, if it had but Lords that knew how to make use of it, and so departed to *Cyprus*, and thence into *Syria*.

Cicero in somnio Scipionis. A. M. 3875. *Ol.* 162. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 624. *Ptol. Physc.* 17. *Joh. Hyrcani* 6.

Excerpt. Diodori.

19. After some time he became so odious to the new inhabitants also for his cruelty, that they set fire to his Palace, and he was driven with his wife and son to get away to *Cyprus*, after which they restored the Kingdom to *Cleopatra* his sister, whom he had put away. Hereupon he raised an Army, and made War upon her and them, and fearing that they might send for his eldest son from *Cyrene*, and make him King, to prevent that, he murdered him; which being known, they cast down his statues and images. He taking this to be done as well in favour of his sister *Cleopatra*, as in despight of himself, to be revenged sufficiently on her, commanded their son *Memphites* a comely and towardly childe to be killed in his presence, and then his head, hands, and feet to be cut off, and being sent to *Alexandria* to be presented her, as she was feasting at the celebration of her own birth day. This struck not onely her but all the City into exceeding horror and amazement, and the sad spectacle was shewed to the People, to let them know what they might expect from such a King. He notwithstanding all this, yet went on in his own way; for considering how he was hated by his People, that he might reign more securely, as he thought in their weakness, he caused a place of publick meeting full of youth to be set on fire, and destroyed all therein either with fire or sword. *Cleopatra* having put an end to mourning for her son, and seeing her self pressed with War by her brother, sent to *Demetrius Nicator* King of *Syria*, and her son in Law, for aid, offering him the Kingdom for his pains in securing it. He gladly accepting the offer, came down, and waged War with *Physcon* for some time, but his People revolting from him at home, was forced to return, so that she being then in a manner destitute, was glad to follow him into *Syria*. *Physcon* then reentering, and being seized anew of the Kingdom, the *Antiochians* knowing his prejudice against *Demetrius*, sent to him for one of the posterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them, whereupon he suborned a young man and son of a Merchant, to mend the matter giving out, that *Alexander Balas* was his Father. The counterfeit by his help outed *Demetrius* of his Kingdom; but then not being able to bear so high a condition, for which he was never bred, grew proud, and despised him. Therefore to be revenged on him, being now reconciled to his sister, he pulled him down again, by sending aid, and his daughter for a wife to *Antiochus Grypus* the son of *Demetrius*. Not long after *Physcon* died, after he had reigned (from his brothers death) 29 years. A. M. 3888, and the last of the 165 *Olympiad*.

Justin ut prius. Livius Epit. lib. 59. *Val. Max. l.* 9. *c.* 2. *exter. exempl.* 5.

A. M. 3876. *Ol.* 162. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 625. *Ptol. Physcon.* 18. *Joh. Hyrcani* 7.

Justin Lib. 39. *Vide Hegelochum apud Usserium. p.* 118.

He suborneth one against *Demetrius Nicator.*

Dieth.

Porphyr. apud Euseb. A. M. 3888. *Ol.* 165. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 637.

20. He left three sons and as many daughters behind him. One of his sons being base born, and called *Ptolomy Apion*, he left King of *Cyrene* by his will; as for *Egypt* he left that to his wife, and to either of her sons which she should chuse, judging that the State of *Egypt* would be better settled than the Kingdom of *Syria*, when the mother making choice of one son, should make the other her Enemy. She thinking that her youngest named *Alexander* would be more pliable and observant of her, laboured with the People to accept of him for their King; but they not at all yielding to this,

Idem. & Pausan in Atticis.

He leaveth *Ægypt* to his wives disposal.

she was forced to call home the elder, *Lathurus* (or *Lathyrus*) from *Cyprus*, whither she had procured his father to banish him; but before she gave him the Kingdom she took away his beloved wife *Cleopatra*, and commanded him to marry his younger sister *Selene*. *Cleopatra* being thus divorced by her mother, rather than forsaken of her husband, maried to *Antiochus Cyzicenus* in *Syria* (as we before said) and caried away with her the Army in *Cyprus* for a portion. The Queen mother, that she might be the more awful to *Lathurus* her son, in the second year of their reign made *Alexander* King of *Cyprus*, and sent him thither, and then at the end of other six, took away from him, his wife *Selene*, though she had brought him two sons; and again to compleat her malice, stirred up the People against him. For taking such of her Eunuchs as were most faithful to her, she brought them wounded into the publick, accusing him of having endeavoured to make her away, and of so using those that were true to their trust in her defence: at which the *Alexandrians* being sore moved, came so upon him, as he narrowly escaped with his life, and then sent they for *Alexander* from *Cyprus*, and made him King.

Who first taketh to her one son and then another.

21. *Lathurus* made but an exchange with his brother, as it fell out, making himself Master of *Cyprus*, whither yet his mother followed him with her hatre[1], and War the effect thereof. Here he lay not idle, for *Alexander Janneus* at this time King of the *Jews* besieging, *Ptolemais*, the inhabitants thereof sent to him for aid, and though they repented them of the bargain made with him, and sent to stop his journy, yet he came on, and at his approach the siege was raised. Then invaded he *Judæa*, and overthrowing *Jannæus* in a great and bloody battel, harased the Country. *Cleopatra* his mother was startled at this his power and prosperity, and resolved he was to be brought down, else her affaires were but in a tottering condition; therefore sending a good part of her treasure with her Nephews and testiment to the Island *Cous*, She came her self into *Phœnicia*, besieged *Ptolemais*, and persecured him into *Cœlesyria*. He having some hopes to get *Egypt* into his hands in her absence, marched in all haste down thither; but being disappointed, and pursued by a party sent by her, he was forced to return and winter at *Gaza*. She in the mean time took *Ptolemais*, whither *Jannæus* came to her, with whom a little after she renewed the League at *Scythopolis*, and then he prospering much in *Cœlesyria*, *Lathurus* was forced to return to *Cyprus*, and his mother seeing that, departed also into *Egypt*. During these Wars betwixt the mother and son, it hapned, that he was once taken by her General, but dismissed again, whereat she was so inraged, as she put to death her Commander. Her son *Alexander* being afraid, that at length her cruelty might extend to him also, withdrew himself from her, preferring a secure though obscure estate, before a dangerous reign. She notwithstanding went on in her way, not neglecting her affaires, and fearing her elder son might be helped by *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, sent great supplies to *Grypus* his half brother and rival, with *Selene* for a wife, taken formerly from *Lathurus*, and by messengers prevailed with *Alexander* to return. Divers years then they lived and reigned together, but at length she really plotted his destruction, and being caught in the manner, was according to her deserts (though perhaps not his duty) put to death, after she had domineered over him, and expelled his brother eighteen years.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. *c.* 20, 21.

Lathurus invadeth *Judæa* but his mother marcheth against and spoileth all his projects.

Justin ut supra & Porphyr. ibid.

She is killed by *Alexander* her son.

22. *Alexander* being known to the People to have killed his mother, such a Sedition was thence moved, as glad he was to flie for his life; and thence they recalled his elder brother *Lathurus* from *Cyprus*, and restored him his Kingdom for many years after his expulsion, being now (if we may believe *Justin*) so satisfied with his present condition, as of himself, hee would never have made War upon his mother, nor thereby sought to recover out of his brothers hands what he had formerly injoyed. About this time his base brother *Apion* of *Cyrene* died, and left the People of *Rome* his heir, which thereupon left the Country to it's own freedom; but after ten years was it sore shaken, and almost rent in pieces by Wars and Tyranny, which fell on it being destitute of a Royal Monarch. *Lucullus* going thither composed

Justin ibid.

Who being thereupon expelled *Lathurus* is restored.

Livius Epitom. lib. 70.

composed the differences, and setled the Commonwealth as he thought, which after other ten years came to be reduced out of necessity to a *Roman* Province. From *Cyrene Lucullus* returned through *Egypt*, and in his passage being set upon by Pyrats, lost almost all his Vessels; yet escaped he safe to *Alexandria*, the Kings Fleet being sent out to meet him, where *Lathurus* entertained him with great magnificence, lodged him in his own Court (which favour had never before been bestowed on any stranger) and presented him with gifts to the value of 80 Talents. But he onely received what was necessary, and neither visiting *Memphis*, nor seeing any of the rarities of *Egypt*, being called away by his occasions, returned through *Cyprus* unto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenant then he was in the War against *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*. After this the Inhabitants of *Thebes* revolted from him, but in the third year he reduced them again to obedience, which is not to be understood of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, seeing he had nothing there to do, but of the City so called in his own Country. Not long after he died, 37 years (wanting some moneths) after the death of his Father *Physcon*, A. M. 3925, and the first of the 175 *Olympiad*.

Plutarch in Lucullo.

He entertaineth *Lucullus* the *Roman*.

Pausan. in Atticis.

23. It's difficult to assign certainly who succeeded him. (*a*) Some say *Cleopatra* his daughter, and wife to his brother *Alexander*; others, that *Alexander*'s son being received into familiarity with *Sylla* the *Roman Dictator*, was by him placed in the Kingdom, then destitute of issue male. They may be reconciled, by that which is further affirmed by the former, *viz.* that he maried *Cleopatra* then Queen. *Apian* saith, that being seized on the Kingdom, the *Alexandrians* not enduring his insolence, on the nineteenth day drew him out of the Court and killed him; but *Porphyrie* reporteth him to have slain her nineteen dayes after he had maried her. Certainly though his reign be accounted no longer, and that of *Auletes* to begin here, yet cannot be rejected that which is produced to the contrary. For, *Suetonius* reporteth, that *Julius Cæsar in his younger dayes having ingratiated himself with the People, attempted by their Tribunes that Egypt might be assigned him as a Province, having gotten an opportunity of extraordinary command, for that the Alexandrians had expelled their King, on whom the Senate had bestowed the title of friend and allie.* This can in no wise be meant of *Auletes*, for when he was expelled and came to *Rome*, *Cæsar* was then above such a condition, having spent some years in the Wars of *Gall*. And that King of *Egypt* mentioned by *Cicero* to have died at *Tyre*, and reported to have left the People of *Rome* his heir in his Consulship, can be meant of none but of this *Alexander* the *Second*, who being expelled rebelliously by his Subjects, lived and died there in exile; so that we must necessarily assign him (counting from the death of *Lathurus* to the Consulship of *Cicero*) about fifteen years; during which time of his life, he is to be supposed to have reigned longer than onely so many dayes, contrary to the vulgar opinion.

(*a*) *Porphyr. in Græcis Eusch.* (*b*) *Apian de bello civ. lib.* 1.

Alexander the second.

In Julio c. 11.

In Orat. 12. & 2a Agraria.

25. *Alexander* being expelled by the *Alexandrians*, they immediately set up in his room, the son of *Lathurus*, firnamed *Dionysius* and *Auletes*, because he was too much addicted to the rites of *Bacchus*, and dancing to the sound of Cymbals and Pipes. He was base born, as appeareth by the *Prologue* to the 39 book of *Trogus*, and so was also his brother the King of *Cyprus*, if that be true which *Pausanias* speaketh of his Fathers having no legitimate issue, except one daughter. After some years, they that set him up pulled him down; for his brother of *Cyprus* being most unjustly spoiled of his Kingdom by the *Romans*, through the malice of *Clodius* Tribune of the People, they pressed him sore, either to demand *Cyprus* of the *Romans*, or renounce their friendship. Being unwilling to do this, and by reason of his great exactions which hee made for paying of his debts (contracted by his purchase of the *Roman* alliance) he incurred their hatred, and whereas he could neither quiet the tumults by fair means nor foul, was glad to withdraw himself out of the way, and went to *Rome*. At *Rhodes* he met with *Cato*, who was sent by *Clodius* out of the way, under colour of doing him honour,

Auletes succeedeth *Alexander*.

vel. lib. 39.

Plutarch in Catone Minore.

to

Is compelled by his rebellious Subjects, and betaketh himself to *Rome*.

to reduce *Cyprus* into the form of a *Roman* Province, who adviſed him to return, and be reconciled to his ſubjects, rather than leaving his former happy condition to expoſe himſelf to danger, and the avarice of the *Roman* Officers, which *Egypt* it ſelf could not be able to ſatisfie. Being by the Counſel of his grave and wiſe man reduced as into his wits, he was minded to follow his advice; but was preſently again turned by his friends, and haſted to the Citie, where he had time and cauſe enough to repent of his deſpiſing the Oracle (as then he accounted it) of ſo great a man.

A. M. 3948. Ol. 180. ann. 1. V. C. 697. Hyrcani 7.

25. Being come to *Rome*, he created the Senate much trouble, being commended to it by *Pompey*, whom ſome reported to have been the cauſe of his leaving *Egypt*, more than any injury offered him by his ſubjects, that ſo he might afford matter for new Wars. He deſired he might be reduced into his Kingdom by *Cornelius Lentulus* the *Conſul*, to whom *Cilicia* was decreed for a Province; and upon the reporting of the matter, an order was made; *Lentulus* to ſtop *Pompey*'s mouth, procuring him to have the charge of Proviſions (in that time of dearth) throughout the *Empire*. The *Alexandrians* in the mean while ignorant of his voyage into *Italie*, and thinking he had ſome wayes miſcarried, ſet over the Kingdom *Berenice* his legitimate daughter, together with *Tryphæna* her elder ſiſter (called alſo *Cleopatra* the elder) and ſent into *Syria* to *Antiochus Aſiaticus* to come and reign with the women, and afterwards, he dying, to *Philip Euergetes* the ſon of *Antiochus Grypus* by *Tryphæna*, daughter to *Lathurus* late King of *Egypt*, but he was alſo hindred by *Gabinius*, then late *Roman* Preſident in *Syria*. But hearing at length how things went at *Rome*, they ſent 100 of their Countrey-men thither, to make their defence, and recriminate their lawfull King, which he underſtanding, procured moſt of the Meſſengers to be made away in their journey, and the reſt coming to the Citie, he either took away, or deterred, or elſe perſwaded them to hold their peace. The Senate hearing of this was grievouſly moved, and the rather, becauſe that divers publick Miniſters of others their Confederates had been made away with the reſt; as alſo for that it appeared, that there was much corruption amongſt themſelves. They ſent therefore for *Dion* the Chief of the Embaſſie, but *Ptolomy* his money had ſuch influence upon him, that he appeared not, and not long after was alſo diſpatched out of the way. *Pompey* harboured the King all this time in his own houſe, being yet deſirous to reſtore him himſelf as *Cicero* ſignifieth to *Lentulus* then the *Pro-conſul* of *Cilicia*, who ſtill waited alſo for the employment. At length *Sibylla*'s books being conſulted, were reported to forwarn the people of *Rome* never to reduce him by force, and therefore to that purpoſe another decree was made in the Senate. A great debate then enſued how the thing ſhould be done, ſome propoſing one way, and ſome another, till at length *Auletes* perceiving it was neither likely to be effected by *Pompey* nor *Lentulus*, deſpaired of his return, and getting him into *Aſia*, expected at *Epheſus* in the Temple of *Diana*, a better advantage for the recovery of his right out of the hands of the imperious Rebels.

Strabo lib. 17.

Plutarch in Pompeio. Dio ibid. Cicero Familiar. Epiſt. lib. 1. Epiſt. 1. Strabo & Dio ut prius. Porphyrius in Græcis Euſeb.

Where getting no relief he departeth to *Epheſus*.

26. And he had not been long there, when a convenient opportunity preſented it ſelf. For *Gabinius* the *Preſident* of *Syria* having grievouſly afflicted his Province by oppreſſion, not thinking that ſufficient, but hearing the *Parthians* to be exceeding rich, ſet his reſolution ſtrongly to invade them. When he had paſſed the River *Euphrates*, *Ptolomy* came to him with Letters from *Pompey*, and offered him 10000 Talents (beſides a great ſum of money to the Soldiers, part whereof they ſhould have in hand) to reſtore him. Moſt of the Officers were againſt the thing, and *Gabinius* himſelf ſomething ſtuck at it, but being ſtirred up to it by *Antonius* (who then Commanded the horſe under him) and eſpecially bewitched by the money, notwithſtanding it was not lawfull for a *Preſident* to ſtir out of his Province, nor undertake Wars at his pleaſure, and the people at *Rome* out of reſpect to the Verſes of *Sibylla* had forbidden *Auletes* to be reſtored (at leaſt ſuch a way) yet

Dio lib. 39.

Joſeph. de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6. Appian in Parthicis.

Hireth *Gabinius* to reſtore him.

yet he onely made the difficulty of the thing a means to inhance the price of it, and omitting the *Parthian* War, undertook that againſt the *Egyptians*. *Berenice* had about this time called one *Seleucus* out of *Syria*, who vaunted himſelf of the blood royal of that Nation, and made him partaker of the Kingdom, marrying her ſelf unto him; but finding him to be of a ſordid, and baſe condition, made him away after a little while. Then an husband of a royal ſtock being enquired out for her, *Archelaus* the ſon of *Archelaus* (General to *Mithridates* the great King of *Pontus*) and who had been made by *Pompey* Prieſt of the *Tomani*, counterfeiting himſelf the ſon of the King, procured by his friends to be received on the ſame terms with the other, and reigned with her ſix moneths.

Dio & Strabo ut ſuprà.

27. But *Gabinius* leaving *Syria* to the tuition of a Child, his ſon, marched for *Egypt* through *Paleſtine*, and coming to the ſandy deſart, ſent *Antonius* before with the horſe to ſecure the Straights at the entry of the Countrey; which he not onely bravely performed, but took alſo *Peluſium*, thereby gaining entrance for the whole Army, which preſently put to flight the *Egyptians*. *Archelaus* himſelf was now taken; but *Gabinius* conſidering that perhaps *Ptolomy* would be unwilling to give him ſo much money as he expected, if with ſo ſmall ado he ſhould compleat the work; being alſo ſoundly bribed by *Archelaus*, he diſmiſſed him under prerence of an eſcape. A little after, the *Egyptians* (more earneſt alwayes in rebellions than Wars) were utterly diſcomfited, *Archelaus* was ſlain, and all *Egypt* recovered, and reſtored to *Auletes*, who preſently put to death his daughter, and the richeſt of the Nobility, as they deſerved, ſtanding then in great need of money. *Gabinius* leaving a Guard behind him for *Ptolomy*'s ſecurity (which ſtayed at *Alexandria*, married, and begot Children, giving up themſelves to the luxury of the place) went back into *Syria*, and thence to *Rome*, where his great gifts meeting with the corruption of the times, onely purchaſed him his life, being fined for his bribery, and diſobedient carriage. As for *Auletes* we hear no more of him, ſince that he died 4 years after his reſtitution. In the year of the World 3954. and the 2d of the 182 *Olympiad*.

Plutarch. in Antonio. Dio & Strabo ut ſuprà.

A. M. 3950. Ol. 181. ann. 2. V. C. 699. Hyrcani 9. Cn. Pompeio Mag. 2. Ol. Licinio Craſſo 2. Coſſ.

Dieth.

A. M. 3954. Ol. 182. ann. 2. V. C. 703.

28. He left two ſons, and as many daughters behind him, of which the eldeſt of either Sex he ordered ſhould ſucceed him by his laſt Will and Teſtament; which he conjured the people of *Rome*, (under whoſe tuition he left his Children) by all the gods, and the Leagues he had made with them, ſhould be obſerved; and one of the Tables of which were brought to *Rome* to be laid up in the Treaſury; but this being hindred by publick buſineſſe, it was left with *Pompey*, who was alſo appointed Guardian to the young King in this his nonage. After three years the boy, or rather *Pothinus* (not *Photinus*, as he is corruptly called in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries) the Eunuch who managed his affairs, expelled *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, and fellow both in marriage and the Kingdom; ſo that ſhe was forced to withdraw into *Syria*, there to make proviſion for her re-eſtabliſhment by force. Not long it was ere ſhe returned, having furniſhed her ſelf; which her brother being aware of, went, and pitched his Tents near the Mountain *Caſius*, at the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*; where lying incamped, *Pompey* being then beaten by *Cæſar* at the battel at *Pharſalum*, fled to him for defence and ſafeguard, chuſing rather to venture upon *Egypt* than any other place, both for its nearneſſe and ſtrength, and hoping upon the account of his Guardianſhip to be lovingly received. The King then a very boy (about 13 years old) gave no anſwer to his meſſage; but thoſe moſt potent about him conſulting of it, were perſwaded by *Theodotus* his School-maſter to receive him, but then, that they might curry favour with *Cæſar*, to make him away; ſo that being received with ſmall civility into a little boat, he was ſlain ere he got to the other ſide, as is more largely expreſſed in the *Roman* ſtory. His head was reſerved as a preſent for *Cæſar*, who coming to *Alexandria*, though at the firſt he was very welcom, and got much reſpect for his frequenting the publick readings of *Philoſophers*, yet exacting the debt owing by *Auletes*, and not abſtaining from the Treaſure of the Temples for the payment of his Army,

Cæſar Comment. de bello civili. lib. 3. Dio lib. 42. Eutropius lib. 6.

His eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter ſucceeding him, ſhe is driven away.

Appian de bello civili lib. 2. Cæſar. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Pompeio & Dio lib. 42.

Pompey flying to him for ſuccour is ſlain.

A. M. 3957. Ol. 183. ann. 1. V. C. 706. Hyrcani 16. C. Julio Cæſare 2. P. Servilio Iſaurico Coſſ.

Army, he thereby incurred the great displeasure of the Towns-men, all things being made worse by *Pothinus*, who to his utmost ability incensed the superstitious multitude. *Cæsar* also accounting it to belong to himself as *Consul*, and shortly after, as *Dictator*, to compose the differences of the Confederates of the people of *Rome*, took upon him to judge the cause of the King and his sister, which bred such disturbance, as thereupon ensued a troublesom War.

29. There were secret plots laid for his life, which he being aware off, was glad to spend whole nights in feasting to prevent them, and gave way to *Cleopatra* to come to him, who knowing he was no hater of women, had sent to him to complain, and desire a conference. At the sight of her he became her very slave, and turned from being her Judge to her Advocate, which thing so inraged the King, perceiving her now to be got into the Palace, that he rushed out to the people, crying he was betrayed, and pulling his Diadem from his head, cast it on the ground. A great stir arising hereupon, he was caught by *Cæsars* Soldiers, and brought back into the house, which the multitude thereat inraged now besieged, and *Cæsar* with promise to do whatsoever they would, scarce appeased the tumult; his men being unprovided for resistance, having not expected any such occasion from those they accounted their friends. Then taking *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* along with him, he read over their fathers Will in publick audience, which subjecting them to the tuition of the people of *Rome* (whose Supream and absolute Magistrate he then was) in execution of the said Will he gave to them two as husband and wife the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and to their younger brother and sister that of *Cyprus*, not leaving any thing to himself, but willing rather to add something of his own; such a fear at this time had seized on him. The people hereby was quieted for a time, untill *Pothinus*, fearing he might be called to account for what had already passed, kindled a new flame to divert it. He first objected, as well he might, what an unworthy thing it was that the King should be called to answer, and then added, there was reason to suspect, that whatsoever *Cæsar* might pretend, yet at length he would put all into the hands of *Cleopatra*. He sent to *Achillas* General of all the Forces then lying at *Pelusium*, alluring him by great promises in the Kings name, to draw down the Army privily to *Alexandria*; and he, being not backward to close with him, marched down with 20000 foot, and 2000 horse. *Cæsar* had not strength enough to go out and meet him, and therefore contained himself in the Citie, yet commanded his men to be in readinesse, and kept the King with him; whose name he knew to be of great force amongst his people, and that thereby this undertaking might appear rather to be the enterprize of a few dissolute, and factious persons, than any thing backed by his consent, or Warrant.

Plutarch. in Cæsare. *Dio & Cæsar ut prius.*

Cæsar going about to reconcile brother and sister, a War is hereupon raised by *Pothinus* the Eunuch.

A. M. 3958. *Q. Fufio Caleno Publio Vatinio Coss.*

30. *Achillas* (*a*) despising the number of *Cæsar*'s Soldiers, after he had entred the Citie, thought presently to have broken in upon him, but he prevented this by blocking up the wayes, and fortifying his house. Then followed a sharp contention at the Haven, the *Alexandrians* endeavouring to become Masters of the Fleet, and thereby to cut off all Provisions and supplies from coming to him; but he made a shift to burn all the Gallies, from which the fire seizing upon the houses adjoyning, consumed to ashes that famous (*b*) Library Collected by the care and diligence of the former Kings. After this exploit so happily performed, he placed a Garrison in (*c*) *Pharus* (an Island over against *Alexandria* (ennobled by a famous Tower of the same name) but three quarters of a mile distant from the Citie) and after a few skirmishes, sent about into *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and other places for aid. *Arsinoe* the Kings younger sister got out to *Achillas*, and joyntly with him managed the War; yet with such contention for the Chief command, as proved onely beneficial to the Soldiers, whom both by gifts sought to oblige; for the contest at length arrived at such (*d*) height, that lying in wait for the life of each other, he was slain by the help of one *Ganymedes*, who having helped her in her escape, was now preferred to be their General. *Pothinus*

(*a*) *Idem ibid.*

The *Alexandrian* War.

(*b*) *Plutarch. in Cæsare.* *Orosius lib. 6. cap. 15.*

(*c*) *Cæsar ut prius.*

(*d*) *Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.*

Pothinus all this while was not backward, but out of the Court sent messengers to *Achillas*, to incourage him in his work, which being discovered cost him his life, and caused the King to be more nearly looked to. *Ganymedes* at his entrance upon the *Generalship*, stopped up the chanels, which brought fresh-water into that part of the City where *Cæsar* lay, and with engines conveied salt from the Sea into the room of it, thinking thereby to discourage the Enemy, and force him out of his hold; but *Cæsar* (though his Soldiers were at first daunted at it) prevented the design by sinking of wells, which abundantly supplied their necessities, to the wonder of the *Ægyptians*, who had no such invention. By this time a legion shipped by *Domitius Calvinus*, with provisions and arms from *Syria*, landed on the *African* shoar, a little above *Alexandria*; which *Cæsar* understanding, went with his Fleet unmanned to fetch them in, and the Enemie having notice of it, drew out also against him. He receiving the men aboard, hid no mind to ingage, because it grew towards night; but a *Rhodian* Gally, not keeping up with the rest of the Fleet, was set upon, whereby he was constrained to go in to the rescue, and so caried himself, that day-light onely was wanting to his compleating the Victory, by utterly destroying the whole Navy of the *Alexandrians*.

Achillas the General is slain, and *Pothinus* put to death by *Cæsar*.

Cæsar defeateth the *Alexandrians* at sea.

31. They notwithstanding this defeat, in which, and other waves, of late, they had lost no fewer than 110 Vessels (yet being encouraged thereto by *Ganimedes*) set themselves to the rigging of another Fleet, which being in a readinesse, *Cæsar* brought his about the Island *Pharos*, and set it in order against them. Both sides being ready to ingage, yet a narrow passage lying betwixt them, each expected till the other should enter first, as then having a better advantage, until the *Rhodians* desired of *Cæsar* leave to enter the Streight. This once granted and done, they were presently set upon, and then relieved, till a total engagement ensued, in which the *Ægyptians* were worsted (not a ship of *Cæsar*'s receiving any hurt) and in their flight took in in *Pharos*, where they were received by their friends, and kept off the *Romans* for some time, but a length were forced to quit the Island with great losse. This being joyned to the main by two bridges, one of them in like manner was forsaken by the Towns-men; but the *Romans* attempting to gain the other, through the rashnesse of some in their company, were beaten off, and forced tumultuously to betake themselves to their ships. *Cæsar* himself in the hurry was glad to leap into the Sea, and the Enemy following, to dive under water, and take breath now and then as he could; till (having swom almost a quarter of a mile) he was taken up into a ship. He lost 400 of his Legionary Soldiers in this skirmish, as many ship-men and rowers, yet neither he nor his Army were discouraged at all, but were rather incited to redeem their losse by some other exploit, which the *Alexandrians* taking notice of, sent to him, desiring he would dismisse their King, whom now they professed they were ready to obey; and if he should command them to be friends with him, they would presently yield. He knew there was neither any trusting of him nor them; but considering that if he dismissed him, they would be nothing the stronger, and if he should become the head of their party, the War would be more honourable, he gravely admonished him to act nothing contrary to the interest of his People, or his confederacy with *Rome*, and then gave him leave to depart, though he pretended an unwillingnesse to leave him, and notably counterfeited sincere friendship with feigned tears.

Idem ibid.

Again

He casteth himself into danger.

Appian de bello civili lib. 2.

Letteth the King go.

32. Though he being returned was very earnest for carying on the War, yet they seeing themselves nothing amended by the accession of his name or presence (which the *Romans* despised) and that they profited nothing by any of their attempts, were greatly discouraged, yet understanding that great supplies of men and provisions were coming to *Cæsar*, they resolved once more to take the Sea, and cut them off: And they did much hurt to those that came by water, till he sent out his Fleet under the command of *Tiberius Nero*, and restrained them. But by Land came *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*

Hirtius ibid.

Josephus Antiquit. l. 14. cap. 14, & 15. & de bello l. 1. cap. 7.

Aid sent to *Cæsar*.

from *Syria*, accompanied with *Antipater* the Governour of *Judæa*, and Father to *Herod* the Great, bringing down with him a great power of men, and pierced as far as *Peluſium*, which alſo was taken, with great pains and induſtry by aſſault. Thence marching down for *Alexandria* he took in the Country in his way, the *Jews* inhabiting thoſe parts (though at firſt they made reſiſtance, yet) being brought over by *Antipater* upon the producing of the letters of *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*. When *Ptolomy* heard this, and that he had nigh already reached *Delta*, a place not far diſtant from *Alexandria*; knowing he muſt needs paſſe the River, he ſent out a party to oppoſe him there, which he received prudently after the *Roman* faſhion, being intrenched in his Camp, and eaſily ſuſtained it's violence; till ſeeing them very diſorderly, and with great boldneſſe to aſſail his fortifications, he iſſued out, and killing a great number, had utterly defeated the reſt, but that by their knowledge of the Country, and by the Veſſels which had tranſported them, they ſecured themſelves. Whereupon rallying again they once more charged him, and a fight enſued in that place called *The Camp of the Jews*, in which engagement the wing commanded by *Mithridates* himſelf, was ſorely oppreſſed, and had been totally overthrown; but that *Antipater* (who led the other) came in in good time to the reſcue, put to flight the *Ægyptians*, and took their Camp; which *Mithridates* confeſſed by letters to *Cæſar*, acknowleging *Antipater* to have been the author, both of his ſafety, and the Victory. But now by this time was *Ptolomy* himſelf coming againſt *Mithridates*, and *Cæſar* alſo to fetch him off.

Being oppoſed overcometh.

33. Both went by Sea, but *Cæſar* firſt got to him, and took him in with his victorious Army. *Ptolomy* and *Cæſar* encamped then ſeven miles aſunder, the former in an high and moſt fortified place by nature, having a narrow River with exceeding high and precipitous banks betwixt him and the Enemy, which though the *Alexandrians* defended, yet *Cæſar*'s men got over (the Horſe by paſſing the Foard, and the Foot by laying over a bridge made of long trees) ſo that *Cæſar* ſat down, not far from the Kings Camp. The next day he ſtormed a Caſtle in a Village near adjoyning, the defendants whereof flying amain to the Camp, his men had well nigh entred with them; but coming to hand-ſtrokes, were beaten back, being ſeverally laid at, both from the fortifications and the ſhips. But *Cæſar* eſpying a very high place, which by reaſon of it's natural ſtrength was little looked to by the *Alexandrians*, ſet certain Companies to get up there; which being performed, and a great cry raiſed on purpoſe round about, the *Romans* brake in, in ſeveral places, and made great ſlaughter. Moſt of the defendants fled upon the irruption, and in great heaps leaped down into the trenches, wherein they firſt being overwhelmed, the reſt with great eaſe got over, amongſt which was the King; but coming to take boat, ſo many preſſed in after him, that the Veſſel ſunk, and he thereby was drowned, after he had reigned well nigh four years. Together with him fell in this War (though moſt after another faſhion) 20000 men, 12000 were taken with 70 long ſhips, and 500 of the *Romans* are ſaid to have been ſlain. *Cæſar* in confidence and purſute of this Victory, with the Horſe marched preſently to the City, where he found now not any reſiſtance, the Citizens entertaining him in a ſuppliant poſture, whom he comforted and forgive.

Cæſar ſtormeth the *Ægyptian* Camp.

A. M. 3598.

Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 16.

Ptolomy is drowned.

Cæſar taketh *Alexandria*.

34. Having thus made an end of the War, he laied not *Egypt* to the *Roman* Empire, but gave it to *Cleopatra*, joyning to her in mariage (to colour the buſineſſe) her younger brother as yet but eleven years old; but indeed ſubjecting all things to her will and power, with whom he was ſo familiar, as, out of love to her, he ſtaied in *Egypt* nine moneths, and had done it longer, or elſe had taken her with him to *Rome*, had he not been called thence by the urgent affaires of *Syria*; and not long after ſhe brought him a ſon, whom by his permiſſion ſhe named *Cæſario*. At his departure he removed *Arſione* out of the Kingdom, leſt any diſturbance ſhould ariſe upon her account, and left three Legions behind him for the ſecurity of theſe two Princes, who being diſreſpected by their own People for their reſpect to him, as yet were not confirmed in their ſeats.

Dio lib. 42.

Appian de bello civili l. 2.

Plutarch in Cæſare.

Sueton in Julio.

35. As

35. As for the Government, *Cleopatra* reigned, and acted alone without the controul of any, permitting her brother to enjoy the title with his life as yet. Not long after *Cæſar*'s departure, the eldeſt ſon of *Pompey* his Enemy coming to *Alexandria*, ſhe is (*a*) reported to have been as familiar and common with him; yet upon *Cæſar*'s invitation (*b*) went with her brother to *Rome*, where they were admitted as friends and allies; for her a lodging was provided in his own houſe, and having built a Temple to *Venus Genetrix* (which he had vowed before the battel at *Pharſalia*) he therein placed (*c*) her effigies beſide the Goddeſſe. In the fourth year, her brother growing towards a man, ſhe (*d*) poyſoned him, to be at her own liberty. After *Julius Cæſar* was killed in the Senate houſe, ſhe ſtood ever firm to thoſe that proſecuted the conſpiratours: to (*e*) *Dolobella*, at his requeſt of aid, ſhe ſent four Legions, and had a fleet ready to put out had the weather ſerved. To *Caſſius*, who with menacing language demanded ſupplies, ſhe plainly refuſed to ſend any; for that he had an hand in *Cæſar*'s death, his threats only inciting her to go and meet *Octavius Cæſar* and *Antony*, who were then making an Expedition againſt him and his fellow *Brutus*, the heads of their faction. He getting knowledge of her intentions, ſent a ſtrong party with 60 ſhips to hover for her about *Peloponneſus*; but ſuch a tempeſt ſeized on her Fleet, that her deſign was broken, and having received great loſſe, and now fallen ſick, ſhe was forced to return into *Ægypt*. *Antony* after the overthrow of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, being left in *Aſia* to ſettle the affaires thereof, thither ſhe repaired to him in a ſtrange antick faſhion, and he, who, when he formerly ſerved under *Gabinius* in *Ægypt*, had caſt a wanton eye upon her, was now ſo ſmitten, (though 40 years old) that he alſo became enſlaved to her in his affections. She ruled him and all his affaires, and procured him out of hand, to cauſe her ſiſter *Arſione* to be made away; who being formerly led in triumph by *Julius Cæſar* after the *Alexandrian* War, with the pity of all men, had for her brother and ſiſters ſake been then diſmiſſed.

Cleopatra poyſoneth her brother,

Cometh to *Antony* in *Aſia* who followeth her into *Ægypt*.

(*a*) *Plutarch in Antonio.* (*b*) *Sueton ut prius.* (*c*) *Appian ibid.* (*d*) *Joſephus. Antiquit. l. 15. cap. 4.* (*e*) *Appian de bello civili l. 3, & 4.*

A. M. 3963. *Ol. 184. an. 3. V. C. 712. Hyrcani 22. M. Emilio Lepido 2. L. Munatio Planco Coſſ.*

Plutarch ut prius. Appian lib. 5.

36. *Antony* had no power but to follow her into *Ægypt*, where they ſpent their time in nothing but extraordinary vanity and dalliance. After his reconciliation to *Cæſar*, and the making up of the breach betwixt them, by his marying of *Octavia*, *Cleopatra* fearing that this new wife might draw his affections from her ſelf, pretended to be almoſt mad in love with him, practiſing upon her body in ſuch ſort, that being reduced into a Conſumption, ſhe ſeemed not to be able to live in his abſence; whereupon he gave over his intention of invading *Parthia* for that time, and returned to *Alexandria*. Not long after ſhe begged of him that part of *Judæa* which bare *Balm*, and many other places and Countries, which he beſtowed upon her, to the great diſtaſte of the People of *Rome*, who took it in high diſdain, as well that ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions ſhould be given her, as that now he had divers children by her, two of which, beeing twins, were named *Sun* and *Moon*. Shortly after, ſhe accompanied him as far as *Euphrates*, then making an Expedition into *Armenia*, and taking *Judæa* in her way homeward, that part thereof, which *Antony* had given her, together with *Arabia*, ſhe let out to farm unto *Herod*, whom alſo, either out of her filthy affection to him (which ſhe pretended) or for ſome other end (having formerly wiſhed for an advantage againſt him, to get his Kingdom) ſhe ſollicited to the breach of the chaſtity of them both; but he inſtead of giving her ſatisfaction, conſulted with his friends how to kill her, and then being again terrified from that, to do her honour, waited on her home as far as *Peluſium*. *Antony* having proſpered in *Armenia* returned, and entred *Alexandria* in triumph, leading with him *Artavaſdes* the King with his wife and children, whom he earneſtly laboured with to make them fall down before her, as ſuppliants, but to no purpoſe. Then ſpent they their time in feaſting, he divided almoſt half of the *Roman* Empire betwixt her and her children; ſhe took upon her the name of *Iſis*, and he of *Oſiris*, and *Father Bacchus*, having his temples crowned with Ivy, and wearing buſkins; being drawn in that garb, after the faſhion of *Bacchus*, in a chariot through the ſtreets of the City.

Plutarch ut ſupra.

Their looſe practices.

37. These fooliſh and looſe practices brought great inconvenience upon them. For *Cæſar Octavius* and he fell preſently of recriminating each other, and *Anthony* not long after had the confidence to ſend to *Rome*, to deſire from the Senate a confirmation of his donations to her and her children; which gave ſuch offence, that his friends were forced to flie out of the City; whereupon he ſent thither again ſome to thruſt *Octavia* (his wife, and *Cæſar*'s ſiſter) out of his houſe, and took upon him to make War upon both People and Senate. *Cæſar* hereat inraged, found out a way to incenſe the People againſt him, by opening his will depoſited in the hands of the *Veſtal Nuns*, wherein he had laboured to make *Cæſario* the lawfull ſon of the *Dictator*, named for Heirs his Children begotten on *Cleopatra*, and commanded that notwithſtanding he might die at *Rome*, yet his body ſhould be ſent to her to *Alexandria*. Theſe things found to be true, gained credit to others which were but reported; as that in caſe he ſhould get the better, he would beſtow *Rome* it ſelf upon the *Queen*, and tranſlate the Seat of the Empire into *Egypt*. When *Cæſar* then was ready for the War, it was decreed againſt her, and he was deprived of all his Offices, which alone was thought enough at this time, leſt once declared an Enemy to the State, the other with him ſhould have been included in the ſame capacity, of whom divers, being men of great influence, might have been driven through deſperation, to act more vigorouſly for him: Hereby it was thought he would be ſufficiently intangled, reſolving not to forſake her on any terms whatſoever, and vulgarly accounted to be bewitched by her. And to little Jeſſe could theſe things practized by him amount to. He called her *Queen*, *Lady*, and *Miſtreſſe*, gave her *Romans* for her Guard (who had her name ingraven on their Targets.) He went abroad, celebrated Games, ſate in Judgement, and ſometimes rode with her, and when ſhe pleaſed to be drawn in her Chariot, ran by her ſide amongſt the Lackies. She was ſo confident ſhe ſhould be Miſtreſſe at length of the Miſtreſſe of the World, that if ſhe would ſwear moſt religiouſly, it ſhould be by that Law or Sentence, which ſhe was about to pronounce in the *Capitol*.

Sueton in Octavio & Dio, lib. 49. 50.

Plutarch. in Antonio.

War at *Rome* is decreed againſt it.

He is bewitched as it were by her.

38. For all this ado, yet in the preparation for the War, *Anthony* miſtruſted her, and that ſo far, as to have his meat taſted for fear of poyſon. She taking notice of it, poyſoned a Cup of drink, and giving him it, when he was about to ſet it to his mouth, interpoſed her hand, convincing him thereby how eaſie a matter it was for her to do that of which ſhe was ſuſpected to have an intention, and then ſending for a Malefactour out of priſon, and giving him the liquor, he died immediately. This made him bold and confident of her, and further enſlaved his affections, inſomuch that ſhe ruled him in the management of the War. For *Canidius*, whom ſhe had bribed to get leave for her to continue with him, changing afterwards his mind, or (at leaſt his language) and adviſing him to ſend her back into *Egypt*, and to go into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, and there to decide the controverſie in a pitcht battel, ſhe prevailed againſt him not onely to ſtay, but made *Anthony* ingage at *Actium* in a Sea-fight, yet providing rather for flight than victory. Ere it could juſtly be diſcerned which party would carry it, ſhe being impatient of delay, with her Golden Prow and Purple ſayls, giving a ſign to her *Ægyptians*, betook her ſelf to flight, which *Anthony* ſeeing, made haſte after her as faſt as poſſible, and being received on board, neither ſaw, nor was ſeen by her; but ſate him down in a ſad and thoughtfull poſture, holding his head betwixt his hands; and for three or four dayes ſo continued, till arriving at *Tenarus* (a Promontory of *Lacunia*) the women there that were intimate with her brought them together. He paſſing over into *Africk*, ſhe returned into *Egypt*, counterfeiting a triumph with her ſhip curiouſly adorned, and melodious ſinging, that ſhe might be received of her Subjects, the chiefeſt of which preſently ſhe put to death, whom ſhe knew formerly to have born no good will towards her, and now to be elevated upon the report of the defeat received at *Actium*. Confiſcating their eſtates, and rifling religious houſes, ſhe heaped together a great Maſſe

Plinius Naturall. Hiſtor. lib. 21. cap. 3.

Yet ſuſpecteth her.

Plutarch. ut prius.

She maketh him ingage at *Actium*,

Dio lib. 50.

Where he his defeated.

A. M. 3974. Ol. 187. ann. 3. V. C. 723. Herodis 9. Octavio Ceſare 3. M. Valerio Meſſala Coſſ.

Maſſe of Treaſure, raiſing forces therewith with all expedition, and that ſhe might draw into Confederacy the King of *Media*, ſhe ſent him the head of *Artavaſdes* (or *Artabazus*) the *Armenian*, his Æmulator. Then, attempting a matter of greateſt difficulty, ſhe conveyed ſhips over the *Iſthmus*, or Neck of Land (which parting the *Ægyptian* (or *Mediterranean*) from the *Red-Sea* divideth *Aſia* from *Africk*,) into the *Arabian* Bay, intending to fly ſervitude, and ſeek out ſome forein ſeat, wherein to ſpend the remainder of her dayes. But *Anthony* returning to her, who as yet had heard nothing of the loſſe of his Land-Army, they incouraged themſelves, and ſhe changed her purpoſe. Her ſhips were burnt by the Inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa*, at the procurement of *Q. Didius* the *Preſident* of *Syria*.

She conveyeth ſhips into the *Arabian* Bay to ſeek out her fortune, but is diverted by him.

39. But *Anthony* having notice that his Army had revolted to *Cæſar*, withdrew himſelf in a ſad and Melancholick poſture from the ſight of all men into the Iſland *Pharos*, and then again within a while, having diſburthened himſelf of grief, returned to the Court, where they indulged their genius more than ever, thoſe that were willing to die with them giving in their names, and paſſing away their time together in nothing but feaſting and jollity. She gathered together divers ſorts of poyſons, which ſhe tried upon Capital Offenders and Brutes, approving above all the biting of an Aſp, which ſhe obſerved without any convulſion to caſt the party into an heavy ſtupefaction, with a moderate ſweat upon the face, and ſo to kill with an eaſie kind of languiſhment. Before *Cæſar* came down into *Egypt* againſt them, they ſent ſeveral times to him. She asked the Kingdom for her Children, and without *Anthony* his knowledge ſent him a Scepter, a Crown of Gold, and a royal Throne, giving up her Kingdom to him, as it were, with thoſe, to gain reſpect. He received them as a good Omen, and returned to her openly threatning language; yet underhand promiſed her impunity, and the entire poſſeſſion of her Kingdom, if ſhe would make away *Anthony*. And fearing leſt ſhe might be brought to undertake ſome deſperate deſign, he ſent one *Thyrſeus* his Freed-man, and a cunning fellow to her, to make her believe he was in Love with her, hoping that then, beſides the ſaving of the Treaſure, which ſhe had threatned to burn, ſhe having a great ambition to be loved by all great perſons, would not ſtick at killing *Anthony*. She deſiring indeed that it might be ſo, & remembring how his Uncle, in time paſt, and ſince that *Anthony* had been bewitched by her, eaſily fooled her ſelf into a fond belief thereof, and promiſed her ambition, not onely *pardon*, and *Egypt*, but the *Roman Empire* it ſelf. *Anthony* ſeeing her kind to the Meſſenger above meaſure, ſuſpected ſomething, and ſoundly liſhing him, ſent him back to his Maſter; and then ſhe to wipe off his jealouſie moſt ſolemnly celebrated his birth-day (though ſuitably to her preſent condition ſhe neglected her own) and fought all manner of wayes how to humour him. Yet did ſhe betray *Peluſium*, and cauſeth the Fleet and Horſe to revolt to him.

Plutarch. in Antonio & Dio lib. 51.

Many willing to die give their names, and they ſpend their time in jollity.

She yet laboureth to curry favour with *Cæſar*.

She betrayeth *Peluſium*, and cauſeth the Fleet and Horſe to revolt to him.

40. She being afraid of him, went to her Monument, as intending to kill her ſelf, under pretence of being afraid of *Cæſar*, and ſent a Meſſenger to him to tell him ſhe was dead. He giving credit to it, deſired *Eros* his ſervant to kill him; but he preventing it with his own death, he wounded himſelf in the belly; but the ſtroak not being ſuch an one as could preſently diſpatch him, he intreated his friends to do it, who refuſing, and running out of the room, a tumult enſued, and ſhe perceiving what was done, ſent for him up into her Monument. He underſtanding ſhe was alive, aroſe, thinking he might alſo poſſibly live; but the blood iſſuing out in great abundance, he deſpaired of it, and was born by his attendants to the door of the build-

Anthony killeth himſelf.

building, whence he was drawn up with Cords in a lamentable plight, all in goar blood, helping himself as it were, and stretching out his hands to her, and her women, who haled him up thus to the top. When he was got up she laid him on a bed, tore her flesh, wiped off his bloud with her face, calling him *Lord*, *Husband*, and *General*, after which he presently expired. *Cæsar* now desired to get her into his power by strong hand, having an extraordinary ambition to grace his Triumph with her, and not willing to promise any thing, and be counted a deceiver by falsifying his word. She continued still in the Monument, hoping at least to purchase her Kingdom by the Treasure she had yet in her power, and refused to come down, talking with the Messengers from above. But presently some got in to her, removed all things out of the way wherewith she might hurt her self, and then bringing her into the Palace, detracted nothing from her former state, thereby to delude her with vain hope. *Cæsar* now without any trouble entred *Alexandria* with *Arius* the Philosopher on his right hand, who formerly had read the Sciences to him; he permitted her to bury *Antony* as she pleased, which after she had done, being spent with sorrow, and her breast all exulcerated with stroaks, she thereby contracted a Feaver, and glad of that pretence to abstain from all sustenance, and so end her dayes, she consulted also with *Olympus* her Physician how to reduce her self into a Consumption. But *Cæsar* smelling it out, so terrified her about her Children, that she was content to desist.

Cæsar earnestly desireth to lead her in Triumph, and doth all he can to deceive her.

41. Shortly after, he coming to comfort her, she cast her self down at his feet, indeavouring with all the art she had to inveigle his affections, which though he perceived, yet fixing his eyes on the ground, he onely said, *Be of good chear Woman, thou shalt have no harm*, she being sollicitous, not for life, but love, and a Kingdom. Then gave she in an Inventory of her Goods and Treasure, at which *Seleucus* one of her Officers was so Malapert, as to accuse her of suppressing something; whereupon she flew in his face, and soundly buffered him, *Cæsar* smiling, and gently reprehending her for it. But she asked him whether it was not an hard case for her, whom he had deigned to visit, to be accused by one of her own slaves, if she had reserved any thing, not for her self, but wherewithall to present his wife and sister, that they might render him the more favourable to her. Hereat he exceedingly rejoyced, hoping she had a great desire to live, and promised her great matters, vainly supposing he therein deceived her. But she having notice by *Dolobella*, a young Gentleman amongst his followers, and one that bare her great good will, that after three dayes, she and her Children were to go for *Italy*, first obtained leave of him to celebrate the obsequies of *Antony*, which having performed with lamentations, and great shew of affection, she commanded a Bath to be prepared, and sitting down to meat, sumptuously Dined. After Dinner she gave a Letter to her Keeper to carry to *Cæsar* (wherein she desired she might be buried by *Antony*) sealed, that he thinking the contents to be of consequence, might the more easily be removed out of the way. He being gone, with the help of her two women, she made fast the doors, most gorgeously apparelled her self, as upon some solemn day, with her royal Ornaments, and then put an Asp (which she had procured to be brought in secretly amongst Figs, Grapes, and Flowers) to her left Arm, with the biting of which, she fell presently as into a sleep, and so died. *Cæsar* having read the Letter presently perceived what was done, and indeavoured with all speed to recall her to life, though in vain, grieving sore that he was frustrated of a glorious Triumph, yet pitying and admiring the person, whom he caused to be royally interred with *Antony*, according to her desire, and afterwards dealt very nobly with their Children. Adorned she was with all the endowments of nature above her Sex. Being learned her self, she was a great Lover and Promoter of knowledge; which she testified in erecting another Library, in the room of that which had been burnt, supplied with books from *Pergamus* at the procurement of *Antony*. She lived 39 years, reigned 22. (counted from her fathers death) fourteen whereof

Plutarch & Dio ut supra.

Vide Suetonia Octavio. Florum lib. 4. cap. 11. Orosium lib. 6. cap. 19. Eutropium l. 7.

But she having notice of his intentions dieth by the biting of an Asp.

A. M. 3975. *Ol.* 187. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 724. *Herodis* 10. *Octavio Cæsare* 4. *M. Licinio Crasso Coll.*

whereof she spent with *Antony*. And with her perished her Kingdom, now reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, and the *Macedonian* Empire was quite extinct, 300 years after the death of *Darius*, and the Monarchy of *Alexander*, by whom it arose; 293 after *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus* had obtained *Egypt*; in the third of the 187 *Olympiad*, the year of the World 3975. and 28 before the birth of Christ. *Octavius Cæsar* the 4th time, and *M. Licinius Crassus* being *Consuls*.

Contemporaries with the Empire of the Macedonians.

CHAP. VII.

The *Judæan* Kingdom or Principality of the *Asmonæans*.

From the departure of Antiochus Sidetes *from* Jerusalem *to the reign of* Herod *an alien, being by birth an* Idumæan, *conteining the space of 98 years.*

1. After *Antiochus* had raised his siege and departed from *Jerusalem*, as was said before, he undertook an Expedition against the *Parthians*, wherein he was slain. *John* the son of *Simon* who then was chief both *Priest* and *Magistrate* of the *Jews* accompanied him some way with a band of Auxiliaries, and got the surname of *Hyrcanus* from the overthrow of the *Hyrcanians*, as it's thought, and returned with great credit into his own Countrey. A. M. 3870. A. M. 3877.

John surnamed *Hyrcanus* his exploits.

After *Antiochus* his death, he led down an Army into *Syria*, thinking, as indeed it fell out, that the Cities were left without defence, whereof he took several, *Medaba*, *Samaga*, *Sicima*, and *Gerizim*, where the *Cutheans* had built a Temple resembling that at *Jerusalem*. In this Expedition he also subdued *Idumæa*, the Inhabitants whereof he put to their choice, whether they would be circumcised or quit their habitations. They chose the former, and now began to be reckoned amongst the *Jews*, submitting to all their rites and ceremonies. After this he sent to *Rome*, desiring that the confederacy made with the Senate might be renewed; that *Joppa*, *Gazara*, with other Cities and places taken from the *Jews* by *Antiochus*, contrary to their Decree, might be restored, that it might not be lawful for the King of *Syria* to passe through their Country with his Armies, that whatsoever *Antiochus* had attempted against them in War contrary to their will might be made frustrate, and that the Senate would please to send their Ambassadors to procure those things, and to cause satisfaction to be given for the havock made of the Country. The Fathers renewed the confederacy with them, according to their desire, promised to take order they should be no more wronged, and dismissed the Ambassadors with money to bear their charges, and letters commendatory to those through whose Countryes they should passe. The many changes which then presently hapned in the *Syrian* Kingdom so diverted the several Princes from medling with the *Jews*, that they were glad of their friendship, and this proved a sufficient opportunity for *Hyrcanus* to establish his affaires. For they destroying one another with War, he securely injoyed the revenues of the Countrey, and got together a great masse of money; so that despising them, he went and besieged *Samaria*, the Inhabitants of which he was displeased with for their injury offered to the *Mariss-*

A. M. 3878. *Ol.* 163. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 627. *Seleucid.* 186. *Ptol. Physcon.* 20. *Joh. Hyrcani* 9.

Her reneweth the League with *Rome.*

Besiegeth *Samaria.*

Idem cap. 18.

seni,

seni, though the King of *Syria*'s Subjects, yet his friends and allies.

2. He cast a trench about it, and committed the siege to the care of his two sons *Antigonus* and *Aristobulus*, who sorely oppressed the defendants, hindering all importation of Victuals, so that they were constrained to beg aid of *Antiochus Cyzicenus* then reigning in *Syria*. He came, but was overthrown by *Aristobulus* his Soldiers, and being pursued by the brothers as far as *Scythopolis*, hardly escaped, and the siege was renewed. The besieged reduced to their former necessities, sent once more to *Cyzicenus*, who then obtaining about 6000 men of *Ptolomy Lathurus* (then expelled his Kingdom by his mother) made an inroad into *Hyrcanus* his Dominions, and made havock of all things, thereby hoping to constrain him to raise the siege. But having lost many of his men intercepted by the Enemy, he himself went to *Tripolis*, and gave over the War to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, two of his Captains. *Callimander* being more venturous than wise was presently slain, and his fellow was corrupted to betray *Scythopolis* and other Towns to *Hyrcanus*, who then after a years lying before *Samaria* took it, razed it, and brought the water-courses through the Place, by the filth of which all appearance of a Town was taken away. After this, inviting the *Pharisees* on a time (whose Scholar he had been) to a feast, he laboured to approve his sincerity to them, and desired, if any of them knew any fault in him, to tell him plainly of it. All approved of his manners but one *Eleazarus* a seditious and bad man, who told him, that if would be accounted good, he must devest himself of the Priesthood, and be content with the Principality, for that he had heard say, that his mother was a captive in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This being utterly false, *Hyrcanus* was grievously offended, and so were the *Pharisees*; but *Jonathan* a *Saducee* of the contrary sect, and one in great grace with him, took thence occasion to tell him, that this affront came from all the *Pharisees* together, and that he should perceive it by the punishment they would inflict upon him, if their opinion was demanded. They being mercifully inclined, thought it sufficient he should be imprisoned and beaten for no greater an offence: at which *Hyrcanus* was sore displeased, as then thinking they had raised that scandal of him. Wherefore being more incensed by *Jonathan*, he revolted to the *Saducees*, abrogated the constitutions of the *Pharisees*, and punished their followers, whence it came to passe, that neither he nor his sons were much beloved by the People. A sedition also arose hereupon, but he quieted all, and having governed the People 31 years died, being honoured with three especial dignities, of the chief *Government*, *High-Priesthood*, and also *Prophecy*, as *Jonathan* tells us, who relateth, that he foretold his two eldest sons should neither of them long enjoy his Principality. A. M. 3899, the last of the 160 *Olympiad*, about 104. years before the birth of *Christ*.

Idem ibid. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. c. 2, & 3.

Taketh it.

Grudges betwixt him and the *Pharisees*.

31. Mention being here made of *Pharisees*, it is requisite to speak something of this sect and others amongst the *Jews*, according to the nature of this work, *Josephus* first maketh mention of them in the ninth Chapter of his thirteenth Book of *Antiquities*, afterwards more diligently and largely handling them. There is no question but these sects sprang up after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity. It's probable that the difference amongst them arose after the building of the second Temple, about their worship and offerings. Some thought they were onely to live by the prescript of the Law, neither above nor below it. Others believed they were not onely to act according to the bare letter of the Scriptures, but also according to such senses and consequences as might be made out from it, and accordingly they offered over and above what the Law required in the service of the Temple, even what they conceived was due according to their riches or other respects. Those that stood to the letter of the Law were called *Karaïms*: Those that besides the precepts of the Law did works of supererogation, and voluntary service without any compulsion, were named *Hasidim*, that is *Saints* or *Holy*, and (after they grew into a body) *Hasidæans*. As long as this voluntary and supererogatory service was free and spontaneous, there

The original of the several Jewish Sects.

* *Lib. 18. c. 2. & de bello lib. 2. c. 7.*

Consule Josephum Scaligerum in Eleucho Trihæresi Fullerum Miscellan. l. 1. c. 3.

there was no such schism; but when this doctrine of the *Hasidæans* came to be digested into precepts, and the precepts of supererogation into writings and Canons, many doubts, disputes, and controversies, daily arose, whence two dogmatical Sects had their original. One which onely allowed of the Law it self, and Another that imbraced also the glosses and interpretations of it. From the latter, being that of the *Hasidæans*, sprung up some who called themselves *Peruschim* or *Separate*, as those, who by reason of their holiness were not onely distinct and separated from the vulgar, but also from other *Hasidæans*, for that they taught that those constitutions formerly accounted free, were to be observed out of necessity. These *Peruschim* in *Syriack Pheruschim*, came by *Greek* writers to be called *Pharisees*. Now as out of the *Hasidæans* arose the *Pharisees*, so from amongst the *Karraims* the *Saducees*, so named from *Sadoc*. *Antigonus* the master of this *Sadoc*, and scholar to *Simeon* the *Just*, amongst other heads of doctrin had taught, that they *ought not to be like servants, who served their Masters on this condition to receive their wages*, meaning that we ought to serve God out of love, and not for our own gain or advantage. But *Sadoc*, or *Saduc*, & *Baithus* interpreted this godly saying into a wicked sence, teaching, that there was no reward after this life; and therefore denied the future state, and framed their heresie. The third sect was that of the *Esse*i or *Esseni*, who as it's probable sprang from the *Pharisees*, though when it began be uncertain. *Philo Judæus* thinketh they were so called from their holiness Ὅσιοι, as though Ὅσιοι, though more probable from *Hasi* the *Syriack*, whence the *Greek* Ὅσιος may be derived. The *Hebrew* signifieth such as live apart from noise, which agreeth much with those *Esseni*, who like the *Pythagoraans* kept silence, and lived in deserts or Villages by themselves, far from others. They had skill in physick, and thence some would derive their name from the *Hebrew Asa*, which signifieth to heal. This Sect was later than that of the *Pharisees*, and some think it arose at this time when *Hyrcanus* turned *Saduce*, and persecuted the Sect of the *Pharisees*; for then might many of the *Pharisees* to shun persecution depart into the Wildernesse and desert places, and afterwards be called *Essæi* or *Esseni*, who were held more strict than the *Pharisees* themselves.

Drusium lib. de tribus sectis Judæorum. Jacobum Cappellum ad A. M. 3891. *& Simsonium* & A.M.3896.

4. But, (to return to our matter) *John* sirnamed *Hyrcanus* left five sons, whereof *Aristobulus* the eldest (sirnamed *Philellen* for his love to, and familiarity with the *Greeks*) succeeded him, and first changed his Principality into a Kingdom, setting a Diadem on his head, 481 years after the return of the *Jews* from the captivity of *Babylon*. His second brother he loved exceedingly, so as he made him his partner in the Kingdom; but shut up the rest in prison, and with them his mother, to whom his father had left the Principality, and proceeded so far in unnatural cruelty, as to starve her to death. Not long after, he caused to be made away also his beloved brother, though against his will he did it. For he (*Antigonus* by name) returning victorious from the Wars, at the Feast of the Tabernacles, marched up with his Soldiers to the Temple, as intending to offer sacrifice for his brother then lying sick. This was presently interpreted to *Aristobulus* as an effect of a bad intention towards him, and a sufficient sign of affecting the Kingdom, and it was represented to him, as if *Antigonus* would presently come down and kill him, accounting it folly when he might reign alone, to be content with a communicated honour. He having rejected tales heretofore, did not easily give credit to them now, but to provide for his own security, and yet shun suspition, he commanded some of his guard to stand in an obscure place where he was to come, and if he came armed, then to kill him, but if not, then not to molest him, and he sent also to him to come without any guard at all. But the *Queen* and the rest of the conspirators, perswaded the messenger to deliver his errand on the clean contrary way, so that *Antigonus* thinking nothing, but coming to see his brother, was there murdered. After it was done, *Aristobulus* presently repented of the deed, though knowing nothing concerning the message, which so increased his disease, as he vomited blood for anguish.

Aristobulus the son of *Hyrcanus* changeth the Principality into a Kingdom.

A. M. 3900. *Ol.* 168. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 649. *Ptol. Lath.* 13.

His cruelty against his mother and brethren.

of mind. This being carried out by one of his attendants, chanced to be spilt in that place where *Antigonus* was slain, which being judged by them that saw it, to be done of purpose, they cried out against the thing, and made such a noise, that the King hearing it, forced the matter out of them; after which his Agony increased so highly (crying out, that his blood was required for that of his mothers and brothers which he had spilt, and chiding as it were his body for retaining the Soul required of him by their Ghosts) that in great torment of conscience he presently breathed out his last, when he had scarce reigned a whole year. He profited much his Countrey by his Government, and making War upon *Iturea*, laid a great part of it to his own Dominions, and frighted the Inhabitants by threatning banishment to them, into an imbracement of Circumcision, and the other *Jewish* Rites.

He dieth within a years time.

5. He being dead, his wife *Salome* (called by the *Greeks Alexandra*) set his brothers at liberty, of which *Jannæus* (or *Alexander*) was made King, excelling his brothers, as in age so also in modesty. His father is said to have hated him, and sent him out of his sight to be educated in *Galile* presently after his birth, because being sollicitous for his two eldest sons, and desiring of God to know his Successor, his likeness was represented to him in his sleep. Being seized of the Kingdom, he put to death one of his brothers that conspired against him, but the other who was contented with a private life he much honoured. Having setled his affairs at home, he went and besieged *Ptolemais*, which with *Gaza* onely of the Sea-Towns remained unconquered, besides the Tower of *Straton* (since called *Cæsarea*) and *Dora*, which *Zoilus* the Tyrant had got into his hands. At this time the two brothers *Antiochus Grypus* (called by *Josephus Philometor*) and *Antiochus Cyzicenus* in *Syria*, attending nothing but the destruction of each other, the Defendants had little hope of any succour from either of them, onely *Zoilus*, who gaped after the Citie himself, gave them a little relief. There remaining no help to be hoped for, but either from *Egypt*, or *Cyprus* (whither *Lathurus* had been expelled by his mother *Cleopatra*) they sent to him, desiring he should rescue them out of the hands of *Alexander*, giving him hopes, that he should not onely have them, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* also on his side, and that *Zoilus*, the *Sidonians* and others would come and help him. He being puffed up with these promises made what haste he could, but *Demanetus* one of their Citizens perswaded them for reasons formerly recited to refuse his help, notwithstanding which he came on, and pitching his Tents near the Citie, seeing he had no Message from them, began to be discouraged. But *Zoilus* and the *Gazæans* came shortly to him, and desired his help against *Alexander*, who wasted their Territories, whereupon the siege was raised before *Ptolemais*, and *Alexander* departed home, where he attempted to overturn by policy the design of *Ptolemy*. He sent privily to *Cleopatra*, exciting her against him, but openly counterfeiting himself his Friend and Ally, promised him 300 Talents of silver to take off *Zoilus* the Tyrant, and lay his Territories to his Dominions. At first he willingly imbraced his friendship and took *Zoilus*, but then finding he had sent underhand to his mother, renounced it again, and went and besieged *Ptolemais*, which had shut the Gates on him, where leaving part of his Army to continue the siege, he departed thence to invade *Judæa*. *Alexander* also understanding his purpose, raised an Army of 50000 (some say 80000) and went to meet him.

Jannæus or *Alexander* his brother succeedeth him.

A. M. 3901.

Besieging *Ptolemais*, the siege is raised by *Ptolomy Lathurus*.

A. M. 3905. *Ol.* 170. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 654. *Seleucid.* 213. *Alexand.* 5. *C. Mayio* 6. *L. Valerio Flacco Coss.*

6. He took *Asychis* a Town in *Galile*, setting upon it at unawares on the *Sabbath*, and then attempted to do the like by *Sephoris*, a place not far distant from the other; but was received with such resolution, as he lost many of his men, and arose from thence to go to meet *Alexander*, whom having found to have reached the River *Jordan*, he pitched his Tents on this side over against him. *Alexander* suffered him quietly to passe the River, foolishly supposing that the victory would be more easie if the Enemy had it on his back, and so could not run away. For some time the victory was doubtfull, or seemed to incline to *Alexanders* party, till his Soldiers being beaten back by a reserve of fresh men, and having none to succour them were

Idem Ibid. & cap. 21.

Who invadeth *Judæa*, and overthroweth *Alexander* in battel.

were put to flight, and the Enemy gave the chace as long as he could hold a sword for weariness, so that 30000 (some have affirmed 50000) were slain in this battel. *Ptolomy* ranging up and down the Countrey, fell at length into some Villages, which seeing full of Women and Children, he commanded his Soldiers to kill them promiscuously, and cutting off their limbs to cast them into hot Caldrons, that a report going that his Army ate mans flesh, the Enemy might thereby be discouraged. But *Cleopatra* hearing that her son thus prospered in his undertakings, thought her self concerned therein, especially he being so near her, and therefore she came against him with Forces both by Land and Sea, over which she placed *Chœreas* and *Ananias*, both *Jews*. Her son thinking he had her at advantage, being now out of *Egypt*, hasted thither, but she had left it so provided, as he could not do any thing according to his purpose, and was beaten back to *Gaza* by a party she sent after him. She having taken *Ptolemais*, *Alexander* thither came to her, where he was received as a person distressed by her adversary, and one who onely had refuge in her self. Some advised her to seize his Countrey into her hands, & not to suffer so many good *Jews* to be at the command and pleasure of one man: but *Ananias* counting it wickedness for him to dispossesse a man received into friendship, and his own Kinsman besides, of his estate, and withall thinking that thereby he should lose himself with the *Jews* in all places, he perswaded her to the contrary, and so she entred into a League with him at *Scythopolis*, a Citie of *Cœlesyria*.

But is driven back by his own mother.

Who entereth into League with *Alexander*.

7. Hereby he being freed from all danger, both from mother and son, he presently made another expedition into *Celesyria*, took *Gadara* after he had layen ten moneths before it, and *Amathus* a strong Castle upon the River *Jordan*, where *Theodorus* the son of *Zenon* had laid up his Treasure, who falling suddenly upon the *Jews*, cut off 10000 of them, and plundred the carriages. Yet he was not at all terrified herewith from setting upon *Raphia* and *Anthedon* (called afterwards *Agrippias* by *Herod*) which he took, and perceiving *Ptolomy* to be gone to *Cyprus*, and his mother into *Egypt*, being angry with them of *Gaza*, for calling him in to help them against him, he set upon the Citie, and wasted their grounds. In the mean time *Apollodotus* their General brake out into his Camp by night with 12000 men, and as long as night lasted had the better of it, but as soon as it was day the *Jews* uniting themselves, and encouraged after they saw *Ptolomy* was not come whom they expected, charged the Towns-men so fiercely as they slew 1000 men. For all this they would not yield, expecting the coming of *Aretas* the *Arabian* King; but the Citie was taken ere they could see his face, by the treachery of *Lysimachus* the brother of *Apollodotus*, whom he envying for being in so great grace with the people, murdered, and then getting a party close about him delivered up the place. *Alexander* upon his entry did no harm to the Inhabitants, but not long after gave Commission to his Soldiers to kill and slay all they would, who ranging up and down with fury and sword, as many of them lost their lives as they slew, the Defendants fighting courageously, and setting their houses on fire, lest they should become a prey to them; and some killed their Wives and Children with their own hands, rather than they should be led into Captivity. It hapned that at the same time that *Alexander* was let in, the Senate was met, which consisting of 500 men, he put all to the sword, and then razing the Citie, returned to *Jerusalem* a year after he first sate down before *Gaza*.

Idem ibid.

He again invading *Cœlesyria*,

Hath *Gaza* betrayed to him.

A. M. 3909. *Ol.* 171. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 658. *Seleucid.* 217. *Alexand.* 9. *Cn. Domitio Ænobarbo C. Cæsio Longino Coss.*

8. He was not at all affected by his Subjects, which they clearly manifested when the feast of Tabernacles came. For then as he was about to sacrifize they threw Oranges at him, and rail'd at him, upbraiding him with Captivity (that I suppose of his Grand-mother objected before to his Father) and crying out that he was not worthy of so high an Office as the high Priest-hood. Being inraged hereat he slew about 6000 of them; made up the place about the Altar with boards to defend himself for the time to come from the violence of the multitude, and furnished himself with Guards hired out of *Pisidia* and *Cilicia*. Then overthrew he the *Arabians*, and imposed Tribute upon

Idem ibid. & De bello lib. 1. *cap.* 3.

the *Moabites* and *Galadites*, and levelled *Amathus* with the ground, *Theodorus* not once daring to ingage. But making another expedition against the *Arabians*, he was drawn into an ambush by *Obeda* their King, and being thrust amongst the Craggy and precipitous Rocks by a multitude of Camels, he hardly escaped himself by flight to *Jerusalem*, his whole Army being cut off. Then were his Rebellious Subjects encouraged by this his overthrow to begin fresh stirs, which continued six years, during which time they fought often, but he had the better, and destroyed no lesse than fifty thousand of them. This yet was no matter of joy to him thus to lose the strength of his own Kingdom; therefore he endeavoured to make up the breach, and by fair means to be reconciled to them. But being asked by him wherewith he should appease them, they answered, if he would kill himself, for scarce could they pardon him being dead. Then sent they to *Demetrius*, surnamed *Aoarus*, inducing him with great promises to come and aid them, so that joyning with him they made up an Army of 3000 horse, and 40000 foot, their King having 26200 men in his Army. Both at the first laboured to draw their Enemies men to revolt, *Demetrius* those *Greeks* that were in pay with *Alexander*, and he the *Jews* which had called him in, but this succeeding on no part, they both resolved to end the controversie with dint of sword. *Demetrius* had the better of it (all *Alexanders* Auxiliaries being slain, though they behaved themselves most gallantly) but he was no whit better, but much worse for his victory. For the *Jews* taking pity of their King after this his defeat, about 6000 went over to him, which so discouraged *Demetrius*, that he thereupon retreated into his own Countrey.

He is defeated by the *Arabians*, and hath Wars with his rebellious and sawcy Subjects.

Idem ibid. & Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 22.

9. They thenceforth waged War with him by themselves, but still had the worst of it, and many of them were slain. At length he forced the strongest up into a Town called *Bethoma*, which reducing, he took them in it, and brought them up to *Jerusalem*, where he caused 800 of them to be nailed to Crosses, and their Wives and Children to be slain in their sight, yet living, he beholding the Spectacle from an high place, banquetting, and dallying with his women. He was highly provoked with that stubborn people, who not onely brought him often into extream danger of life and estate, but not contenting themselves with what they could do by their own power, without calling in of forein aid, had reduced him to that necessity, that he was glad to restore those places he had subdued in the Countrey of *Moab* and *Galaad* to the *Arabian*; and for animadversion upon them they nicknamed him *Thracida*. About 8000 men got away by night, and passed all the time he lived, in Exile, and so ever after the Kingdom continued free from seditions. *Antiochus Dionysus* King of *Syria* intending to make an invasion of *Arabia* through his Kingdom, he getting knowledge of it, drew a Ditch from *Caparsale* (afterwards called *Antipatris*) as far as the Sea of *Joppe*, to hinder him, strengthning it with a Bulwark, and Forts built here and there upon it where he expected him. But he burning these up easily got over, and then invading *Arabia*, was there slain in battel by *Aretas* the King, who was made King of *Cœlesyria*, and making an inroad into *Judæa*, overthrew *Alexander* at *Adida*, and forcing him to subscribe to his own conditions, then departed. Afterwards *Alexander* gathering together his Forces, went and took divers Towns with all the Valley of *Antiochus* (as it was called) and the Castle *Gamala*, and returned to *Jerusalem* at the end of three years, joyfully and honorably received then by his people for his valour; and indeed at this time the Nation, what by his own, and the diligence of his Predecessors, arrived at that height for dominion and glory abroad, that they enjoyed many Cities in *Syria*, *Idumæa*, *Phœnicia*, and other Countreys; whereof a Catalogue of most *Josephus* hath left unto us, and amongst which *Pella* a Town of *Moab* was destroyed, because the Inhabitants refused to receive the *Jewish* Rites. *Alexander* towards his latter end fell to drunkennesse, whereby he contracted a Quartan Ague, which held him three years; yet recovered he his antient temper of mind, though not of body, and following on his Wars laid siege to *Ragola* beyond *Jordan*, in the Coun-

A. M. 3920. *Ol.* 173. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 669. *Selencid.* 228. *Alexand.* 20.

Idem Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 23. *& De bello lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

His Conquests abroad.

Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 23.

Countrey of the *Gerasens*, where being spent with the force of the disease, he died before the Walls of that place, in the 27th year of his reign, and of his age the 49. A.M. 3927. and the third of the 173 *Olympiad*, some 76 years before the birth of *Christ*.

His death.

10. His wife *Alexandra* seeing his end approaching, bewailed much the condition of her self and children, being destitute of succour, and about to enter upon the government of a People, likely enough to be untoward towards them, which bore him so much ill will. He advised her, that she might reign securely, first to keep close his death till that place should be gained, then going victoriously to *Jerusalem* to send for the chief of the *Pharisees*, whom both he and his Father had grievously offended, and thereby incurred the hatred of the People, and to gain their favour to shew them his body, and give them power of disposing of it at their pleasure, either as to bestow burial upon it, or cast it out without Sepulture, or otherwise to abuse it at their pleasure; and withall, to promise them to do nothing without their counsel and advice. The Castle being taken, she ordered her affaires according to his direction, whereby she purchased the love of the *Pharisees*, who going out and speaking to the People, related the great things done by *Alexander*, signified to them the losse of a just King, and so stirred up the multitude to mourning and lamentation, that hereby she procured him (even as he foretold her) a more honourable burial than else he could have had, and so sumptuous a funeral as any of his Predecessors obtained. *Alexander* left two sons by this his wife, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*; but to her left the management of the Kingdom. The elder of their sons was not at all made for government, but dull and heavy. She being in great grace with the People, because she ever had pretended to dislike the proceedings of her husband, made *Hyrcanus* the *High-Priest*, not so much out of respect to his birthright as his lazinesse, keeping the title of *Queen* and Governesse, though indeed all things were ordered at the will and pleasure of the *Pharisees*, whom the People were commanded to obey, and against whom all such constitutions as were made by *Hyrcanus* were taken away. Yet she took care for something her self, for she kept in pay a great number of foreiners, and so increased her power, that she became formidable abroad, and such a terror to the neighbouring petty Governours, that she constrained them to give Hostages.

His advice to his wife to gain the *Pharisees*.

A. M. 3927. *Ol.* 175. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 676. *Selencid.* 235.

Idem cap. 24. *& de bello ut prius.*

Which she followeth and reigneth her self.

11. Yet no great matters were done abroad, but stirs sufficient hapned within the Kingdom; for the *Pharisees* knowing no moderation in the prosecution of their own ambitious and envious desires, caused her to put to death those that had counselled her husband to deal cruelly with the 800 before mentioned, and they made away divers of them; till such time as those of most power and esteem being backed by *Aristobulus* (who complained of the too great power of his mother) came to Court, and there laid before her how unworthy it was, that they should suffer so much for their faithfulnesse to *Alexander*, and how joyful news it would be to *Aretas* the *Arabian* and others, to hear that the Kingdom was deprived of such men, who had done good service against him. They besought her, that if their adversaries were not satisfied with what blood they had spilt already, to give them leave to depart, and provide for their own safety, or if that could not be granted, to distribute them into several places of strength, that there they might live quietly and meanly, with which condition they would be contented, seeing Fortune so frowned upon the favourers of *Alexander*. They setting these things off with all advantage possible to gain compassion, and calling on the ghost of *Alexander*, *Aristobulus* also soundly reprehended his mother, but withall added, that they were justly punished, for permitting the chief power to a woman, as if no posterity had been left by his Father. She not knowing what to do, delivered into their hands all her Castles, except three, in which she had hoarded up her choisest goods, and shortly after sent her younger son against *Ptolomy Menneus*, who troubled sorely *Damascus*; but he returned without having done any thing. A report went at the same time, that *Ti-*

This raiseth stirs betwixt the two factions.

A. M. 3934. *Ol.* 177. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 683. *Selencid.* 242. *Alexandræ* 8.

granes

granes the *Armenian* had invaded *Syria* with 50000 men, and would ſpedily come into *Judæa*, which ſo terrified both Queen and People, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to him then lying before *Ptolemais*; for *Celene* or *Cleopatra* then reigned in *Syria*, and had adviſed the Subjects to exclude him. He kindly received the Ambaſſadors, becauſe come ſo far to tender him reſpect, and gave them incouraging words. And after he had taken *Ptolemais*, word being brought him, that *Lucullus* in his purſute of *Mithridates* the *Great*, King of *Pontus*, was entred *Armenia*, and waſted the Country, he being ſon in Law to that King, and therefore taking his part, departed home with all Expedition.

12. After this, *Alexandra* falling grievouſly ſick, *Ariſtobulus* judged that now or never was there a fit opportunity for him to doe ſomething, and leſt the *Phariſees* ſhould get all into their hands, departed by night with one man in his company, and got the Caſtles within a ſhort time into his power, which ſhe had committed to their adverſaries, even to the number of 22 within little more than fifteen dayes. This being known, ſhe and all the People were ſtruck with conſternation, knowing that he would take the Supreme Power, and fearing they ſhould dearly pay for what they had done to his familiars. They thought good then to ſecure his wife and children in the Caſtle adjoyning to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. He increaſed in followers and in power daily, taking the ſtate of a King upon him, and got an Army from the Mountain *Libanus*, *Trachonitis*, and the petty Princes thereto adjoyning. The chief of the *Jews* therefore with *Hyrcanus* came to the *Queen*, beſeeching her that ſome courſe might be entered into to prevent his attempts, who now had gotten ſo many convenient places. She with ſhortneſſe of mind told them they might do whatſoever they thought meet and convenient for the Commonwealth, that they had liberty and ſtrength enough both as to Soldiers, and money alſo the nervs of War; but as for her ſelf, ſhe could look to nothing, her body being now ſpent; and ſhortly after ſhe breathed her laſt, having reigned nine years, and lived 73. A woman of wiſdom, courage, and induſtry above her ſex, and who in the whole courſe of her government could not be drawn (for the generality) from moderation, juſtice, and honeſty. But whereas ſhe looked more at the preſent than future times, ſeemed to ſide with the Enemies of her houſe, and to have made the Kingdom naked of fit Rulers, after her death the effects of her mal-adminiſtration was felt by her family, which came into ſuch misfortunes, as it miſcaried and fell from that power, wherein ſhe had laboured and taken ſo much pains to eſtabliſh it.

Ariſtobulus her younger ſon aſſumeth the ſtate of King.

She dieth.

A. M. 3936. *Ol.* 177. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 685. *Seleucid.* 244.

13. For *Hyrcanus* having entred upon the *High-Prieſthood* in the third year of the 177 *Olympiad*, *Q. Hortenſius*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* being *Conſuls*, his brother *Ariſtobulus* now preſently made Warre upon him. A battel being fought near *Jericho*, moſt of *Hyrcanus* his Soldiers revolted to the other, whereby he was forced to betake himſelf into that Caſtle where *Ariſtobulus* his wife and children were kept, and he now made his conditions to be ſuffered to live quietly a private life, remitting to his brother the Kingdom and Principality, changing eſtates with him, he removing into *Ariſtobulus* his private houſe, and *Ariſtobulus* to the Court, which covenant was ſolemnly ſworn to, and confirmed in the Temple. But not long did this agreement hold, being broken by the means of *Antipater*, who being Governour at that time of *Idumæa*, feared the power of *Ariſtobulus*, and therefore endeavoured his deſtruction, both by ſtirring up *Hyrcanus* and the moſt powerful of the *Jews* againſt him. The famouſneſſe of *Herod* ſon of this *Antipater*, cauſeth his original to be more enquired into. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* to flatter the ſaid *Herod*, derived his pedegree from the chief of the *Jews*, which returned from *Babylon*; but *Joſephus* denieth that, and reports him to have been an *Idumæan* born. * Others have delivered, that this *Antipater*, or *Antipas*, was the ſon of one *Herod* the Prieſt of *Apollo's* Temple at *Aſcalon*, which City being invaded by the *Idumæan* thieves, he was taken with other ſpoils out of the Temple, and whereas his father was not

Joſephus Antiq. l. 14. *c.* 1. *& de bello ut ſupra & c.* 5.

Ariſtobulus by a battel diſpoſſeſſeth his brother *Hyrcanus.*

Lib. 14. *c.* 2.

* *Vide Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

not able for anſom him, was brought up after the manner of the *Idumæans*, and became very familiar with *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*. *Joſephus* ſaith, that he was conſtituted Governour of *Idumæa* by *Alexander* the King, and his wife, and then minding his own intereſt, entred into ſociety with the *Arabians*, *Gazæans*, and *Aſcalonites*, having purchaſed their friendſhip with great gifts. He profeſſed to the *Jews* that it was unjuſt, that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy his uſurped power, from which he had caſt down his elder brother, and had deprived him of the prerogative of his age. The ſame things he often inculcated into *Hyrcanus*, adding withall, that his life was in danger, except he would in good time ſave himſelf by flight, for that the friends of his brother ſtill conſulted, how they might rid him out of the way, and eſtabliſh the Kingdom upon the other.

Antipater ſtireth up *Hyrcanus* to recover his juſt right.

14. He being a plain and well-meaning man, gave no great credit to theſe ſlanders; but the other ceaſed not for all that to invent freſh accuſations of *Ariſtobulus*, as if he laid in wait for his life, and at length hardly obtained of him to flie to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, becauſe his Country was nigh to *Judæa*. *Antipater* went firſt to that King, to get a promiſe from him not to betray his ſuppliant into the hands of his enemies, which being obtained, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, and thence not long after taking *Hyrcanus* out by night, by great journeys came to *Petra*, where *Aretas* kept his Court. Being very great with the *Arabian*, he laboured to perſwade him to reſtore *Hyrcanus*, and with his importunity and gifts at length prevailed. *Hyrcanus* alſo promiſing, if by his means he ſhould recover the Kingdom, to reſtore to him that Country with the twelve Towns, which his Father *Alexander* had taken from him. *Aretas* being drawn in by theſe promiſes, undertook this Expedition with 50000 men, and overthrew *Ariſtobulus*, who being firſt forſaken of his followers, who now fled amain to his brother, retired to *Jeruſalem*, where the *Arabian* and *Hyrcanus* beſieged him in the Temple. The Feaſt of the Paſſover hapning during the ſiege, the Prieſts who onely remained with *Ariſtobulus*, that the Sacrifices might not be omitted, bargained with the beſiegers for beaſts to be ſold them for that ſervice, but when they had let down the money from the walls, were derided by them. But this wickedneſſe the Hiſtorian obſerveth to have been puniſhed with great ſtorms and tempeſts, which procured extraordinary ſcarcity of Corn. In this mean while *Pompey* the Great being diverted by the War with *Tygranes* in *Armenia*, ſent *Scaurus* his *Quæſtor*, as *Appian* calls him, into *Syria*, who coming ſtraight to *Damaſcus* (taken then by *Metellus* and *Lollius*) haſted without intermiſſion into *Judæa*. To him both parties ſent, to deſire his friendſhip and help, but though each promiſed as much as the other (*viz.* 400 Talents) yet he cloſed with *Ariſtobulus*, being counted more free and rich, and whoſe requeſt was more eaſie to be fulfilled, in driving away the *Nabatheans*, than that of the other, to take the place which he held, being ſo ſtrong both of it ſelf and by defence.

And procureth him to flie to *Aretas* King of *Arabia.*

Joſephus ut prius cap. 3.

Who beſiegeth *Jeruſalem*,

Idem cap. 4.

A. M. 3941. *Ol.* 179. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 690 *Seleucid.* 249. *Ariſtob.* 6.

15. Taking the money of *Ariſtobulus* he eaſily raiſed the ſiege, denouncing to *Aretas* that he ſhould depart, except he would be declared an Enemy of the People of *Rome*; and then returned to *Damaſcus*. *Ariſtobulus* having gotten this advantage againſt his Enemies, followed them with a great Army, and joyning battel overthrew them at a place called *Papyron*, about 7000 of them being ſlain, and amongſt the reſt *Cephalio* the brother of *Antipater*. But not long after *Pompey* came to *Damaſcus*, and going about *Cœleſyria*, thither were ſent to him Ambaſſadors from ſeveral parts. *Ariſtobulus* ſent him an excellent preſent, being a golden Urn of the value of 500 Talents, which afterwards was dedicated by him amongſt other things in the Capitol at *Rome*. Shortly after were ſent ſome to him from both the brothers; *Antipater* from *Hyrcanus*, and one *Nicodemus* from the other, to whom he anſwered, that coming to *Damaſcus* he would hear the cauſe. Thither was ſent alſo an Ambaſſage of the *Jews* themſelves, who declared they were unwilling to live under Kings, it being the cuſtom of their Country to yield obedience to the *Prieſt* of their God; and that though theſe two were of that

But is beaten off by *Scaurus.*

Idem cap. 5.

Both brothers ſent to *Pompey* to complain.

that race of *Priests*, yet being desirous to change the Government into another form, they thereby intended to enslave them. *Hyrcanus* accused his brother of ambition and violence, in that he had gone about to deprive him of his birth-right, and the other excused himself by the necessity of the thing, lest the Principality should have been transferred into another family by his heavy dulnesse, which rendred him incapable of employment. To *Hyrcanus* bare witnesse 1000 *Jews* which *Antipater* had brought for that purpose, but to *Aristobulus* a Company of effeminate Gallants, ridiculous to all for their fantastick bravery. *Pompey* having heard them, and disapproved of *Aristobulus* his violence, dismissed them both kindly at present, promising he would come to them as soon as he had inspected the affairs of the *Nabathæans*, bidding them to be quiet in the mean time, and using *Aristobulus* civilly, lest he should stop up the passages. But hereby he won nothing upon him, for not expecting his promises, he went to *Delium*, and thence betook himself into *Judæa*.

Who sideth with *Hyrcanus*.

16. *Pompey* being offended with this carriage of *Aristobulus*, took the Army which he had provided against the *Nabathæans*, and with other supplies out of *Syria*, and the Legions which were at his command followed him. Coming into *Judæa*, and hearing he was in a Castle near *Coreas*, he sent to him to come and speak him, which he obeyed, being advised by those about him to take heed of Warring with the *Romans*. When he had disputed the case with his brother, he returned to the Castle, and so he did divers times, willing to please *Pompey*, and pretending a willingnesse to obey him in all things, but providing still for the War, fearing the Principality might be bestowed upon *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* in conclusion required him to deliver up into his hands the Garrisons, and write to the Governours of them for that purpose; which he obeyed also, but then presently departed to *Jerusalem* there to prepare for War. He followed him, and in the way heard how *Mithridates* of *Pontus* was killed by his son *Pharnaces*. His first nights quarters he took up at *Jericho*, where the Trees grew, that being cut distilled with the precious *Balsamum*; and the next day marching towards *Jerusalem*, *Aristobulus* forethinking what he had done, came and met him, offered him money, and referred himself to his pleasure, so that omitting War he would order things in a peaceable manner. He pardoning him, sent *Gabinius* to *Jerusalem* to fetch the money; but he being shut out by *Aristobulus* his Soldiers, returned empty handed, which *Pompey* taking in great disdain, committed *Aristobulus* to custody, and went himself to the Citie. There were two factions disagreeing from each other, that of *Aristobulus* brake down the bridge, which went out of the Citie to the Temple, and therein fortified themselves, whereupon the other let in the *Romans* into the Citie and Palace. Then did *Pompey* besiege the Temple, filled up with the great royl of his Soldiers the Ditch before it, and then with Engines brought from *Tyre* battered the Wall, taking occasion at the superstition of the *Jews*, who thought it sinfull to do any thing on the Sabbath-dayes, but defend themselves. The greatest Tower being battered down, the *Romans* broke in (*Cornelius Faustus* the son of *Sylla* first entring the breach) and then made slaughter of 12000. the Priests even then (as they had done all the siege) not neglecting to offer sacrifices, and amongst the rest *Absalom* the Uncle, and father-in-law of *Aristobulus* was taken, being the youngest son of *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* with many followers entred into the Temple, and looked on those things, which it was unlawfull for any but the Priests to behold; yet touched nothing he saw, so great was his abstinency. The Temple was taken as *Josephus* tells us, in the third moneth, and the fast day, which was kept in memory of *Jehoiakim*'s burning the Roll, in the 179 *Olympiad*, *C. Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* being Consuls, A. M. 3942. about 62 years before the birth of *Christ*.

And followeth *Aristobulus* into *Judæa*.

Idem cap. 6. & de bello lib. 1. cap. 5.

Lib. 14. cap. 7.

A. M. 3942.

Cap. 8.

Besiegeth his party in the Temple, and taketh it.

17. *Pompey* restored the Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*, with the Government of the Country, * (forbidding him the wearing of the Diadem) because amongst several other services he had done him during the siege, he had also kept

Idem ibid.

* *Lib. 20. cap. 8.*

He restoreth the Priesthood to *Hyrcanus* forbidding him the Diadem, and carrieth *Aristobulus* and his sons to *Rome*.

kept the Countrey-men from taking up Arms for *Aristobulus*. Then putting to death the Authors of the Sedition, he made the *Jews* Tributaries to the people of *Rome*, the Cities they held in *Cœlesyria* he took away, and subjected them to a Governour of their own, and the whole Nation much elevated then with successe abroad, he contracted within its own bounds; *Aristobulus* & his brother being the cause of all these troubles, of the losing of the Countreys liberty to the *Romans*, who within a short time exacted above 10000 Talents of it. *Pompey* having left *Syria* to the Government of *Scaurus*, with two Legions hasted to *Rome*, leading *Aristobulus* bound thither with him, with two sons, and as many daughters. One of his sons escaped in the journey, and returned into *Judæa*, where he got together a considerable power, and awed his Uncle *Hyrcanus* unable to resist him, and who, when now he was about to repair the Walls of *Jerusalem*, demolished by *Pompey*, was forbidden to do it by the *Romans*. But within a while *Gabinius* was sent from *Rome* to Govern *Syria*. He undertook the War against him, now having 10000 foot, and 1500 horse at his Command, but for all these he overthrew him not far from *Jerusalem*, killing and taking 6000 of them, and then besieged him in the Castle *Alexandrium* whither he had fled. Leaving here sufficient strength for carrying on the siege, he went and visited the Countrey, causing divers Cities to be re-edified, and then returning, and more powerfully inforcing the siege, *Alexander* yielded himself, and the Castles, which by his mothers advice to *Gabinius* were demolished, lest they should nourish another War. *Gabinius* then went to *Jerusalem*, and established *Hyrcanus* in the Priesthood, but cantonized the Countrey into five parts, which he ordered to be governed by an *Aristocratical* way. One division was to be governed by an Assembly at *Jerusalem*, another by one at *Gadara*, a third at *Amathus*, a fourth at *Jericho*, and a fifth by one sitting at *Saphora* a Town of *Samaria*. The *Jews* very gladly imbraced this Government. But *Aristobulus* not long after escaped from *Rome*, and coming into *Judæa* ministred occasion of further trouble.

Idem lib. 14. cap. 10. & de bello lib. 1. cap. 6.

His son *Aristobulus* escapeth, and is defeated by *Gabinius*, and he himself also getteth away from *Rome*.

18. Coming into his own Countrey, he presently found some who out of desire of innovation sided with him, amongst the which was *Pitholaus* the Governour of *Jerusalem*, who revolted to him with 1000 men. He first seized upon *Alexandrium*, and went about to re-edifie the Walls thereof, but knowing that *Gabinius* had sent against him three of his Officers, he departed toward *Macharus*, dismissing the unarmed multitude, and making a choice of 8000 men. The *Romans* following he gave them battel, in which he fought stoutly, till his men being overpowered, 5000 of them were slain upon the place, almost 2000 fled to an Hill not far of, and a thousand with him, breaking through the Enemy to *Macharus*. There he thought to renew the War having fortified the place, but being besieged, and holding it out two dayes, he could no longer withstand, but was taken, and together with his son *Aristobulus*, (who it seems got away with him) sent back to *Rome*, where he was more narrowly looked to, but his sons, because *Gabinius* had so agreed with their mother, in consideration of the delivering up of the Castles formerly mentioned, were sent back by the Senate. Then prepared *Gabinius* an expedition against the *Parthians*, but passing over *Euphrates*, was hired by *Ptolomy Auletes* to reduce him into his Kingdom, as we said in the foregoing Chapter. In this voyage he used *Hyrcanus*, and especially *Antipater*, who furnished him with supplies, both of men and provisions, and prevailed with the *Jews*, inhabiting about *Peluſium*, to give him passage. But during his absence *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus* made work enough for him after his return; for having gotten together a great multitude of *Jews*, he resolved to cut off all the *Romans* which inhabited those parts. *Gabinius* sent *Antipater* before to see if he could perswade the people to be quiet, and he effected it with many; but 30000 remaining still with *Alexander*, he came out and gave battel to the *Romans*, near the Mountain *Itabyrius*, wherein he lost 10000 men. *Gabinius* victoriously thence marched to *Jerusalem*, where seeling things according to the pleasure of *Antipater*, he went against the *Nabatæans* whom he overthrew in one battel, and

Idem ibid. & lib. 14. cap. 11.

A. M. 3949. *Ol.* 181. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 698. *Hyrcani* 8.

He is taken and sent back by *Gabinius*.

Alexander his son stirreth, but is defeated.

dismissed *Mithridates* and *Orsanes*, two noble *Parthians* who had fled unto him, pretending an escape. Then returning to *Rome*, he left his Province to *Crassus* his Successor.

Crassus his sacrilege and punishment.

19. *Crassus* intending an expedition against the *Parthians*, came through that Countrey, and spoyled the Temple not onely of those 2000 Talents which *Pompey* had spared, but of all the Gold found there besides, which amounted to the sum of 8000 Talents more, though *Eleazar* the Treasurer had given him a beam of Gold weighing 900 pounds, and he had taken an Oath therewith to be satisfied, and abstain from the money. But going against the *Parthians*, he received the reward of his Sacrilege and Perjury, being slain. *Cassius* flying into *Syria* defended it from the incursions of the Enemy, and being come to *Tyre* visited also *Judæa*, where at the first onset he took *Taricheas*, and therein 30000 Captives, which he laid away, and slew *Pitholaus* the favourer of *Aristobulus* at the desire of *Antipater*, who now grew very considerable, having entred into Confederacy and Alliance with divers Princes, and especially with the *Arabian*, out of whose Countrey he had married a wife of noble extraction, by name *Cypris*, on whom he begot four sons, *Phasaelus*, *Herod*, *Joseph*, and *Pheroras*, and a daughter named *Salome*, which sons he also sent into *Arabia*, there to be kept whilest he was ingaged in the War with *Aristobulus*. When *Pompey* was driven beyond the *Ionian* Sea, and *Cæsar* had got *Rome* into his power, he set *Aristobulus* at liberty, and with two Legions sent him back into *Syria*, hoping that all that Countrey, and round about *Judæa*, might be brought under by him; but he was prevented in his journey, being poysoned by those of *Pompey*'s party, and lay in his own Countrey for some time unburied, being Embalmed, till by *Antony* he was sent to be buried in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors. This expedition proved fatal, not onely to himself, but his son *Alexander* also, who was beheaded by *Scipio* at *Antioch* by order from *Pompey*, being first arraigned before the judgement seat for his offences committed against the *Romans*. His brother *Antigonus* with his sisters were sent for by *Ptolomy*, the son of *Menneus* (who held *Chalcis* under the Mountain *Libanus*) and courteously entrained. For *Philippio* his son being his Messenger, fell in Love with one of the sisters, named *Alexandra*, and married her, but his passion overcoming both reason and nature, he killed his son, and took the Lady to himself. By this time *Pompey* was slain; and then *Antipater* betook himself to *Cæsar*, as his interest led him, and by his great industry purchased his favour.

Cap. 12.

Cap. 13. & de bello ut prius cap. 7.

Aristobulus poysoned by *Pompey*'s party, and his son *Alexander* beheaded.

A. M. 3957. *Ol.* 183. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 706. *Hyrcani* 16.

Idem ibid. & lib. 14. cap. 14.

Antipater his great services for *Cæsar*.

20. *Cæsar* warring with young *Ptolomy* in *Egypt*, after the death of *Pompey*, *Antipater* joyned with *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, who went down thither with supplies; for whereas being hindred from coming to *Peluſium*, he was forced to stay about *Ascalon*, he perswaded the *Arabians* to help him, brought a supply of 3000 *Jews* himself, and procured divers Princes in *Syria*, as *Ptolomy* of *Libarius*, *Jamblichus*, and others, to send their men. Then at *Peluſium* did he special service, being the first that broke down the vvall and entred; and whereas the *Jews* inhabiting the Countrey of *Onias* hindred them from going any further, he prevailed with them not to oppose, and more than that to furnish the Army with Provisions. At the battel at *Delta* he recovered the battel almost lost by *Mithridates*, and afterwards behaved himself very gallantly for *Cæsar*, having received many wounds as the tokens of his valour. Some have delivered that *Hyrcanus* himself went down into *Egypt*, and there deserved well of *Cæsar*, but whether it was so or not he endeavoured to requite them both. For, *Antigonus* the son of *Aristobulus* coming with a great complaint to him against them (whereas rather in policy he should have complained of the putting to death his father and brother through the procurement of *Pompey* and his faction) he declined his requests upon the reply of *Antipater*, confirmed *Hyrcanus* in the *Priesthood*, offered to *Antipater* what Government he would desire, and made him *Procurator* of *Judæa*, gave him leave to rebuild the Walls of the Citie thrown down by *Pompey*, and caused these grants to be registred in the Capitol, and seconded them with divers decrees, both of himself and the Senate

Cap. 15.

A. M. 3958. *Ol.* 183. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 707. *Hyrcani* 17.

Who rewardeth both him and *Hyrcanus*.

De bello ut prius cap. 8. & *lib.* 14. *Capp.* 16, 17.

nate in favour of him and the *Jews*. *Antipater* then bringing *Cæsar* on his journey as far as the borders of *Syria*, returned and built up the walls, and going about the Country, by threatnings and other policy, contained the People in obedience, otherwise ready to rebel. And whereas he saw *Hyrcanus* heavy and dull, and unfit to manage the affaires of Government, he made his son *Phasaelus* (who also commanded the Army) Captain of *Jerusalem*, and the Country adjacent, and committed *Galile* to the custody of his second son *Herod*, being now extream young, as not exceeding fifteen years, as our Author telleth us, except, as is most probable, that number be mistaken for 25.

A. M. 3959. *Ol.* 183. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 708. *Hyrcani* 18.

Herod the son of *Antipater* his notable forwardness.

21. *Herod* even at the very first gave testimony of what spirit and height of courage he would be, finding out presently occasion for the exercise of it. For at that time there being one *Ezechias* a notable Thief, who with a great company of followers used to infest the Country of *Syria*, he took and slew him with many others of that rout, which thing so endeared him to the *Syrians*, that his name was sung throughout the Towns and Villages. Peace being by his means restored as it were unto the Country, and the People unto their possessions; and thereby became he known to *Sextus Cæsar* the *President*, and kinsman to the *Dictator*. *Phasaelus* his brother was hereby much stirred up to emulation, and most courteously behaved himself to those of *Jerusalem*, so that their Father was honoured by the People like a King, and yet notwithstanding preserved his fidelity intire to *Hyrcanus*. But divers of the chief of the *Jewish* Nation, understanding how he flourished both upon his own account and that of his sons, inwardly fretted thereat, and the rather, because he made use of *Hyrcanus* for his own ends, as they conceived, having contracted friendship with the great ones, and *Rome*, and perswaded him to send them money, yet getting to himself the credit and profit of the gift. But especially the forward and bold disposition of *Herod* affrighted them, whom they looked upon as a young and growing Tyrant, and therefore they grievously enveighed against *Antipater* to *Hyrcanus*, as one who caried away all the profit of the Kingdom, an empty name being onely left to himself, and laboured to bring him into suspicion, hinting, that ere long the vizard would be taken off, and he would dearly pay for the negligence of his own affaires. This they enforced by that bold act of *Herod*'s killing *Ezechias*, and the rest, in contempt of the Laws, which suffer no man, how wicked soever, to be put to death, till he first be cast by the sentence of his Judges.

A. M. 3961. *Ol.* 184. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 710. *Hyrcani* 20. *C. Jul. Cæsare* 5. *M. Antonio Coss.*

He is summoned to *Jerusalem* to answer for killing *Ezechias* a thief.

Hyrcanus though slow enough to believe any thing, yet having these things often sounding in his ears, together with the lamentations of the mothers of those that were slain, grew something moved, and summoned *Herod* up to *Jerusalem*, to give an accompt of his actions before the Judges.

Idem ibid. Ant. et de bello.

22. *Herod* having settled the affairs of *Galile*, appeared, but with a guard, as his Father had written to him; yet with a moderate one, left taking care for his one safety, he should affright *Hyrcanus*. *Sextus Cæsar* hearing of it, threatningly wrote to *Hyrcanus* for to quit him, which he was inclinable enough unto, loving him as his own son; and when he appeared to answer, no body durst accuse him, except one *Sameas* bolder than the rest, who inveighed against him for the manner of his appearance, not suitable at all to humility or guilt. The meeting being incouraged by his words, had certainly condemned him, had not *Hyrcanus* foreseen it, and sent him out of the way on purpose, having put off the determination to the next day. *Herod* retired therefore to *Damascus*, and afterwards visiting *Sextus Cæsar*, and setling his affaires, plainly gave out, that he would no more appear thought he were cited, at which they at *Jerusalem* fretted, and sought to perswade *Hyrcanus* that all this tended to his ruine, and indeed he was convinced of it, yet could he do nothing, for that innate dulnesse which evermore accompanied him, though shortly after hearing that *Herod* having purchased of that *Cæsar* the Government of *Cœlesyria*, he feared he would imploy his power against him. And indeed so it hapned; for disdaining now that he had been commanded to come and plead his cause, he marched towards *Jerusalem* with

He appeareth but with a guard,

an Army, and if his Father and Brother had not met him, and shewed him the uncertainty of the event of War; and that he was rather beholding to *Hyrcanus* for discharging him, than had reason to be angry with him, for being as it were forced by others to summon him up, he had made mischief enough: But being prevailed with by them, he thought it was sufficient for him to have made a shew of his power, and so retreated. About this time *Cæcilius Bassus* in favour of *Pompey* made away *Sextius Cæsar*, and got his Army to submit to him; but divers of *Cæsar*'s party came to revenge his kinsman's death, and a War ensued about *Apamea*, whither *Antipater*, mindful of the benefits received from *Cæsar*, sent his sons with aid unto his Captains. The Warre being drawn out in length, *Marcus*, (or rather *L. Statius Murcus*) was sent to succeed *Sextius*, and in the mean time *Julius Cæsar* was slain in the Senate house, which as it bred disturbance and trouble to the whole *Roman Empire*, so neither did *Judæa* escape without it's portion thereof.

And had done mischief but that his father and brother diverted him.

Appian. de bello civili. lib. 3. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 69.

23. A civil War ensuing, the chief Captains on both sides runing up and down to provide themselves for it, *Cassius* one of the conspirators came into *Syria*, where raising the siege at *Apamia*, he drew both *Murcus* and *Bassus* to his own party, and then conquering the Country, levied men, and exacted grievous contributions: But especially he afflicted *Judæa*, laying a taxe of above 700 Talents of Silver upon it. *Antipater* committed the raising of the money to his two sons and others, whereof *Herod* first of all raised that which was imposed upon *Galile*, and brought it, thinking it good policy to purchase the favour of the *Romans* at the cost of others. Divers Cities with their Inhabitants were sold to make up the sum, amongst which were principal, *Gophna*, *Emaus*, *Lydia*, and *Thamna*; and *Cassius* having done this, was further so inraged, that he had slain *Malichus* also one of the Collectors, had not *Hyrcanus* by the means of *Antipater*, stopped his mouth with 100 Talents of his own money. But *Antipater* was badly rewarded by *Malichus*, for after the departure of *Cassius* he laid in wait for his life, thinking, that he being removed out of the way, the greater security would happen to the affairs of *Hyrcanus*. *Antipater* getting knowledge of his intention, passed over *Jordan*, to provide himself to revenge this treachery, but he being a most crafty dissembler, so denied the matter with oaths to his two sons, that they reconciled him to their Father, who by his intercession then saved him, when *Marcus* the *President* of *Syria* upon the report of his attempting new matters, had resolved his death. But he preserved him to his own destruction. For, his son *Herod* for his good service being made *Procurator* of *Syria* by *Cassius*, with promise also of the Kingdom of *Judæa*, if he got the better, *Malichus* then so feared him, that he resolved to make him away, which within a short time he effected, procuring him to be poysoned by *Hyrcanus* his brother, and getting a Company of Soldiers to him, invaded the Government of the City. This was the end of *Antipater*, a right good man, a great States-man, and one who had preserved his fidelity to his Prince, and his care to his Country, before his own private or ambitious purposes.

Josephus Antiquit. l. 14. c. 18, & 19. & de bello l. 1. c. 9.

Grievous exactions by *Cassius*.

Antipater poysoned by *Malichus*.

A. M. 3962. Ol. 184. an. 2. V. C. 711. Hyrcani 22.

24. His sons having knowlege of his death, *Herod* would have revenged it out of hand, and by open force, but *Phasaelus* thought good rather to circumvent the murderer by some way of his own, lest a civil Warre should ensue, and therefore seemed to be satisfied with *Malichus* his flat denial of the thing, and set himself about building of a monument for his Father. *Herod* visiting *Samaria*, and seeing it much out of order, laboured what he might to cherish it, and sate in Judgement, deciding the controversies of the People, and then presently came up to *Jerusalem* to the Feast with a Company of Soldiers at his heels. *Malichus* being exceedingly afraid of his coming, perswaded *Hyrcanus* not to permit him to enter, and he accordingly forbad him to approach so holy a solemnity with a prophane rout of strangers; but he notwithstanding this, got in by night, and so affrighted *Malichus* that he betook him to his old trade of dissembling, weeping to him bitterly for the death of *Antipater* as his kind friend, yet in the mean time providing

Idem ibid.

viding himself of a guard, so that for a time it was thought fit by *Herods* friends, not to convince his deceit, but for the shunning of suspition to treat him fairly; yet did he signifie by letters his Father's death to *Cassius*, who willed him again to revenge it, and gave order to the *Tribunes* then lying at *Tyre* to assist him in his just endeavours. *Cassius* not long after having taken *Laodicia*, they went and caried him crowns and money, and then *Herod* thought to be even with him; but he suspecting something at *Tyre*, out of desperation cast higher matters than ever in his head. For his son being kept hostage in that City, he resolved to go in, and cary him out by stealth into *Judæa*, and then, when *Cassius* should be ingaged in the War against *Antony*, to sollicite that Country to revolt, and get to himself the Principality, and cast out *Hyrcanus*. But the cunning of *Herod* prevented him, who being aware of his project, invited him and *Hyrcanus* to supper, and then sent to the *Tribunes* to come out to meet him, who remembring the commands of *Cassius*, encountering him on the shoar, slew him there. *Hyrcanus* was so astonished with fear at the fact, that he was not himself, and scarce recovering his sense, asked *Herod* who had slain *Malichus*; to whom one of the Tribunes answered, *the command of Cassius*, at which he replyed, that *Cassius* had preserved both him and his Country, by cutting off him that plotted the destruction of both. Whether he spake this seriously, or approved the thing out of fear, is uncertain; but thus *Herod* revenged his Father's death upon *Malichus*.

Antiq. ut prius, cap. 20.

His son revengeth *Herod* his death,

25. *Cassius* being gone out of *Syria*, there hapned a great stir at *Jerusalem* by means of *Fœlix*, who being left there Commander, the Soldiers attempted violence upon *Phasaelus*, intending by his death to revenge that of *Malichus* upon his brother *Herod*. It hapned that at that time *Herod* living at *Damascus* with *Fabius* the *Roman* Captain, was sick, and unable to come and help his brother, but he by himself was too hard for *Fœlix*, and forced him into a Tower, whence he let him go with his life, and then expostulated much with *Hyrcanus*, objecting ingratitude to him for taking *Fœlix* his part, and suffering the brother of *Malichus* to seize upon divers Castles; for now he held many, and *Massada* amongst the rest, the strongest of all. But *Herod* after his recovery regained them all from him, suffering him to depart quietly out of *Massada* upon his desire. *Antigonus* the son of *Aristobulus* about this time so bribed *Fabius*, that he suffered him to get himself an Army, and *Ptolomy Minnæus* because of the former affinity betwixt them, made him his son in Law, *Marion* also, who by *Cassius* his means had subjected *Tyre*, and divers places of *Syria*, came in to his help, having seized upon three Castels in *Gallile*, but *Herod* also going against them, had them all surrendred by the *Tyrians*, whom he dismissed very graciously, out of respect to their City, and then marched against *Antigonus*, whom being scarcely entred the Coasts of *Judæa* he overthrew. Returning to *Jerusalem* he was received very honourably, not onely by the People, but *Hyrcanus* also, who had of late received him into his family, contracting him to *Mariamne* the daughter of *Alexander*, the son of *Aristobulus*, and his own niece by his daughter; by which wife he was made a father of three sons and two daughters, having on a former wife (and his own Country-woman) named *Doris*, begotten *Antipater* his eldest son. But now within a while *Cassius* and *Brutus* were overthrown at *Philippi* by *Cæsar* and *Antony*, of whom the former returning into *Italy*, the other came over into *Asia*, which gave occasion to new stirs in *Judæa*.

Idem ibid. & de bello lib. 1. c. 10.

Falleth sick,

His acts after his recovery.

Antiquit. l. 14. cap. 21.

26. *Antony* being come into *Bithynia*, Ambassadors were sent to him thither from all Countries, and amongst the rest came some from the chief of the *Jews*, to complain of *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, who usurped, as they said, all the power, an empty title being onely left to *Hyrcanus*. *Herod* went to defend himself, and so prevailed with his money, that his accusers were never heard. *Antony* having reached *Ephesus*, an Ambassie was dispatched to him in the name of *Hyrcanus*, and the whole Nation, desiring that all Captives which *Cassius* had caried away out of *Judæa*, might be set at liberty by

cap. 22.

Stirs in *Judæa* upon the approach of *Antony*.

by his Letters publiſhed throughout the Province, which he readily granted out, and as he was travelling into *Syria*, *Cleopatra* met him in *Cilicia*, to whoſe allurements wholy giving up himſelf, at the ſame time came 100 of the moſt conſiderable of the *Jews* to complain again of the two brothers, whom *Meſſala* defended, and *Hyrcanus* himſelf ſtood by to aſſiſt. Their cauſe being heard at *Daphne*, *Antony* demanded of *Hyrcanus* whether part was fitter to Govern, who anſwering in commendation of *Herod*, he, who formerly loved the young men for their fathers ſake with whom he had contracted familiarity when he ſerved in *Egypt* under *Gabinius*, conſtituted them both *Tetrarchs*, and committed to them the Government of the *Jews*. To this purpoſe he wrote Letters, and caſt fifteen of their adverſaries into priſon, and had put them to death, had not *Herods* interceſſion prevailed for them; and yet were they not diſcouraged ſo as to deſiſt. For inſtead of 100. a thouſand returned in Ambaſſage, and ſtayed for him at *Tyre*, but his favour being further purchaſed by the two brothers, he commanded the Magiſtrate of that place to animadvert upon them, and aſſiſt *Herod* in obtaining the principality. *Herod* going to them as they ſtood before the Citie on the ſhore, adviſed them to withdraw themſelves, and *Hyrcanus* alſo laid before them in how great danger they were if they ſhould go on in their purpoſe: But they contemning their advice were preſently falln upon out of the Town by their own Countrey-men and the Inhabitants, and part of them being ſlain, and ſome taken, the reſt returned. And the people clamoring exceedingly againſt *Herod*, *Antony* was ſo far incenſed, as he cauſed thoſe whom he had before committed to cuſtody to be ſlain.

cap. 23.

Which end in the promotion of *Herod*, and his brother *Phaſaelus*.

271. A year or two after, *Pacorus* ſon to the King of *Parthia*, and *Barzapharnes*, one of his great Officers, ſeized upon *Syria*, at ſuch time as *Ptolomy Mennæus* dying, *Lyſanias* his ſon ſucceeded him. *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* bargained with the *Parthians* for 1000 Talents, and 500 women, to ſettle him in the Kingdom of *Judæa*, and kill *Herod* with his friends; and thoug hhe could not perform the conditions, yet lead they down an Army to re-eſtabliſh him. *Pacorus* came down to the Sea-Coaſts, where he was excluded by the *Tyrians*; but they of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* giving him entrance, he ſent a party of horſe under the conduct of one *Pacorus* the Kings Butler into *Judæa* to make diſcoveries, and if it could be, to help *Antigonus*, with whom the *Jews* inhabiting *Carmel* joyning, he hoped by this force to ſeize upon a part of the Countrey called *Dryma*, and divers ſtill coming in pierced to *Jeruſalem*. The number ſtill increaſing, they attempted the Palace, but the two brothers with their friends oppoſing themſelves, beat them back into the Temple, and then ſent ſome Soldiers into certain houſes near adjoyning to defend them, which the people taking notice of, ſet them on fire, and therein burnt them alive, being unable to ſhift for themſelves; which injury *Herod* a little after revenged upon his adverſaries, of whom he ſlew many upon a Sally. Daily skirmiſhes thence inſued, *Antigonus* his party ſtaying for the feaſt of *Pentecoſte*, expecting then a great multitude of people to come up from all parts, and accordingly at the day many thouſands being aſſembled, what with Arms, and what without, they overran all, except the Palace which ſtill *Herod* and his brother *Phaſelus* kept with a few Soldiers, with whom alſo iſſuing out into the Suburbs, having there fought moſt manfully, he put many thouſands to flight. Shortly after, *Antigonus* procured *Pacorus* the *Parthian* with a few horſ-men to enter *Jeruſalem*, under pretence of compoſing the difference, but indeed to eſtabliſh him in the power, who being kindly met by *Phaſaelus*, and entertained, he perſwaded him to go in ambaſſage to *Barzapharnes*, thereby intending to entrap him. He ſuſpecting nothing, went contrary to the mind of his brother, who adviſed him rather to deſtroy the perfidious Barbarians, and with him went alſo *Hyrcanus* (an unheard-of imployment for the Prince himſelf) under conduct of *Pacorus*.

Idem de bello ut prius cap. 11. *& Antiquit. cap.* 24.

The *Parthians* procured by *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* invade *Judæa*.

28. As ſoon as they came into *Galile*, they were met by the Governours of the Towns there, and *Barzapharnes* entertained them very civilly, and gave

Hyrcanus and *Phaſelus* going in ambaſſage to *Barzaphantes* are perfidiouſly captivated.

gave them gifts, but preſently fought how he might entrap them. *Phaſelus* was lodged with his Train near the Sea, where hearing that *Antigonus* had made ſuch a bargain with the *Parthians*, as is above related, began to ſuſpect them, and then he had alſo intelligence, that they would be laid in wait for by night, and be privately ſecured; and certainly they had been taken ere now, but that there was great expectation, that the *Parthians* which *Pacorus* had left at *Jeruſalem*, ſhould take *Herod*, and thereupon the thing was deferred, leſt coming to his ears, he ſhould have notice of their Treachery, and thereby eſcape it. Shortly after, his fears were confirmed when he ſaw a Guard coming to ſecure him, whereupon there were not wanting ſome that adviſed him to mount, and ſave himſelf by flight, eſpecially one *Ofilius*, who had the ſecret revealed to him by *Saramalla* the moſt wealthy amongſt the *Syrians*, who now alſo voluntarily offered him ſhips to ſave himſelf. But he refuſed to forſake *Hyrcanus* and his brother, and going to *Barzapharnes*, blamed him for harbouring ſuch deſigns, told him, if he wanted money, he might have more from him than *Antigonus*, and how baſe a thing it was to betray Ambaſſadors, innocent, and who had been drawn out upon the ſcore of his own faith. The *Parthian* ſwore there was no ſuch matter, and that he troubled himſelf with vain ſuſpitions, and preſently got him out to *Pacorus*; but he being gone, ſtraightway hands were laid on *Hyrcanus*, and *Phaſelus*, in vain upbraiding the Barbarians with perjury; an Eunuch alſo was diſpatched to *Jeruſalem* to get *Herod* by ſome means or other out of the Walls, and apprehend him. *Phaſelus* had ſent to make known his condition to him, but the Meſſengers were intercepted, which he having knowledge of, had a conference with the Chief of the *Parthians* then at *Jeruſalem*, who by all means laboured to get him out of the Palace. But he ſuſpecting them, and giving no credit at all to their words, preſently heard for certain of his brother's Captivity, and ſeeing them in doubt what to do againſt him, reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, and taking the opportunity of the evening, departed with his relations that night, unknown to the Enemy.

A. M. 3965. *Ol.* 185. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 714. *Hyrcani* 24. *Ante Chriſtum* 38. *Cn. Domitio Calvino* 2. *C. Aſinio Pollione Coſſ.*

cap. 25.

Herod beſieged at *Jeruſalem* getteth forth.

29. He travelled towards *Idumæa*, whither at length he came to *Maſſada* the Caſtle; but as his departure was ſad, ſo his journey was as dangerous, being purſued by the *Parthians*, whom following behind his Train he kept off, and was oppoſed alſo more violently by the *Jews*, over whom yet he got a victory, and afterwards in memorial of it built a ſumptuous Palace in the ſame place. Once his mothers litter was overturned in the way, with which ſhe being brought into danger of death, and he fearing the Enemy might overtake them, he drew out his ſword to kill himſelf, and had done it, but that the next to him interpoſing themſelves hindred it, ſhewing him how it was not the part of a valiant man to forſake others, by ſetting himſelf at liberty, as they termed it. After he came to the Borders of *Judæa*, his brother *Joſeph* met him, and perſwaded him to diſmiſſe the moſt of his followers, becauſe the Caſtle could not harbour them, which he did to the number of 9000 and above, giving them money to bear their charges, and taking the ableſt Soldiers, whom he had culled out from amongſt the reſt, with his relations, to the number of 800. he marched on to *Maſſada*, and there placed them, where no ſort of Proviſions was wanting; but he himſelf held on for *Petra* in *Arabia*, hoping of that King, who was ſuch a friend of his father, to obtain help for the recovery of his brothers liberty. But the *Parthians* after his departure from *Jeruſalem* plundred the Citie and Palace, and waſted the Countrey, in wich they deſtroyed *Marſa* a wealthy Town, and ſo reducing *Antigonus* into *Judæa*, delivered up *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſelus* into his hands, who was grievouſly troubled that the women had eſcaped, which he intended together with the money to have given to the *Parthians*.

He goeth through *Idumæa* to *Petra* in *Arabia* for aid.

30. Then fearing that *Hyrcanus* by the favour of the people might again be reſtored to the Kingdom, he either cut or bit off his ears, making him thereby uncapable of the Prieſthood, which by the Law was not given, but to one of an entire body. But *Phaſelus* knowing he was deſtined to death, for

Antigonus having received *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus*, depriveth the former of his ears, and *Phaselus* dasheth out his own brains.

for that he could not otherwise kill himself for his bonds dashed out his brains against a stone. It was reported, that being grievously wounded in his head, *Antigonus* caused poyson to be put into it instead of salve; and that he hearing before his death that his brother *Herod* had escaped, underwent it chearfully, as leaving behind him a revenger of it. And he certainly knowing nothing thereof, laboured exceedingly to prevent it, going to *Malchus* the *Arabian*, whom he knew to be obliged to his family, hoping of him to get money, either upon free gift or trust, and resolving to give 300 Talents for his brothers Ransom, whose son also a Child of seven years old he carried with him to leave as a pledge. But the *Arabian* being perswaded by his great ones to retain the money owing, with the goods which *Antipater* had deposited with him, sent some to meet him, and command him to depart from his borders, and after he was gone repented of what he had done, and sent after him, but too late. For he was now almost got into *Egypt*, hearing of his brothers death in the way, where *Cleopatra* kindly entertained him, intending to use him in her Wars; but nothing could hinder him from hasting to *Rome*, though in the Winter season, and though great stirs were reported to be in *Italy*, whither also he came, though with great danger, for the difficulty of Navigation.

Being rejected by the *Arabian*, he goeth to *Rome*.

31. He came thither when not long before there had been an agreement made betwixt *Antony* and *Cæsar* the *Triumvirs* (the former having married *Octavia* sister to the later) and another betwixt them two and young *Pompey*, who then held *Sicily*, which was a time convenient enough for his affairs. He made his application to *Antony*, of whose favour he had formerly tasted, recounting to him the whole story of the *Parthians* overrunning *Judæa*, of his brothers death, and the misery of his family now besieged in a Castle, and how through these Tempests both at Sea and Land, he had ventured to come to him as his onely harbour and refuge; and withall was not sparing in the offering of money to him, in case he could procure him to be declared King of *Judæa*. Pity wrought something with *Antony* (being backed with the memory of that friendship which had passed betwixt *Antipater* and himself) the money more, and to these being superadded an hatred of *Antigonus*, whom he accounted a turbulent man, and one that bore a mind full of hatred towards the *Romans*, he much inclined to favour him. *Cæsar* also, partly for that *Antipater* had done good service for his adoptive father in *Egypt*, and because he was willing to gratifie *Antony*, was ready to do him all good Offices, being also inclined to favour him out of a particular phancy he had to the man for his courage. The Senate therefore being called, first *Messala*, and then *Atratonius* commended him to the fathers, relating his father's, and then his own merits towards the Commonwealth; and withall they accused *Antigonus*, and inveighed against him as an Enemy, for that he had not onely born himself as such heretofore, but now of late in the calling in of the *Parthians*. Herewith the Senate being offended, *Antony* then declared to them that it would much conduce to the carrying on of the *Parthian* War, which was now depending, if *Herod* should be King; so that without any more to do, he was so declared by the unanimous consent of all, and then being accompanied into the *Capitol* by *Cæsar* and *Antony* on each hand, the Consuls going before, there sacrifized, and according to the custom, laying up the decree of the Senate, was feasted by *Antony*. Thus obtained he the Kingdom with the wonder of himself as well as others, through the especial friendship of *Antony*, having ever feared that the *Romans* would never consent he should have that honour which was not wont to be bestowed, but upon a royal race, and therefore he intended to have sued for it, not for himself but for *Alexander*, brother to *Mariamne* his wife; and this increased the wonder, that within seven dayes he should be dispatched and dismissed out of *Italy*. But thus obtained he the Sovereignty of *Judæa*, A. M. 3965. in the first of the 185 *Olympiad*, *Domitius Calvinus* the second time, and *C. Asinius Pollio* being *Consuls*, some 37 years before the birth of *Christ*.

Where to the wonder both of himself and others, he his declared King of *Judæa*.

A. M. 3965.

32. Du-

32. During his absence, *Antigonus* laid close siege to the Castle of *Massada*, where he left his relations, abounding with all sorts of provisions; onely water was wanting; so that *Joseph* had thoughts of flying with 200 men into *Arabia*, the King whereof he had now heard to have repented of the rejecting of his brother. But this was prevented by a shower which fell by night, as if sent on purpose from Heaven for their relief, whereupon they were so heartned, as to sally out upon the besiegers, whereof they cut off many. In the mean while *Ventidius* the *Roman* General being sent into *Syria* to expel the *Parthians* thence, after their retreat, came into *Judæa*, pretending to help *Joseph*, but indeed with intentions to fleece *Antigonus* of a round sum of money, which he did, pitching his tents nigh to *Jerusalem*, which being done, he drew off the greater part of his forces, and left *Silo* with a party behind him, lest the fraud should be understood, whom *Antigonus* was also to pacifie till such time as the *Parthians* could come and help him. But in the mean time *Herod* landed at *Ptolemais*, and having got together no mean company, hasted through *Galile* against him. To *Silo* and *Ventidius Antony* had sent expresse order by *Gellius*, to place him in the Kingdom. *Ventidius* was then busie in composing differences amongst the Cities, which the incursion of the *Parthians* had made: *Silo* was in *Judæa*, but corrupted by *Antigonus*. Yet *Herod*'s Forces increasing, he marched towards *Massada* to relieve his friends, which he accomplished, having first taken *Joppe* in his way, notwithstanding the lying in wait against him by *Antigonus*, after which having taken in also the Castle *Ressa*, he went up to *Jerusalem*, accompanied by *Silo*'s Soldiers, and many Citizens affrighted at his power. Laying siege to the City, both he and *Antigonus* laboured to draw over the contrary parties to themselves, and though *Herod* could not at all move the Townsmen, yet it appeared that *Silo* was corrupted; for he suborned some of his Soldiers to begin a mutiny, requiring to be led into a place more plentious of provisions, which *Antigonus* had all cut off; but *Herod* took such care for the bringing in of new, that his plot was frustrated, and taking out a party of ten Companies (half *Jews* and half *Romans*) went and took *Jericho*, forsaken of its Inhabitants, which he left to be rifled to the *Romans*. Then returning, he sent down the rest of their Army into their Winter quarters, which he appointed in *Idumæa*, *Galile*, and *Samaria*. *Antigonus* also obtained of *Silo* to have part of his men received into *Lydda*, thereby endeavouring to curry favour with *Antony*; so that the *Romans* lay idle all this season in places abounding with all necessaries.

Josephus de bello l. 1. *c.* 12.

Idem Antiq. l. 14. *c.* 27. A. M. 3966.

He besiegeth *Jerusalem*.

33. *Herod* was not idle, but sending his brother *Joseph* into *Idumæa* with 1000 Foot and 400 Horse, went down into *Galile* to reduce some places there held by *Antigonus*; and within a short while brought all the Country into obedience, except those men that lurked in caves, and then dividing to his Soldiers 150 drachmes a man, placed them also in their Winter quarters. *Silo* a little after came to him, being cast off by *Antigonus*, who had ordered the Inhabitants to take all necessaries with them, and flie into the mountains, that so the *Romans* might be starved. *Ventidius* being now ingaged in *Syria* against the *Parthians*, sent to *Silo* to come to him when he had with *Herod* finished the War. But *Herod* having no confidence in him, dismissed him beforehand, and went himself against the Thieves, who dwelling in caves with their families in craggy and inaccessible rocks, he was fain to invent certain cages, which being let down to the sides of the rocks full of armed men, either slew them or tumbled them down headlong out of their holes, or else burnt them within, and by this means he subdued them all. Then setting *Ptolomy* over that Country, he marched into *Samaria*, but was presently forced to return, for *Ptolomy* being set upon by those who formerly had disturbed *Galile*, was slain, and then they betook themselves into the fens and inaccessible places, and thence making excursions, robbed all the Coasts thereabouts; but he returning punished them, pulled down their places of strength, and fined the Cities 100 Talents. In the mean while *Ventidius* having slain *Pacorus*, and put the *Parthians* to flight, by *Antonius* his

command sent *Macharas* to help *Herod*, with two Legions, and 1000 Horse; but he being corrupted also by *Antigonus*, would needs go to him as a spie against *Herods* will; Yet when he went could not be received, but was laid at with darts, so that repenting he had not followed *Herod*'s advice, he went and secured himself in *Emaus*, killing all the *Jews* that came in his way, without any difference of friend or enemy, out of madnesse for what had happned unto him. *Herod* being hereat enraged, resolved to go and complain to *Antony*, but he entreated him to stay, or if he went, however to leave *Joseph* with him to carry on the War against *Antigonus*, which later he granted, yet charging his brother not to venture all, nor contend with *Macheras*. Then hasted he to *Samosata* upon the river *Euphrates*, before which *Antony* then lay, leading Auxiliaries with him both Horse and Foot. At *Antioch* he met with many, that having a design to go thither, durst not for the *Barbarians*, who lying in the wayes, made great slaughters of travellers, but he taking the conduct of them upon him, stoutly defended them against the violence of the robbers, and with great credit for his valour safely arrived at the Camp of *Antony*.

34. *Antony* to do him honour, sent out an Army to meet him, with great praises and embraces received him at the Camp, and gave him great respect, as a King of his own setting up. Shortly after his arrival *Antiochus* yielded up the place, and then *Antony* committing the Province to *Sosius*, and commending to him the affairs of *Herod*, went away back into *Ægypt*. In the mean while *Joseph* neglecting his brothers counsel, was slain in *Judæa*, and great innovations followed in that place and in *Galile*; which *Herod* understanding, being sent before by *Sosius* with two Legions, lying at *Daphne* the Suburbs of *Antioch*, marched into *Galile*, where he worsted the Enemy, and took the Castle they fled into, whence hasting to *Jericho*, he there feasted the chief Inhabitantes in a room, which upon his departure to his chamber presently fell down, whereupon he was accounted to be especially owned by God, who had so wonderfully preserved him. Not long after he got five Towns into his hands, wherein he put to the sword 2000 of the Garrison Soldiers, and then went against *Pappus*, whom *Antigonus* had sent into *Samaria* in a vain ostentation, as able to wage War in both places. *Pappus* gave him battel very boldly, but he overthrew him, and in revenge of his brothers death did great execution, whereby *Antigonus* his interest was clearly broken, and he thought of quitting the City, had the weather suffered the King to improve the Victory, and make an end of the War. At night *Herod* being weary, he went to wash in a chamber, where one boy onely was with him, and therein chanced to be divers armed men of the Enemy, who though they might have easily dispatched him then naked, yet were they so affrighted, as they gladly got out and saved themselves by flight. The extremity of the weather being over, he went up to *Jerusalem* and laid siege to it in the third year after he had been declared King at *Rome*, intending to use the same manner of opposition as *Pompey* had made formerly against the Temple. But during the siege he went to *Samaria*, and there maried *Mariamne* daughter to *Alexander* and niece of *Aristobulus*, formerly contracted to him. The mariage being over he returned, and *Sosius* came also through *Phœnicia* up to *Jerusalem*, so that both carryed on the siege with an Army consisting of eleven Legions, and 6000 Horse. The defendants with great earnestnesse and courage made resistance, contermining, and sometimes fighting with the Enemy in the ground, though much straitned for provisions, it being the Sabatical year.

A. M. 3967.

Idem de bello ut prius cap. 13.

Idem Antiq ut prius. cap. 18.

He besiegeth *Jerusalem.*

A. M. 3968. *Ol.* 185. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 717. *Herodis* 3. *Ante Christum* 35.

Which after five moneths is taken, and therein *Antigonus*, who being beheaded by *Antony*, here the Principality of the *Asmoneans* receiveth it's period.

35. Force at length prevailed, joyned with skil, in both which the *Romans* excelled, so that after five moneths twenty of the stoutest Soldiers, and then *Sosius* his Centurion got over, and the outward part of the Temple with the lower side of the City were taken, and at length the other also, where all were full of slaughters, the *Romans* being enraged by the tediousnesse of the War, and the *Jews* out of malice and particular grudges seeking to destroy all of the contrary Faction. *Antigonus* came and fell on his knees before *Sosius*, who received him with reviling speeches, calling him *Antigona*. *Herod* had much adoe to keep the Soldiers from entering the secret places of the Temple, and to restrain them from slaughters, demanding of *Sosius* if the *Romans* intended to make him King of a desert, and adding, that he should think the price of all that blood which was spilt to be very little, though the Dominion of all the World should come into the bargain, and at length was fain to redeem the City from further trouble by his own money, wherewith he dismissed the *Romans* sufficiently inriched. This disaster befel *Jerusalem* in the Consulship of *M. Agrippa*, and *Canidius Gallus*, and the last of the 185 *Olympiad*, the third moneth, in the fast, and on the same day it had been taken by *Pompey* 27 years before. *Sosius* consecrating a crown of gold to God, went away with *Antigonus* unto *Antony*. But *Herod* fearing that *Antony* carying him to *Rome*, he should there obtain favour with the Senate, as being of the Royal race, and procure the Kingdom at their hands, if not for himself, yet for his children, who never had ill deserved of the People of *Rome*, he procured *Antony* to dispatch him out of the way, who prerending at least the unquietnesse of the *Jews* for his sake, caused him to be beheaded at *Antioch*. And so the Principality of the *Asmoneans* ceased, after it had endured free from the yoak of *Syria* 98 years; and *Herod* a man of forein and obscure birth was confirmed in the Soveraignty over *Judæa* by the *Romans*, in the *Empire* of whom we shall hear further of him.

Idem ibid. & l. 15. *c.* 1. *Plutarch in Antonio, & Dio lib.* 59.

CHAP. VIII.

The affaires of *Sicilie* Contemporary with the Empire of the *Macedonians*.

From the death of Timoleon *to the* Sicilian *or first Punick War, containing the space of* 73 *years.*

1. THe constitutions of *Timoleon* being Popular, and tending to the loose liberty of the Vulgar, which was destitute of lawfully succesive Princes, *Sicilie* continued not in Peace many years, being of all other places, through want of lawful Monarchs, most subject to the ambition and tyranny of those, who, though private Citizens, through flattery and deceit enslaved their neighbours. Amongst the rest *Agathocles* is most eminent; none that ever in any time went before him, coming up to him, or, reaching him by far in cunning and cruelty. He was the son of one *Carcinus* a Potter, and brought up by his father in that trade of life, who being banished from *Rhegium* in *Italy* his native soil, came into *Sicilie*, and placed himself at *Therma* at that time subject to the *Carthagmians*. Before he was born, and when his mother was yet great with him, the *Delphick* Oracle foretold, that he should be the author of great calamities to the *Carthaginians*, and also to all *Sicilie*, and for that cause he was exposed by his father, but preserved by his mother, and reserved to such a time unknown to him, as he repenting of what he had done, gladly understood from her of his safety. Being then again received by his father, he was brought up in the trade of a Potter, and was but young when *Timoleon* overthrew the *Carthaginians* at the River *Cremissus*, and made all free of *Syracuse* that would come thither. He was then with his father admitted into that City, and not long after his father died, but one *Damas* a chief Citizen being extraordinarily affected towards him for his comlinesse, gave him whereon sufficiently to live, and afterwards being created the Captain of the *Agrigentines*, bestowed on him the place of a Colonel in the Army, for that he was wont formerly in musters to wear those arms which none else could bear for their bignesse. But now being advanced

The Original of *Agathocles.*

Diodorus' Siculus lib. 19. *ad Olymp.* 115. *ann.* 4.

He is made a Colonel.

to this degree, he rendred himself more popular by his bold adventurers, and his making speeches often to the people, and *Damas* dying, he married his Widow, whereby he got abundance of wealth. Afterwards it hapning that *Crotone* being beseiged by the *Brutii*, they of *Syracuse* sent relief thither, which amongst other Captains was conducted by his brother *Autander*, and he himself by decree of the people had also the Office of a *Colonel*. But the Chief command was committed to *Heraclides* and *Sosistratus*, the later of which out of envy defrauded him of the rewards of his valour, which he now abundantly shewed, whereat he was so inraged, as to accuse him and his Companions to the people of affecting the Tyranny, but they giving no credit to his words, *Sosistratus* after his return seized on the Principality. *Agathocles* then for some time continued in *Italy*, and endeavouring to get *Crotone* into his power, failed of his Enterprize, and withdrew himself to *Tarentum*.

A. M. 3688. *Ol.* 116. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 437. *Ptol. Lagi* 7.

Liveth in *Italy*.

2. He was received into pay amongst the Mercenaries, but being suspected to attempt new matters, was not long after again cashiered, after which getting together a Company of *Italian* Fugitives, he relieved *Rheginum*, then set upon by *Sosistratus* and *Heraclides*, and then *Sosistratus* being banished *Syracuse*, together with his Authority, returned thither, where sometimes a private person, otherwiles an Officer, he valiantly behaved himself against the Tyrant's faction, in which the *Carthaginians*, and a great number of the chiefest Citizens were ingaged. Having once broke into the Citie *Gela*, and there being overmatched by *Sosistratus* and the Townsmen, so that he and his party were all of them in danger to be cut off, he sent his Trumpeters round about to the Walls, commanding them to sound an Allarm, whereby it came to passe (as he intended) that the Enemy thinking the besiegers had broken in from all quarters, retired from him to repulse them, and so he safely rettéated this Sconce. This businesse of *Sosistratus* being over, and *Acestorides* the *Corinthian* Created General of the *Syracusians*, *Agathocles* was suspected because of his politick head, to affect the Tyranny; yet *Acestorides* would not take him of publickly, for raising new stirs, but commanding him to depart the Citie, sent some to ly in wait, & kill him in the way; which he suspecting, sent out a young man very like himself, with his Cloths, Horse, and Armour, and in a disguised habit travelled through by-wayes, so that he devolved the danger upon the head of another, and escaped. Afterwards the Exiles of *Sosistratus* his faction being received, and a peace made with the *Carthaginians*, he lived as an outlaw within the Country, but gathering together considerable forces, proved so formidable to his own Citizens, and their new Allies, that they sought to him themselves to return, and having brought him into the Temple of *Ceres*, there took an Oath of him not to be against the popular Government. Making a shew then of Patronizing *Democracie*, he so inveigled the people by his fair speeches and cunning prerences, that he was constituted General, and keeper of the Peace, till such time as the differences then on foot, through the restitution of the Exiles, should be composed; and then having obtained his wished for opportunity, the Army being at his beck, and under pretence of opposing some, who at *Erbita* had lately revolted, sufficient occasion being taken to increase his strength, he marched out as against the Rebels, and united unto him 3000 men, some whereof had formerly served him against the *Carthaginians*, and were most addicted to himself, and adverse both to the people in general, and the 600 who now had the power in their hands, after the *Aristocracie* was taken away. With these, and certain *Syracusians*, who being poor themselves envied the wealth of others, he strengthned himself, and accusing the 600 to the Soldiers as having plotted against him, procured them easily to be taken for Enemies, and causing an Allarm to be sounded, commanded the Army to march to the Citie, and there to kill the Malignants, and take the spoyl of them and all their party.

Endangered at *Gela*.

Suspected to affect the Tyranny and banished.

Recalled, and made General.

3. The Army marching presently to the Citie, every part thereof was filled with slaughters, there being no difference made betwixt friend and Enemy, but according to the riches or poverty of the persons, and many running out into the streets to know what the matter was, were slain as they asked the question: all the Gates were shut that none might escape, so that 4000 by this means in one day perished. Many leaped down the Walls, of which some perished in the fall, but others to the number of 6000 escaped, of which most fled to *Agrigentum*, where they were courteously received, but sufficiently tormented in this respect, that their Wives and Daughters at home were abused by the Soldiers in revenge for their escape. *Agathocles* being glutted with a two dayes slaughter, gathered together the multitude of his Captives, of which he onely dismissed *Dinocrates* for his former friendship, but the rest he presently put to death or banished, and then calling the people together, grievously inveighed against the 600. and at the Aristocratical Government, and then mentioning what he had done to purchase the liberty of his Countrey, very formally laid down his Office, knowing certainly he should be sollicited to take it up again. For, his Soldiers now made rich by other mens goods, would not endure that he, or his authority, should forsake them, but cried out he must take care of them, so that with much ado, as it seemed, he took upon him the Office of Chief Captain, but without a Collegue, being unwilling, as he said, to be called to an account for others breaking the Laws, when as he acted according to them; to which the people consenting, he was Created *Captain General* with full Authority by their suffrages.

Under a specious pretence he causeth a Massacre to be made of the rich *Syracusians*.

Taketh the Office of Captain General without a Collegue.

A. M. 3688.

4. He carried it with all sweetnesse and moderation towards all them at the first, took great care for the Revenues, making of Arms, and increasing of the Fleet, and got several of the Inland Towns into his power. Having seized upon a Castle of the *Messenians*, he promised to restore it for 30 Talents, but after the receit of the money, not onely refused to surrender it, but also endeavoured to take *Messene* it self, part of the Wall being fallen down, and though he failed herein of his Enterprize, yet besieged he *Myla*, and had the place surrendred to him, but the *Carthaginians* sending their Ambassadors, expostulated with him his breaking the League, and constrained him to give the Castle up again into the hands of the *Messenians*. The year after, the Exiles that lived at *Agrigentum* exhorting their entertainers not to suffer him thus to go on in his Conquests, and make a prey of their Towns; for that it was better now to set upon him before he had confirmed his Tyranny, than when he should be grown too strong for them, and to be forced to War with him against their Wills. This appearing to be but reason, the people decreed the War, and having entred into a strict Alliance with them of *Gela* and *Messena*, sent some of the Exiles to *Lacedæmon*, thence to procure a General, suspecting the fidelity and moderation of their own Citizens, and calling to mind the worth of *Timoleon*. At that time was there in that Citie one *Acrotatus* son to *Cleomenes* the King, labouring under the envy of most of the youth, because the *Lacedæmonians* having been overthrown by *Antipater*, who then Governed *Macedonia* (after the death of *Alexander* the Great) when such as returned from the defeat were acquitted by the people, he alone had opposed the decree. Being inraged hereat, they beat him, and laid in wait for his life, whereupon now desirous of some forein command, he easily accepted of this imployment, and without consent of the *Ephori*, with a few ships sayled to *Agrigentum*, yet did he nothing worthy either of his family or Countrey, but proving more bloudy and cruel than the Tyrants themselves, incurred the displeasure of the people. Giving himself up to all luxury, and therewith spending the publick revenew, he murdred *Sosistratus* the Chief of the Exiles having invited him to supper, for nothing but out of emulation, whereupon he was deprived of his command, and had been stoned, but that he withdrew himself into his own Countrey. After his departure a composure was made by the interposition of *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, upon these terms, that of *the Greek Cities* Heraclea, Solinus, *and* Himera *should continue under the power of the* Carthaginians; *but the rest, over which the* Syracusianis *had the Dominion, should be left to their own Laws.*

Idem ad ann. 2. *Olymp.* 116.

Ad ann. 3.

The *Agrigentines* provoked by the Exiles, resolve to make War upon him.

Amilcar the *Carthaginian* maketh a peace.

5. The

5. The Iſland being hereby cleared of the Enemy's Forces, he ſecurely laid divers Towns to his Dominions, and with the acceſſion of many places to his former ſtrength, ſufficiently confirmed himſelf, having over and above his *Syracuſians*, and Confederates, 10000 foot, and 3500 horſe of Mercenaries in conſtant pay, and making Proviſion of all ſorts of Ammunition, for that he foreſaw, that the *Carthaginians* diſapproving of the peace made by *Amilcar*, would within a ſhort while renew the War: The year after ſeeing himſelf ſufficiently furniſhed, he reſolved then not to expect them, but begin himſelf; yet deſiring firſt to clear his way, by removing whatever might hinder him from the neighbouring Cities, he firſt attempted *Meſſene* whither the Exiles of *Syracuſe* had fled; and he firſt prevailed with them to expel theſe, and then to admit him into the Town, where he killed 600 of the chiefeſt of them, and moſt adverſe to his power. Thence he went to *Agrigentum*, thinking to make alſo a prey of it; but ſixty ſhips of the *Carthaginians* with Forces having lately come thither, he forbore to attempt any thing, and drew his forces into the Territories of the *Carthaginians*, where he took in divers Caſtles. In the mean while *Dinocrates* the principal man amongſt the Exiles ſent to *Carthage*, deſiring aid before *Agathocles* ſhould reduce all *Sicily* into his power, and having gathered his Companions together, and raiſed a pretty Force, ſent *Nymphodorus* to the Town of the *Centoripini* held then by *Agathocles*, but being promiſed to have it betrayed into his hands, under condition they ſhould be left to their own liberty, He got by the night into the Town, but the Garriſon having timely knowledge of it, cut him off, and all his followers which had entred, and *Agathocles* puniſhed the Conſpirators. But *Dinocrates* being called by the Inhabitants of *Galaria*, with 3000 foot, and 2000 horſe marched thither, where *Agathocles* his faction being caſt out, he pitched his Tents without the Town; but he ſent two of his Captains againſt him with 5000 men, who at length put him, and his whole Army to flight, and recovering the place, animadverted upon the Revolters. *Agathocles* being elevated with this ſucceſſe, hearing the *Carthaginians* were ſeized on an Hill, marched thither, intending to fight them with all the power he could make, but they declining an engagement, in a Triumphant manner he returned unto *Syracuſe*.

Ad ann. 1. *Olymp.* 117.

He breaketh it.

A. M. 3693. *Ol.* 117. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 442. *Seleuci* 1. *Ptol. Logi* 18.

6. The year following, the *Carthaginians* ſhipped a great Army for *Sicily* under Conduct of *Amilcar*, a man of high Nobility; but ſuch a Tempeſt ſeized on the Fleet, that 260 Veſſels loaded with men and Proviſions miſcarried, which made them cover their Walls with black, as it was the cuſtom upon ſome great and publick diſaſter. But *Amilcar* being an induſtrious man, gathering together the Relicks of the ſhipwrack, lifted more men after his arrival, and made up a compleat Army of 40000 foot, and well nigh 5000 horſe. *Agathocles* perceiving himſelf too weak to encounter the Enemy at preſent, took care how to ſecure his Towns and Caſtles from revolting, and eſpecially *Gela*, near to which the Enemy then lay. To ſend in a great party at once, he thought might awaken the Townſ-men too much, and put them upon ſome attempt diſadvantageous to himſelf, ſo that he got ſome Soldiers in at ſeveral times, till they amounted to a number too ſtrong for the other, and then going thither, accuſed the Inhabitants of Treachery, and took occaſion to make a Maſſacre of 4000 of them, the goods of whom he ſeized, with all the Silver and Gold of thoſe that remained. Then pitched he his Tents againſt the *Carthaginians*, encamped on an Hill where the Caſtle of *Phalaris* the Tyrant of old time was reported to be, whence it got the name of *Economos*, i.e. *wicked* or *unlawfull*. A River ran betwixt the two Camps, concerning which a rumour having been of old time ſpread, that a great multitude of men ſhould periſh near unto it, this hindred both the Armies from ingaging, till ſuch time as excurſions being made on both ſides, the *Africans* broke out of their Trenches to reſcue the prey, which *Agathocles* foreſeeing, had placed many men in ambuſh upon the River, who falling upon the *Carthaginians*, as they purſued their friends, drove them back, and

Ad ann. 2.

The *Carthaginians* receive a great loſſe by ſhipwrack.

and with great ſlaughter gave the chace unto their Camps. *Agathocles* judging this a fit ſeaſon for an ingagement, aroſe with his whole Army, and fell upon them in their trenches, into which he brake, and there maintained for ſome time a hot diſpute, till the Enemy repulſed him at that place, by help eſpecially of Slingers, natives of the Iſlands *Baleares*, who being exerciſed after the faſhion of that Country in ſlinging of ſtones, forced back the *Syracuſians*, by throwing at them thoſe of a pound weight. Yet he broke in in other places, and had almoſt done his work, when freſh ſupplies to the Enemy arrived out of *Africk*, which falling on him in his rear, turned the fate of the day clear againſt him, and put his men to flight, of which great execution was done by 5000 *Africans* that gave the chace, many alſo killing themſelves by drinking over haſtily, out of extremity of the heat which then raged through the influence of the Dog Star. So that he loſt no fewer than 7000 men, 600 onely of the *Carthaginians* being ſlain.

Overthrew *Agathocles*.

7. *Agathocles* getting together his ſtraglers betook himſelf to *Gela*, having given out, that he determined for *Syracuſe* with all ſpeed, ſo that 300 *Africans* entering *Gela*, and fearing nothing, were all cut off by him. Then ſhut he himſelf up there, that the *Carthaginians* laying ſiege to the place, the *Syracuſians* might have time enough to victual their City, and indeed *Amilcar* thought firſt of all to beſiege it, but afterwards underſtanding what force was in it, changed his purpoſe, and took in ſeveral Towns and Caſtles, and behaved himſelf ſo lovingly, as many within a ſhort time revolted to him. *Agathocles* then withdrew to *Syracuſe*, which he furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions for the enduring of a ſiege, intending to leave a party for defence thereof, and remove the War into *Africk*, by paſſing all his Army over thither. For, conſidering that the *Carthaginians* had almoſt got all *Sicilie*, and his confederates generally revolted to them (who were moſt potent now both at Sea and Land) he judged it (though the moſt venturous, yet) the ſafeſt way to invade the Enemy in his own Territories, which being a ſuddain and moſt unuſual thing, he ſhould daunt him therewith, and drive his Subjects into an open revolt, and force him to call back the Army out of *Sicilie*. Communicating therefore this purpoſe to no man living, he left *Syracuſe* to the Government of his brother *Antander*, and ſevering all the relations of the City one from another, that no mutiny or ſedition might ariſe in his abſence (taking part of them along with him as hoſtages) he raiſed money by ſeizing the eſtates of *Orphans* into his hands (which he promiſed to reſtore when they ſhould come to age) by borrowing money of Merchants, robbing of Temples; but eſpecially by calling the People together, and acquainting them, how he was moſt ready to endure any hardſhip, but it pitied him for the People: therefore he adviſed all that feared themſelves and eſtates to depart, which when the richeſt and moſt out of favour had done, he procured them to be cut off, and confiſcated all their goods. Then manumitting all ſlaves that were fit for the Wars, he ſhipt his men in ſixty Veſſels, and getting out into the Main whilſt the *Carthaginians* knew not his deſign, eſcaped them by the darkneſſe of the night, and though they chaſed him all the way, yet arrived he in *Africk* with his Army in ſafety.

Ad ann. 3.

They having almoſt got all *Sicilie* into their hands, he reſolveth to divert them by invading *Africk*.

8. Once arrived he burnt his ſhips, as well to take away from his Soldiers all hope of eſcape (thereby to heighten their valour) as alſo having no great Army, leſt for the defence of the Navy, it ſhould be divided. Then fell he upon two Cities immediately, which he took (the Soldiers being incouraged at the ſight of ſo pleaſant and rich a Country) but ſuffered none of his Army to lye there, but deſtroyed the places, leſt his men ſhoul relie upon them as a refuge. The *Carthaginians* were wonderfully daunted at the firſt report of his landing, concluding he durſt not venture over, except he had firſt, by deſtroying their Army, made all ſure in *Sicilie*, but underſtanding the whole affaires from ſome meſſengers ſent from the Fleet, they gathered courage, blamed their Sea-officers, who having the Sea in their power, had ſuffered the Enemy to land, and made choice of two Captains, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, thinking that their enmity towards each other which had been intailed

Being landed he burneth his ſhips.

The *Carthaginians* at firſt daunted,

tailed upon them, would prove the commodity of the Commonwealth; though indeed therein they were miſtaken. Theſe two Generals thought not fit to ſtay for their aſſociates, but muſter as many of their own Citizens as would make a ſhift, and ſo raiſing 40000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, with 2000 Chariots, they encounter the Enemy. *Agathocles* his men, many of them, wanting Arms, he made them counterfeit ones, to be ſo eſteemed a far off, and perceiving them to be diſcouraged at the number of the *Carthaginian* Horſe, he procured many Owls to be let go in the Camp, which birds being taken to bring alwaies good luck with them, the Soldiers were therewith ſo cheered, that they reſolutely ſet upon the Enemy, and brake preſently the body of Horſe. The Charets they drove for the moſt part back amongſt the Foot, which they charged alſo with ſuch reſolution, that the wing where *Hanno* commanded was diſcomfited, and he himſelf ſlain. *Bomilcar* his Collegue underſtanding this, having formerly wiſhed for ſome good opportunity to invade the Tyranny (which the moſt eminent men of *Carthage* were many times forced to do, for the avoiding of thoſe cenſures and puniſhments conſtantly inflicted upon them for the leaſt miſcariage of fortune, by the heady rable) thinking now an occaſion to be preſented to him, as it were from Heaven, he reſolved to take hold of it. And for that he thought it moſt convenient for him, that the Enemy ſhould not be overthrown, but an awe continued upon his Citizens, he retreated by little and little, ſuffering the *Sicilians* to prevail, and at length drew off his men to an hill, whence they all fled as faſt as they could to *Carthage*, having loſt of their number 1000 men, and killed of the *Greeks* but 200.

Are overthrown by him.

9. The *Carthaginians* now ſhut up in their City, and beſieged by *Agathocles* (though they had caried with them above 20000 pair of manicles in their Chariots to bind the *Greeks*, over whom they promiſed themſelves an eaſie victory) very much diſcouraged, and laying the blame of the misfortune upon the neglect of their ſuperſtition, ſent great gifts to *Hercules* the god of the *Tyrians*, from whom they were iſſued, and for that they had redeemed their own children of late (by others gotten elſewhere) from being ſacrificed to *Saturn*, they preſently offered up to him 200 boyes of the chiefeſt amongſt them for Nobility, being put into the hand of the Statue, and thence falling down into the hollow of it full of fire. They ſent alſo to *Amilcar* into *Sicilie* for aid, who receiving the news, cauſed it to be given out, that all the *Sicilian* Army was cut off, and earneſtly thereupon urged the beſieged to a ſurrender of *Syracuſe*, ſhewing them (to inforce the matter) the iron-work of the ſhips wherein the Army had paſſed over, which indeed the *Carthaginians* had taken up into their Veſſels after the burning of the Fleet. But the chief men amongſt the beſieged ſtayed the reſt from yielding, though *Antander* the brother of *Agathocles* was ſo faint-hearted, as to be for the delivering up the City, and caſt 8000 of the contrary faction, and the friends of the exiles, out of the Town: But within a few dayes arrived a Gally from *Agathocles*, to give them knowledge of his ſucceſſe, which being purſued by the *Carthaginians*, and the People flocking to the Haven to gaze, the walls were ſo forſaken, that *Amilcar* taking his opportunity, got ſome of his men over, but an Alarm being given, they were either ſlain, or forced headlong down the fortifications. *Amilcar* hereat diſcouraged, raiſed his ſiege, and ſent a ſupply of 5000 men over to *Carthage*.

Amilcar raiſeth his ſiege from *Syracuſe*.

10. *Agathocles* in this mean while took divers places in *Africk*, and fortifying his Camp before *Tunis* (wherein he alſo left a ſtrong Garriſon) marched further and beſieged *Adrymis*, and drew into ſociety with him *Elymus* the King of the *Africans*. The *Carthaginians* having notice of this, turned all their forces upon *Tunis*, which they beſieged, having firſt become Maſters of his Camp; but he hereupon leaving a great part of his Army ſtill before the Town, went with the reſt to an high hill, whence he might eaſily be ſeen by both the *Carthaginians* that lay before *Tunis*, and alſo by the Inhabitants of *Adrymis*, and there making abundance of fires, deceived them by this ſtratagem at both places. For the beſiegers thought he was coming with a great

Agathocles proſpereth exceedingly in *Africk*.

great Army to relieve *Tunis*, and therefore raiſed their ſiege out of hand, and departed to *Carthage*, the beſieged of *Adrymis* out of a ſtrong apprehenſion that new ſupplies were coming to the Enemy, yielded the Town. Then took hee *Thapſus* by ſtorm, and divers other places, and having now got into his hands about 200 Towns, went higher up into *Libya*. The *Carthaginians* took another occaſion at his abſence to beſiege *Tunis*, but he thereupon returned as before, but overcame them by a ſtratagem of a clean contrary Nature with the former; for he commanded that no fires now ſhould be made, and marching very faſt fell upon them at unawares, and cutting off 2000, took very many priſoners, and forced the other to betake them to their heels, whereby he exceedingly advanced his affaires, giving the *Carthagianians* ſuch a blow (who now by reaſon of their ſupplies arrived out of *Sicilie*, were thought ſuperior to him) that improving the Victory he went againſt *Elymus*, who had revolted from him, and killed him with a great number of his Subjects.

11. The year following, *Amilcar* in *Sicilie* once more beſieged *Syracuſe*, and preſently made great haſte for ſtorming of it after his arrival, becauſe the Soothſayers had foretold him, that that day he ſhould dine in the City. A great number joyning themſelves to him out of hope of plunder, they ſo ſtopped up the way with cariages, that they hindered one another, and ſuch a tumult aroſe, that the *Syracuſians* having notice of it, ſallied out upon them, and putting them to flight made great ſlaughter of them, and taking *Amilcar* alive, delivered him to the friends of thoſe that had been ſlain, who moſt cruelly tortured him to death, having been formerly it's probable, condemned by his ingrateful Citizens themſelves, though as then, he having the Army in his power, they durſt not let it be known, but caſting all their votes (written as the manner was) into a veſſel, they ordered it to be covered, and the thing not to be looked into, until his return, and the giving up of his command. But his Army which conſiſted of 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, being thus ſtrangely defeated, was divided then into two factions. The Exiles and *Greeks* choſe them *Dinocrates* for their Captain, and the *Carthaginians*, him that had held the next place to *Amilcar*. The affaires of *Sicilie* being thus in confuſion, the Inhabitants of *Agrigenium* thinking a fit opportunity for gaining the Principality of the whole Iſland to be put into their hands, made *Xenodocus* their Captain, who went and took in divers Towns, many revolting to him (all which with the former he reſtored to their liberty) and reſtrained the excurſions of the *Syracuſians*, who were in great diſtreſſe for want of proviſions which had been cut off by the *Carthaginians*, the conſtant Maſters at Sea. By this time *Amilcar*'s head was ſent over to *Agathocles*, who receiving it with joy, raiſed the contrary affection in the Enemy, to whoſe Camp he brought it, together with the meſſage, that their forces were utterly cut off, whereupon they diſpaired forthwith of better fortune, adoring the head of their nominal King.

Amilcar beſieging *Syracuſe* again is taken and killed.

Ad ann. 4.

Juſtin. l. 22.

Whereupon his Army is divided into two factions.

12. *Agathocles* was much puffed up at his proſperity, though he was not far from the waining of his fortune, a preludium unto which was made by *Lyciſcus* one of his Officers, who in a drunken fit exceedingly jeered him. He took it patiently, and made a jeſt of it, becauſe the man was very ſerviceable to him in his Wars, but *Archagathus* his ſon taking it heinouſly, returned it to him in his own language with threats, which further ſo inraged him, that he threw in his teeth (which was generally reported) his inceſtuous having to do with his ſtep-mother. The young man hereat was ſo tranſported, as he ran him thorow and ſlew him outright, which was followed by a mutiny of the whole Army, demanding juſtice againſt him, which flew to that height, that the Soldiers choſe themſelves Captains, ſeized on *Tunis*, and beſieged *Agathocles* and his ſon, many of the Officers upon promiſe of lager pay, revolted to the *Carthaginians*, who had not been wanting to add fuel to this flame. *Agathocles* ſeeing the danger he was in, laid aſide his Purple, and made a pitiful Oration to the Soldiers, wherein he told them hee was willing to lay down his life if ſo they pleaſed, rather than end his dayes by ſome

Agathocles being puffed up his fortune changeth by a grievous mutiny of his Soldiers,

ignominious death, and drew out his Sword as intending to kill himself; but the Army hindered it, and compelling him to resume his Robes, were throughly reconciled unto him, except some 200 which went over to the Enemy. He taking this opportunity marched presently against the *Carthaginians*, who full little thought of a battel, but expected presently a general revolt; so that taking them thus at unawares, he easily overthrew them with great slaughter.

Yet he quieteth them now, and defeateth the *Carthaginians*.

13. About this time the *Numidians* revolted from those of *Carthage*, who sent out an Army the next Spring to reduce them to obedience. *Agathocles* understanding that, left his son at *Tunis*, and marching after them with all expedition, at length overtakes them, then overthrows them, though with great difficulty, and losse to himself. The *Numidians*, whilest he was employed in the battel, having been intent upon the event of the fight, fell in, and plundred his Carriages, and getting away with the greatest part of the goods, by reason of the darknesse of the night, he was glad to divide the plunder of the field equally amongst his Soldiers, in way of recompence for the damage sustained by them. Such *Greeks* as he took prisoners, which had assisted the *Carthaginians*, he put into a Castle, where they fearing to be put to death set upon the Garrison by night, but being too weak, betook themselves thence to a certain fortified place, which *Agathocles* hearing marched thither with his Army, and drawing them out under promise of impunity, contrary to his faith given, killed them all to the number of 1000. of which half were *Syracusians*. At this time there was one *Ophellas*, who having been an Officer under *Alexander* the Great, had seized upon *Cyrene*, and gaped still after larger Dominions. To him now sent *Agathocles*, inviting him to come and joyn with him against the *Carthaginians*, offering him all *Africk* for a reward, to which he pretended he was constrained to passe over, assuring him he would content himself with *Sicily*, or else, if he thought good, invade *Italy* more commodious for him than *Africk* by far. The man puffed up with great expectations, sent to *Athens* (whence he had married a wife of the stock of famous *Miltiades*) to joyn with him in the expedition, which not onely divers of that Citie readily imbraced, but others of *Greece* now much shattered by Wars within it self, which were raised by *Alexander* his Successors. *Ophellas* then began his journey (with above 10000 foot, 600 horse, 100 Chariots, besides 10000 others, extraordinary, as they called them) of two moneths long, through a desart infested with wild beasts and venemous Serpents, wherewith his Army was sore distressed, as also by want of necessaries, till at length they arrived at *Agathocles* his Camp. There they were received with all manner of Provisions, but as the greatest part of them were gone out to gather forrage, he set upon the rest with their Captain, who though he resisted, yet being overborn, was slain most treacherously, and *Agathocles* then forcing them to lay down their Arms, got into his power the whole Army, having aforehand stirred up his Soldiers against *Ophellas*, by feigning that he lay in wait for his life.

Diodorus Siculus ut prius, Ad ann. 1. *Olymp.* 118.

Agathocles obtaineth another victory against the *Carthaginians*.

Sendeth for *Ophellas* out of *Greece*,

A. M. 3697. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 446. *Seleuci* 5. *Ptol. Lag.* 16. *P. Decio Mure.* 2. *Q. Fabio Maximo* 3. *Coss.*

Whom he treacherously murdereth.

14. Whilest *Agathocles* was in hand with this treacherous design, *Bomilcar* having long intended, but still out of fear deferred, the invasion of the Tyranny, communicating his intention to 500 Citizens, and 1000 Mercenaries, broke out into open Rebellion against his Countrey. Having seized on the new Citie, he thence invaded the old, which caused great consternation at first, whilest every one feared they had been betrayed into the Enemies hands; but understanding the matter, they presently made head against him, who going on in his way made slaughters of all he met; but what with opposing him in the streets, and throwing down stones from the houses, they drove him back again into the new Citie through the narrow wayes, and there besieged him. At length upon promise of pardon for what had passed, an agreement was made, and his followers by reason of the danger the Citie stood in, were all dismissed without any punishment; but he, notwithstanding the faith given to him, was most ignominiously, and with great Tortures put to death.

Bomilcar seeketh to invade the Tyranny at *Carthage*, and miscarrieth.

15. The

15. The year after *Agathocles* hearing that the Captains of *Alexander* had taken the Titles of Kings upon them; for that he thought himself neither inferiour to them in power, Territories, or for valiant acts, he called himself *King* in like manner: yet took he not the Diadem, being accustomed constantly to wear a Crown of Myrtles heretofore, either for the Ceremony of some Priesthood, or as * others have conceived, by reason of baldnesse, which rendred him exceedingly uncomely about the head. Then to attempt something worthy of so great a Title, he fell upon *Utica*, near which taking 300 of the Inhabitants, which upon his coming had been shut out, when he could not perswade them to yield, he framed an Engine, to which he tied many of them, and drawing it along to that place where he intended to break into the Town, exposed them either to be shot to death by their friends, or else if they within out of affection to them should forbear, then could he easily enter. The Defendants yet preferring their Countreys safety before that of a few private men, when they could do no lesse, repulsed the Enemy with all possible endeavour; but for all this, *Agathocles* broke in at another place, and filled the Citie with slaughter, no regard being had to any condition; and after he had overcome them also in a Sea-fight, placed a Garrison there, and subdued all the Maritime Towns under his power. Though he prospered thus in *Africk*, yet was he sollicitous for *Sicily*, where the *Agrigentines* had made some progresse in freeing the Cities; but now of late had received so great a blow from his Captains, that broke in pieces their design. Just after the fight was over he arrived, and making a progresse about the Island, recovered most of the Towns, onely he was repulsed with great losse from *Centoripa*, and upon the same terms gained *Appollonia*.

Agathocles taketh the title of King.

* *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib.* 12. *cap.* 4.

Idem ad ann. 2

A. M. 3698. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 447. *Seleuci* 6. *Ptol. Lagi* 17.

Returning into *Sicily*, his affairs go down the wind, both there and in *Africk*.

Henceforth his affairs began universally to decline. In *Sicily*, *Dinocrates* got so great an Army of Exiles together, that he durst not fight him, though continually dared, and dogged at the heels. In *Africk* his son *Arthagathus* prospered very much at the first through the good fortune of *Eumachus*, who subdued many places. But the Senate at *Carthage* dividing their Army into three parties, whereof one was to march for the Maritime parts, another for the Inland, and the last for the upper Countreys, they thereby attained their ends, *viz.* to lessen their number in the Citie (which made all Provisions scarce, by sending out 30000 men) to contain their Allies in fidelity, by giving them hopes of relief, and (which was the chiefest) to force the Enemy also to divide his Army, and so draw him down from *Carthage* it self.

16. For *Archagathus* dividing his Army to oppose the *Carthaginians* in the several quarters, lost almost the two parts thereof, which he sent out under Conduct of two several Captains, to the number of about 19000 men; so that the *Carthaginians* reduced almost all places back to obedience, all the Confederates revolted except a few, and *Archagathus* being distressed for want of all things, and the remainder of his Army in great terrour, he sent to his father into *Sicily* to acquaint him in what posture matters stood, and to desire speedy relief. He seeing his affairs go down the wind in that Island was sollicitous how to leave it, and 300 Vessels of the *Carthaginians* blocked up the mouth of the Haven, so that he could not stir out. But 18 Vessels coming in from *Hetruria*, he perswaded the Masters thereof being friends to put out, and then when the *Carthaginians* (as he expected) gave them the chace, he fell in upon their Rear, and beyond all hope got a victory over them, boarding five of their Fleet, which he took together with the Defenders. Hereat encouraged, he sent *Leptines* against *Agrigentum*, knowing *Xenodocus* their General then to be out of favour with a great part of the Town, and he seeing himself unable to grapple with him stirred not out, but provoked by the Citizens, so that being worsted, for fear of condemnation he fled to *Gela*. *Agathocles* now feasted the people for joy, making himself common with all, and giving them wine to excesse, so that their wits being out, when that once was in, they might speak their minds, and he thereby know their inclinations; for he feared that after his departure

they might call in *Dinocrates* and the Exiles, and reſtore again the popular Government. Having by this means got out who they were that diſtaſted his power, he feaſted them again by themſelves, with other 500 who bore the moſt noble minds, and compaſſing them in with his Mercenaries, ſlew them every man.

Being to return into *Africk*, he maketh a Maſſacre at *Syracuſe*.

17. Then ſayled he over into *Africk*, where he found his Army in a low and deſolate condition for want of neceſſaries. Therefore reſolved he to fight, though far inferiour to the *Carthaginians*, who ſought rather to draw out the time in length, knowing the condition of the Enemy; but he leading down his men to their Trenches, forced them to come out and give battel, in which he fighting valiantly, yet was worſted with the loſſe of 3000 men. After this a ſudden calamity ſeized upon both the Armies by reaſon of miſtakes. For the *Carthaginians* offering the moſt beautifull of their Captives, as a ſacrifize to their gods, it hapned that the fire thence was driven to their Tents, which being covered with Reed and Straw eaſily catched it, and as eaſily were conſumed, whence it came to paſſe that all things were in great confuſion. But the worſt of it was, that the *Africans* which had fought with *Agathocles* coming now over to them, the Scouts ſeeing them, gave an Alarm, as if all the *Greeks* taking their advantage of the fire were coming againſt them, ſo that flying in great confuſion, they killed, and trode down one another, miſtaking one another for Enemies, and having thus diſpatched 5000 of their Company, all run away to *Carthage*, where they were received with great trembling by their friends, leſt that with them the Enemy ſhould enter. The *Africans* which were coming over, being affrighted at the burning of the Camp, retreated, which being ſeen alſo by the *Greeks*, they gave notice to *Agathocles* that the *Carthaginians* were coming againſt him, ſo that he drew out his men in great fear and terrour, who meeting the *Africans*, and they taking one another for Enemies, they killed, and ſlew all they could during the night ſeaſon, till ſuch time as 4000 being ſlain, the reſt retreated to the Camp. *Agathocles* after this, ſeeing himſelf too weak now to graple with the *Carthaginians*, and thereby his affairs to be deſperate in *Africk*, reſolved to return into *Sicily*, and conſidering that the Enemy having the command at Sea, would not ſuffer the Army to paſſe away quietly, he reſolved with his younger ſon *Heraclides*, and a few more, to paſſe over ſecretly, and leave *Archagathus* behind him, whom he was jealous of, becauſe of the report raiſed of him that he had to do with his Step-mother.

A ſtrange accident which maketh great diſorder in both the Camps.

Agathocles deſpairing of his affairs in *Africk*, intendeth to fly away with his youngeſt ſon.

18. But *Archagathus* having notice of his intention (which he took in marvailous evil part) communicated it to ſeveral of the Officers, who raiſing a mutiny preſently in the Army, *Agathocles* was ſeized on, and made ſure in Fetters. A little after it hapned that an Allarm was made in the Camp, as if the Enemy approched, which made all Arm themſelves and run out, and amongſt the reſt the Keepers of *Agathocles*, whom then the multitude ſeeing in ſuch a condition, cried out preſently that he ſhould be looſed; which being done, he forthwith took Boat with a few attendants, leaving both his ſons behind him. The Army underſtanding this killed them both, and then agreed with the *Carthaginians* for 300 Talents to reſtore the Towns yet in their hands, and that ſuch as would ſhould receive pay in their ſervice. And ſuch as did ſo had the terms performed; but thoſe that out of hope of ſuccour from *Agathocles* held out the places, being all forced to yield, their Captains were Crucified, and the common Soldiers being bound in Fetters, were forced with their hard labour to repair that Countrey, which formerly they had helped to depopulate.

The eldeſt hearing of it raiſeth a mutiny, wherein *Agathocles* is bound in Fetters, but being looſed eſcapeth away, and both his ſons are killed by his Army, which maketh its own terms

19. Thus the *Carthaginians* obtained peace after four years; Divine vengeance hurrying *Agathocles* to puniſhment, after that perfidious murder of *Ophellas*, his two ſons being ſlain on the ſame day, and by the hands of his Soldiers. After his arrival in *Sicily* he went preſently to *Ægeſta*, a Town confederate with him, whence wanting money he exacted much Treaſure, but they grumbling, and complaining thereof, all the poorer ſort he brought forth, and ſlew at the River *Seamander*, and then tortured the reſt with all ſorts

ſorts of torments to make them confeſſe what they had. Some he broke upon the wheel, others he ſhot of from Engines as ſtones. Some had their ancles cut off, and endured other cruel torments. He invented a kind of puniſhment alſo, ſomething reſembling *Phalaris* his Bull, being a bed of iron, wherein one being put, was burnt or fried to death by fire put underneath. Rich women had their ancles broken with iron tongs, others their breaſts cut off. Some out of terror burnt themſelves in their houſes, and others hanged themſelves, ſo that the whole flower of the People being abſolutely deſtroyed, he ſold the children to the *Brutii* in *Italy*, and utterly to deſtroy the name of the City, called it *Dicæopolis*, and Peopled it with fugitives. Hearing then that his ſons were ſlain in *Africk*, to be revenged on the Soldiers, he ſent commands to *Antander* his brother, to kill all their friends and kinſfolks at *Syracuſe*, which he readily performing, no ſex nor age was ſpared, but ſo horrid a maſſace committed, that as well old and decrepit men as young infants were included in the ſlaughter. Such as were thus murdered lying on the Sea ſhoar, none durſt bury them, though never ſo nearly related, ſo that the Sea waſhing them away was coloured with the blood, carying along with it a note of this cruelty to other parts at a good diſtance. *Agathocles* continued his progreſſe up and down the Iſland, ſtrengthning Towns, and raiſing money; but *Paſiphilus* his Captain deſpiſing him now for the lowneſſe of his fortune, fled over to *Dinocrates*, and withdrew the Army alſo from him. This caſt him into ſuch deſpair, that contrary to his former boldneſſe, he ſent to *Dinocrates*, offering to quit the Tyranny, and reſtore the Government to the People, ſo he might have but two Caſtles to maintain himſelf on, and earneſtly preſſed him to admit of the conditions. But he gaping after the chief power himſelf, and unwilling to be reduced again to the eſtate of a private Citizen (being now (though but accounted Captain of the Exciles) as a King indeed, in regard of the great extent of his power and command) put him off with one pretence or other ſtill, till *Agathocles* ſmelling out his device, ſent ſome to accuſe him to the Army, and ſending to *Carthage* made Peace with them on theſe terms; *to reſtore all the places to them they formerly had in Sicilie, and for this in way of requital, to receive* 500 *Talents of Gold, and a great quantity of Corn.*

His horrid cruelty towards the Eſtians.

Diodorus ut ſupra. ad ann. 3.

Out of deſpair he offereth to lay down his power, but *Dinocrates* intending to obtain the Tyranny himſelf rejecteth it.

20. Furniſhing then himſelf with a ſmall Army, he went againſt *Dinocrates* and his Exiles, who ſeeing the little number he brought with him (being but about 5000 Foot, and 800 Horſe) in compariſon of themſelves, amounting to 25000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, gave him battel. The diſpute at firſt was very ſharp; but ſhortly ſome 2000 of the Exciles revolting to the Tyrant, ſo encouraged his men, and diſcouraged thoſe they had forſaken (who thought them to be more than indeed they were) that they were eaſily put to flight, though ſo far exceeding in number. All the Horſe got clean away, and ſome of the Foot; but the greateſt part ſetling upon an Hill, made Peace with *Agathocles*, who had ſent to them, inviting them now at length to lay down their enmity, and return home; but after he had got them into his power, contrary to his faith given (which he never obſerved) he ſlew ſome 7000 of them. The reliques of the Army being gathered up he received, and *Dinocrates* himſelf, to whoſe command he committed part of his Soldiers, and contrary to his own diſpoſition, truſted him to the laſt. He betraying his companions, ſlew *Paſiphilus* at *Gela*, and going about in ſubduing the Towns and Caſtles (in which work he ſpent two years) delivered them all up to *Agathocles*.

Idem ad ann. 4.

A. M. 3500. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 449. *Seleucid.* 8. *Prot. Lagi* 19.

Whom he overthroweth and yet receiveth into favour.

21. Not long after, *Caſſander* the King of *Macedonia* beſieging *Corcyra*, *Agathocles* went and raiſed the ſiege, burning all his ſhips in the Havens. Returning to his Army, and underſtanding that certain *Ligurians* and *Tyrrhenians* had joyned with thoſe that ſlew his ſon *Archagathus*, he got them into his power to the number of 2000, and put them all to the ſword. The *Brutii* (a People which iſſuing from the *Lucanians*, were grown mighty high, and at the very firſt fought againſt thoſe from whom they had their original, and forced them to a Peace, on equal terms) being offended with him, he failed

Diodorus in Excerpt. l. 21. *A. M.* 3704.

Juſtin lib. 23.

sailed over into *Italy* against them, and determined to besiege a Town belonging to them, but they setting upon him at unawares, forced him with the losse of 4000 men to return to *Syracuse*. Yet was he not discouraged from making another Expedition against *Crotone*, which intending to besiege, he pretended he was about to send his daughter to the King of *Epirus* with a Royal Fleet, and beguiling them herewith, laid close siege both by Sea and Land to the Town, when they full little thought it. Having undermined a great house, they being terrified thereat, opened their gates and let him in, after which he plundered the Town, and committed great slaughters. Then entred he into society with the *Japyges* and *Pacetii* notable Pyrates; whom furnishing with Vessels, he was to have part of the booty; and leaving a Garrison in *Crotone*, he returned to *Syracuse*.

Rageth against the *Italians*.

Diodorus ibid.

22. Once more having prepared an Army of 30000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, he passed over into *Italy*, where being arrived, committing the Navy to the care of *Stilpo*, he commanded him to make excursions into the Territories of the *Brutii*, but he coasting along and wasting the maritime parts, lost almost all his ships by a tempest. He himself took by storm the City of the *Hipponiatæ*, at the report whereof the *Brutii* were so affrighted, that they sent to him to treat, and delivered up 600 Hostages. Yet after his departure they broke their oath, and expelling his Garrison, returned again to their own freedom. *Agathocles* being returned home, sent his son of his own name to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* now King of *Macedonia*, to enter into society with him, who taking the message in good part, rewarded the Ambassador with royal gifts, and sent one back with him, who under colour of ratifying the League, might espie out the condition of *Sicilie*. Having now been a long time, as he thought, at Peace with the *Carthaginians*, he made all provision possible again for shipping, intending to make another Expedition into *Africk*, and hinder the exportation of Corn from *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*.

Entereth into society with *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

23. But whilst he busied himself with such thoughts, he was prevented by one *Mænon*, who being born at *Ægesta*, had been taken captive there, and for his beauty was preferred to his service. For a time he dissembled the displeasure he conceived from the calamity of his Country, and his own ignominious and filthy condition, till he might have an opportunity to be revenged upon the Tyrant. But now it hapning, that *Agathocles* commending *Agathocles* his son to the *Syracusians* as his Successor; and sending him to succeed *Archagathus* (his nephew by *Archagathus* his son, and a man of great courage) in the command of the Army then quartering about *Ætna*; *Archagathus* seeing how things were likely to go, plotted the ruine of them both, and sending to *Mænon*, desired him to make the old man away with poyson, whilst he in the mean time inviting the young one to a feast, made him drunk, and then killed him. *Mænon* mindful of the message, whereas the King after meat called for a tooth-pick to cleanse his teeth, dipped one in poyson and gave him it, which he using, began by little and little to wax ill, and then his teeth putrifying in a horrid manner, this was succeeded by tormenting pains. Seeing therefore himself near his end, he called the People together, and inveighing bitterly against *Archagathus*, stirred them up to revenge him on him, and restored the *Democracy* to the People. Afterwards his voice failing him, he was put upon the funeral fire yet breathing, by *Oxythenius*, who had been sent to him by *Demetrius*, and burnt. *Justin* from *Trogus* (who in the whole story of this Prince dissenteth from *Diodorus*) reporteth, that before his end, he sent back his wife *Theogene* an *Ægyptian* by birth, with her two young children, and great wealth, into her own Country, to be out of that danger which he foresaw must needs ensue. The story of his life is almost beyond parallel; but he died after he had lived 72 years, and thereof reigned 28, as amongst other Historians cited by our Author, *Antander* his own brother left recorded; A. M. 3718, and the second of the 123 *Olympiad*.

A. M. 3716. *Ol.* 122. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 465. *Seleuci* 24. *Ptolom. Lag.* 35.

Whilst he thinketh of making another Expedition into *Africk*,

He is prevented by poyson.

A. M. 3718. *Ol.* 123. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 467. *Seleuci* 26. *Ptol. Lagi* 37. *Vide Diodorum in Excerpt. l.* 21.

24. The *Syracusians* having again got the power into their own hands, put to sale *Agathocles* his goods, pulled down and tare in pieces all his pictures.

Mænon in the mean while who had poysoned him being in the Camp with *Archagathus*, and elevated with the thought of what he had done, made away also *Archagathus* by treachery, and with good words drawing the Army to himself, resolved to make War upon the *Syracusians*, and seize on the Principality. The *Syracusians* therefore having made *Hicetas* their *Prætor*, sent him out against him, but the *Carthaginians* joyning with *Mænon*, they were constrained to deliver them 400 Hostages to let fall the War with them, and receive the Exiles. Afterwards the mercenary Soldiers being denied the right of Suffrage in the election of Magistrates, a great sedition arose thereupon, and both they and the People took arms, but the better sort interposed themselves, and prevailed with both parties to agree, the Soldiers consenting to depart the Island with their goods. These Mercenaries marching away, came to *Messene*, a Sea-town standing over against *Italy*, where being kindly entertained by the Inhabitants, they so well requited them, that in the night they massacred them all, and marying their wives, seized upon the Town, which they called in their own *Campanian* language *Mamertina*; *Mars* in that tongue being named *Mamers*. Over against this Town stood *Rhegium* upon the promontory of *Italy*, which being in danger now in the War betwixt the *Romans* and the *Tarentines*, the Inhabitants desired of the *Romans* to have a Party sent them for their defence, which being also *Campanians*, in imitation of what their Countrymen had done at *Messene*, and by their help, they also killed or expelled the Inhabitants, and seized upon their Town and territories. *Decius* their chief Commander they banished for the unequal division of the prey, who going thence to *Messene*, fell ill afterwards of his eyes, and sent to *Rhegium* for an expert Physician in this kind, who coming to him, in revenge of what he had done to his Country, applied *Cantharides* to his eyes instead of salve, and utterly blinded him. And when the *Romans* were once disintangled from the War, having grievously resented the treachery of their Soldiers, they besieged them in the Town, which taking, they brought 300 of them to *Rome*, and in the market-place first whipped and then beheaded them, after the custom of their Ancestors, to vindicate their credit with their confederates.

Mænon who poysoned him laboured in vain to get the Tyranny.

Idem ibid. & *Polybius lib.* 1.

The mercenaries massacre the *Messenians*, and the *Roman* Soldiers those of *Rhegium*.

Diodorus Excerpt. l. 22.

25. In *Sicilie* were now many petty Tyrants: *Hicetas* at *Syracuse*, *Phintias* at *Agrigentum*, and several others at other places. These two fell out and warred with each other, insomuch that by reason of their mutual excursions and depredations their ground lay untilled. *Hicetas* having still the upper hand of the other, was so elevated, that he ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians* at the River *Teria*, but it proved to the great losse of his men. Ever since the death of *Agathocles*, had the *Syracusians* laboured with all their might to reduce that whole Island into their power, and now at this time rather doubling their diligence than at all slacking their endeavours, sent over into *Italy* to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* (who now was busie in War against the *Romans*, being called thither by the *Tarentines*) desiring aid of him for the expelling of the *Africans*, and to take upon him the protection of *Sicilie*. *Hicetas* having held the Dominion of *Syracuse* nine years, was then ejected by *Thynio*, who together with *Sostratus* were so vexed with the *Carthaginian* War, that they again called *Pyrrhus* into *Sicilie*. The *Mamertines* entered into League with the *Carthaginians*, and resolved if possible to hinder his landing, the *Romans* were also by reason of their enmity with him easily drawn into the confederacy, so that the Straights of *Sicily* were narrowly watched. He delaying his coming till the next year, the *Carthaginians* sent back thirty of their ships upon other occasions, and besieged *Syracuse*. But then he (having been in *Italy* now two years and four moneths, without successe) passed over without control, and came directly to *Syracuse*; where the *Carthaginians* lying incamped with no lesse than 50000 men, having also 100 ships at anchor in the Haven, yet upon his approach raised their siege, not daring to try the hazard of a battel.

Plutarch in Pyrrh.

Pyrrhus King of *Epirus* called over into *Sicily* by the *Syracusians*.

Diodorus ibid.

A. M. 3718. *Ol.* 123. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 477. *Antioc. Soter.* 6. *Ptol. Philadelph.* 8.

26. *Pyrrhus* coming to the City, reconciled the Inhabitants to their Governours, for which getting great favour, and receiving messages from diverse Cities

Cities, which gave up themſelves into his hands, he not onely thought now of gaining *Sicily* (which he intended to give to his ſon, begotten on *Lanaſſa* the daughter of *Agathocles*, as *Italy* to another) but of laying *Africk* it ſelf alſo to his Dominions. Making a journey through the Iſland, he received the Cities to protection, and within a ſhort ſpace ſubdued all the places held by the *Carthaginians*, except *Lilybæum*, a Town built upon the Sea by their Anceſtors, after that *Dionyſius* had taken *Motya*. After he had been ſome time before it, though a great ſupply had arrived, yet ſent they alſo to him, offering him money to raiſe his ſiege; and he was inclined to accept of the offer; but his friends in Council perſwaded him by all means to refuſe it, and utterly expel the *Africans* out of *Sicily*. Then did he with all his might attempt the taking of the place by force, but it being ſtrongly defended, he every time came off with loſſe, and finally after he had continued the ſiege for two moneths, roſe up and departed. After this he had thoughts of becoming maſter at Sea, and tranſporting his Army into *Africk*; but behaving himſelf too Magiſterially in the preparation for this attempt he loſt himſelf exceedingly, and then ſuſpecting the fidelity of *Thæmo* and *Soſtratus*, the one he compelled by fear to revolt from him, and the later he ſlew as guilty of the ſame intention. This ſo provoked the Cities, that ſome revolted back to the *Carthaginians*, and others to the *Mamertines*, ſo that perceiving a great defection, and a conſpiracy alſo hatched againſt him, being now ſolicited alſo by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines* for more aid, he departed again into *Italy*, being oppoſed ſo in his paſſage by the *Carthaginians* on the Sea, and that he loſt moſt of his ſhips, and ſo much after he had landed by the *Mamertines* (who had before wafted over 1000 men) that with much ado he got ſafe to *Tarentum*.

Justin lib.23. *Diodorus ut ſupra.* *Plutarch ut priùs.*

Proſpereth.

But by his cruelty loſeth himſelf and departeth.

27. After the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the Soldiers which quartered in the Towns near to *Syracuſe*, beyond all example, created two Magiſtrates out of their own body, *Artemidorus* & *Hiero*, to the great indignation of the people, which took it in diſdain that their privilege ſhould be thus uſurped by the Army. Yet afterwards did they confirm the honour unto *Hiero* for his great moderation and high abilities, who being the ſon of *Hierocles*, had ſtrange preſages whileſt yet a Child concerning his future Dignity. He perceiving how in the abſence of the *Prætor*, the *Syracuſians* were apt to be ſeditious, and attempt new matters, entred into affinity with *Leptines* (by marrying his daughter) whom he knew to be the moſt conſiderable man, and of great Authority amongſt the vulgar, that he might ſupply his place as it were in his abſence, and contain the people in obedience. After this marriage was over, taking notice of the looſe Carriage of the old Mercenary Soldiers, and how they were ever inclining to mutinies, he drew them out againſt the *Mamertines*, who being Barbarians (as the *Greeks* alwayes termed all beſides themſelves) had ſeized upon *Meſſene*, and dividing them from the reſt, which he kept with himſelf, expoſed them againſt the Enemie, and ſuffered them every man to be cut off, ſo that being rid of them, he thenceforth Governed without any fear or trouble. Three or four years after he ſet upon the *Mamertines* in good earneſt, who though they bare themſelves high ſo long as their friends and aſſociates continued Maſters of *Rhegium* (created much trouble to the *Carthaginians*, and compelled divers Towns to pay Tribute) yet now ſince the defeat of them, and eſpecially after that *Hiero* had got into his power two places near unto them, they were exceedingly ſtraitned.

Polybius lib.1. *Juſtin ut priùs.*

The *Syracuſian* Soldiers created two Magiſtrates, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero*.

A. M. 3730. *Ol.128. ann. 2. V. C. 479.* *Antioch.Sot.8.* *Ptol. Philad.* 10. *M. Curio Dentato 2.* *L. Cornelio Lentulo Coſſ.*

Hiero being ſole Magiſtrate falleth upon the *Mamertines*.

28. Yet ſent they out againſt him 8000 foot, and 1000 horſe under the Conduct of one *Cios*, who calling the Soothſayers to divine what the iſſue ſhould be, they anſwered, that he was to ſpend the next night in the Enemies Camp, at which being much elevated, he ſet his men in order, and paſſed over the River. *Hiero* ſent 2000 choice *Meſſenians*, and 500 others, to get about the Hill *Thorax*, and come upon their backs, he in the mean time charging their front. Here was maintained a ſharp diſpute, till the 700 freſh men coming upon the backs of the *Mamertines*, did great execution upon them, ſo that being now compaſſed about, they betook themſelves to flight. *Cios* the General fighting moſt valiantly, received ſo many and great wounds that he ſwooned with too great expenſe of bloud, and being taken alive, was brought into the Camp of the *Syracuſians*, where all means poſſible were uſed for his recovery. But it hapning that divers horſes being brought out of the field, he eſpied that on which his ſon rode amongſt them; whereat taking an apprehenſion of the young mans death, in great trouble of mind he untied his wounds, and thereby cauſed his own end, as unwilling to outlive his ſon.

Polyæn. Poliorc. A. M. 3735.

Sect. I.

29. The *Mamertines* upon the news of this defeat were minded to give up themſelves, and their Citie, into the hands of *Hiero*. But it hapning that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General, being at that time in the Iſland *Lipara*, heard of the overthrow, and came over preſently to congratulate *Hiero*, as he pretended, but indeed to circumvent him with his General craft in which he was well skilled; and *Hiero* was ſo wrought upon as to give credit to him, and ly ſtill. Then went he to the *Mamertines*, and finding them ready to ſurrender, turned them clearly from it, and drew them to his own intereſt, by bringing them relief into the Citie. *Hiero* returning to *Syracuſe*, was for a reward of his great ſervice ſaluted King by the conſent of all men, which Title he held to his laſt, the ſpace of 54 years. *Hannibal* cunningly placed his Garriſon in the Caſtle, and thereby awed the whole Town, ſo that the *Mamertines* then ſuſpected him as much as *Hiero*, and they hindring thus each other from gaining the place, at length made an accord to carry on the War againſt it in common. This Combination cauſing the other to bethink themſelves of ſome forein aid, they ſent to the *Romans*, deſiring them to take the patronage of them, their own Countrey-men, as being Originally *Campanians*.

Hannibal the *Carthaginian* General deceitfully tampereth with them.

Polybius ibid.

They ſend to the *Romans* for aid.

30. The Meſſage found no good entertainment with the Senate, for that the fathers accounted it an abſurd thing for them, who had puniſhed the perfidiouſneſſe of thoſe that had ſeized upon *Rhegium* ſo ſharply, now to take upon them to protect thoſe that were guilty, and patterns of the ſame Crime; and they could by no means be brought to conſent unto it. But the people (who alone could do it) being perſwaded by the *Prætor* that it was high time to ſtop the proceedings of the *Carthaginians*, who had almoſt ſwallowed up all *Sicily*, and would uſe that Iſland as a bridge to paſſe over into *Italy*, and being alſo made to believe how profitable it would be to their particular intereſts to undertake the War, having ſuffered much by that late one with *Pyrrhus*, and the *Tarentines*, they decreed that aid ſhould be ſent them. The next year was *Appius Claudius* accordingly ſent over with an Army, with which he put to the worſt, both *Hiero* and *Hannibal*, and thereupon conſtrained the other to joyn himſelf to him againſt the *Carthaginians*. This is called the *Sicilian*, or the firſt *Punick* War, which for that it falls into the Hiſtory of the *Romans* more eſpecially, under whom thenceforth *Sicilia* was ever ſubject, it muſt neceſſarily be referred thither, as to its proper place. It began A. M. 3741. the firſt of the 129 *Olympiad*, in the 19th of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, the ſecond King of *Syria*, and the 21th of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the ſecond King alſo of *Egypt*, after the diviſion of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great; 22 years after the death of *Agathocles*, in the 490th year after the building of *Rome*, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, being Conſuls.

A.M.3739. *Ol.128. ann.3.* *V. C. 488.* *Antioch. Sot.* 17. *Ptol. Philad.* 19.

SECT. I.

CHAP. IX.

The affaires of the *Romans* Contemporary with the Empire of the *Macedonians*.

SECT. I.

From the War of Privernum *to the first* Punick *War, wherein the* Romans *first set foot out of* Italy, *the space of 66 years.*

War decreed against the *Palæpolitans.*

1. IN the year after the taking of *Privernum* was War decreed against the *Palæpolitans*. *Palæopolis* stood not far off from the place where *Neapolis* (now *Napoli* or *Naples*) is seated, and, as some think, there where at this day, is seen *il borgo de Chiara*. The same people inhabited two Cities, being descended from *Cumæ*, which was also a Colony of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, now called *Negropont*. For the *Cumani* having a good fleet first passed to the Islands *Menaria* and *Pithecusa*, and afterward ventured upon the Continent. The *Palæpolitans* trusting to their own strength, and counting of the treachery of the *Samnites*, and the plague which now had seized upon *Rome*, committed many Hostile actions against the *Romans* that inhabited the Countreys about *Cumæ* and *Falernus*. When *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publius Philo* were both *Consuls* the second time, the *Faciales* were sent to demand restitution, who bringing from those *Greeks* (more valiant in tongue, saith *Livy*, than in deeds) a fiery and resolute answer, it was resolved that War should be made upon them. *Livius lib. 8.* A. M. 3678. *Ol. 113. ann. 2.* *V. C. 173.* *Alexand. 10.*

Alexandria in *Egypt*, when built.

2. Whilest this War depended, the year following was *Alexandria* in *Egypt* built, as *Livy* writeth, whereas the foundation of this Citie was laid, while *Alexander* was in *Africk*, the year before the death of *Darius*, and the fifth before this, wherein *C. Pætilius* and *L. Papyrius Mugilanus* were *Consuls*. This same year he maketh *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* to have been slain, who being Uncle by the mothers side to *Alexander* the Great, is thought to have undertaken an expedition into *Italy*, out of emulation towards his Nephew, that as the one was now Conquering the *East*, so the other might endeavour to subdue the *West*, having no lesse matter to work upon in *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Sicily*, than the other found in *Asia* and *Persia*. He was deceived by the Oracle of *Jupiter* of *Dodona*, which bidding him beware of *Pandosia* and *Acheron*, he knowing there was a Citie of the former name in *Epirus*, and a River of the later, thought himself so much the safer, as he could get farthest off from these. Being therefore sent for by the *Tarentines*, he came into *Italy*, and made War with the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, from whom he took many Towns, and 300 families, which he sent as Hostages into *Epirus*. He entred into a League with the *Metapontini* and *Romans*. But the *Brutii* and *Lucani* recruiting themselves by the supplies of their neighbours, re-inforced the War, and set upon him near *Pandosia* (a Town situate a little above *Consentia*, the Metropolis of the *Brutii*) near to which ran a River called *Acheron*. Taking this River with his horse, he was there-

Alexander King of *Epirus* slain in *Italy.*

in slain by a *Lucanian*, and his dead body being carried down the stream into the Enemies quarters was mangled into pieces. A certain woman whose husband and Children were taken prisoners by the *Epirots*, got the pieces together, and in exchange for her relations sent his bones to *Metapontus*, whence they were conveyed into *Epirus* unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and *Olympias* his sister, whereof the one was sister, and the other mother to *Alexander* the *Great*.

2. The

SECT. I.

The *Palæpolitans* being conquered the *Tarentines* their allies proceed in the War, and draw in the *Samnites* and *Neapolitans.*

2. The *Palæpolitans* though assisted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, were overmatched so, as glad they were to yield up their City, and the *Samnites* lost three of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* yet proceeded, and drew both the *Samnites* and *Neapolitans* (the other part of this *Greek* Colony) afresh into the War, wherein also the Inhabitants of *Vestinus*, together with their allies ingaged themselves. Whilst this War was but beginning, great stirs hapned in the City. There, one *L. Papyrius* had given up himself to *C. Publius* as a slave, to work out his fathers debt. Being a young man of a beautiful body, *Publius* attempted filthily to abuse him, and when he would in no wise suffer this, most grievously beat and tore his body with rods. In this plight *Papyrius* got away, and running to the People, by declaring his condition, so affected them, that they procured the *Fathers* to decree, that the *Consuls* should propose to them in the *Comitia* these two Laws: the first, *That no man should be detained in bonds, except for some misdemeanor, till the time of his punishment*: the second, *that the money and goods, not the body of the debtor should be responsible.* Whereupon all prisoners for debt were forthwith set at liberty. The year following the *Vestins* were overthrown by *Junius Brutus Scæva* the *Consul*, who also took from them two Towns. His Collegue *L. Furius Camillus* being sick in *Samnium* (or the Country of the *Samnites*) pronounced Dictator *L. Papyrius Cursor*, the most famous Captain by far of those times, who named *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* for his Master of Horse-men. *Papyrius* being in Camp against the *Samnites*, was forced to return to *Rome*, for the renewing of his *auspicia*, and at his departure commanded his *Master of Horse-men* not to stir out of the trenches to fight one stroak till he came back; but *Fabius* understanding that a notable advantage of doing something of consequence was presented from the Enemy, fell upon the *Samnites*, and made great slaughter of them. The Dictator hearing of this, in a great rage returned to the Camp, and had put him to death, but that he was rescued by the Army, from which flying to the City, *Papyrius* followed him, and pressing sore to the Senate the necessity of discipline and authority, would not at all give way to the intreaties of the Fathers. This forced *M. Fabius* the father of the party to appeal to the People and their *Tribunes*, by which he hardly was drawn to pardon him, though his authority was saved together with the life of *Fabius*, through the intreaties of those who might justly have Commanded it, as was confessed by himself.

New Laws in favour of Debtors.

L. Papyrius Cursor made Dictator.

A. M. 3681. *Ol. 114 an. 1.* *V. C. 430.* *Alexand. 13.*

Is hindred from punishing *Fabius Rutilianus* his Master of the Horse-men.

3. This severity of the *Dictator* so alienated the hearts of the Soldiers from him, that it had well nigh cost him the losse of a battel; which constrained him to be more Popular; then afterward he overthrew the *Samnites*, and harazed their Country. This made them desire Peace; but returning quickly again to their former enmity, in the second year after, they received another great defeat from *A. Cornelius Aruina* the *Dictator*. Herewith they were so struck, that they sent all the prisoners they had home to *Rome*, with such plunder as they had taken, and the dead body with the goods of him who had been the author of the revolt, and who fearing to be given up had killed himself. The Senate onely received the men, with such goods as any Citizen could challenge for his own, and denied them Peace. At this *C. Pontius* a leading man amongst them took occasion grievously to enveigh against the injustice of the *Romans*, and causing them to take arms, led them presently near to a place called *Caudium*, whence having apparelled ten Soldiers in the habit of Shepherds, he sent them to *Calatia* (where he heard the *Consuls* lay at present) with a charge, that when they should be asked where the Army of the *Samnites* was, they should answer in *Apulia*, besieging *Luceria*, which it had already well nigh taken. A rumour being already spred abroad of such a thing, now obtained greater credit, and the *Romans* accounted themselves by all means bound to succour *Luceria*, and the rather, for fear lest all *Apulia* should revolt. Two wayes there were which led to *Luceria*: One by the Sea side open and secure, another through the Straights of *Caudinum* called *Furcæ Caudinæ* (at this day *Caudino*, and *Forche Caudine*, ten

The *Samnites* overthrown,

Desire Peace which is denied them.

Livius lib. 9.

SECT. I.

They entrap the *Roman* Army at *Furcæ Caudinæ.*

miles distant from *Benevento*) a place incompassed about with high mountains, & into which one could not enter, nor depart out of it, but through very difficult and straight passages. The *Consuls* leading their Army through this, as the nearest way, were quickly stopped up, so as they could neither proceed nor retire, because on all sides *Pontius* had blocked up the passage.

A. M. 3684. *Ol.* 114. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 433. *Ptolom. Lagi* 3.

4. The *Samnites* having the *Roman* Armies at this advantage, sent to *Herennius* the father of *Pontius* their General, and a very wise man, for his advice what was to be done. He sent word, they should dismisse the *Romans* without any injury at all, which answer not pleasing, they sent back for another, and then he counselled them to cut them off, and not leave a man alive. These two extremes being ascribed to dotage, he came to the Camp, and offered his reasons. He said, he gave the *first* advice as such, which if followed, would by a great courtesie have for ever obliged a most powerful People, and the *second*, as tending so far to the weakning of their power, as they could not for a long time either recruit themselves or renew the War, having lost two so considerable Armies; as for any third expedient he found none. Being asked concerning a middle way of dismissing the *Romans* in safety, but under the obligation of some conditions, he answered, that this course would not procure them friends, nor diminish their enemies; for such was the *Roman* Nation, that being disgraced or defeated, it could not rest, but would still retain the memory of what present necessity urged it to submit to; neither, saith he, will they suffer you to rest till punished abundantly. But this wise counsel would not be heard; so that the *Romans* had these conditions set them: *The Army was to march away onely with their clothes, having first in token of slavery passed under the jugum: the Romans should quit wholly the Country of the Samnites, and thence remove their Colonies: and both Roman and Samnite live under the same terms of confederacy and alliance.* The Armies were constrained to submit, and in great shame and consternation marched away disarmed. This disaster hapned in the 433 year of the City, and the third after the death of *Alexander* the Great, when *T. Veturius Calvinus* the first, and *Sp. Posthumius* the second time were *Consuls.*

Make it disgracefully passe under the *jugum* and march away disarmed.

5. The City was most grievously afflicted with shame and anger at so disgraceful and unusual a thing. *Posthumius* perswaded the Senate to deliver himself and his Collegue into the hands of the *Samnites*, as being onely obliged to the conditions, and not the State, which was unacquainted therewith. This being accordingly done, *Pontius* refused to receive them, exclaiming against the perfidiousnesse of the *Romans.* The Army then marching down again sufficiently revenged themselves, under conduct of *Papirius.* Several Towns which had revolted were recovered, and scarce could the *Samnites* obtain a Truce for two years. They brake this Truce ere the time was out, and thereby drew the War again upon them, which endured for eleven years, they lost many thousands of men, with many Towns, which humbled them so, that upon their submission the usual confederacy was granted to them. Then were the *Æqui* chastized, who had helped them, and thereby were other Nations affrighted into subjection. In the second year after, began another War with the *Hetruscans*, wherein were fought divers bloody battels; but still the *Romans* had the better, who stormed divers Towns, and wasted the Country. Two years after, the *Samnites* rebelled again, and joyned with the *Hetruscans*, but with the same successe as formerly, being grievously slaughtered, especially under the conduct of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Decius Mus*; the later of whom, seeing his wing give ground, in a great and bloody battel fought with the *Samnites* and *Galls* (for those now had joyned with them) solemnly devoted himself and the Enemy to the *Dii Manes*, and rushing into the midst was killed, as his father had been 44 years before. Still continued the miseries of the *Samnites*, and two years after their last Army (for this time it must be understood) was cut in pieces by *L. Papirius* son to the former, who also took many Towns, and for his service obtained a most splendid Triumph. It is observed, that over the *Samnites* the *Romans* triumphed thirty times: viz. *Consuls* 26 times,

The conditions are renounced at *Rome*, and the *Samnites* often again defeated.

Decius Mus as his father before him, devoteth himself to the *Dii Manes.*

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times, *L. Papirius* the *Dictator* twice, *Publius Philo* once, who first of all others triumphed with *Proconsular* power, and once *Q. Fabius* another *Proconsul.* The family of the *Fabii* obtained, of these thirty, four Triumphs, and that of the *Papirii* five, as may be seen in the *Capitoline* Tables. This War having begun in the 410 year of the City, ended in the 481, and therefore continued 71 years, not fifty onely, as *Florus*, according to his custome, falsely computeth; neither 81 as *Appian*, nor 49 onely, as *Eutropius*; nor yet onely seventy, which number *Livie* assigneth with tolerable difference. All Writers agree, that the *Romans* had no Enemy in *Italy*, who longer, or more pertinaciously, managed the grand quarrel with them, than the *Samnites.*

A summary account of the War with the *Samnites.*

6. During these successes abroad, the People having got of late so many privileges, were reasonably quiet; yet their *Tribunes* having one occasion left to create trouble to the *Fathers*, stomached much that all the *Priests* and *Augurs* should be created out of the Nobility, and laboured to make the *Commons* partakers of those Offices. The Senate made no great resistance, as being now accustomed to yield, and that in things of far greater moment, as the *Consulship*, *Censorship*, *Dictatorship*, and *Triumphs.* So, whereas as yet there were but four chief *Priests* and as many *Augurs*, to them were added four, and to those five out of the body of the *Commons.* And this same year did *M. Valerius* the *Consul* prefer a Law of *Appeale* more diligently enacted. Now was it the third time preferred since the banishment of the Kings, alwaies by the same family. The cause of renewing it, saith *Livie*, I suppose was no other, than that the power of a few prevailed above the liberty of the Commons. Which cannot be, if we consider, how for a long time the will of the multitude had got ground, and before this overturned the prerogative of the *Patricians.* The *Lex Porcia*, saith he, seemeth alone to be enacted for the backs of the Citizens, because it inflicted an heavy punishment upon him that should beat with rods or kill a *Roman* Citizen. The *Lex Valeria* having prohibited any to be killed or beaten who had appealed, if any did contrary, added no more than *it was naughtily done*, which (such was then the modesty of men) was I believe, a sufficient obligation for the Law. Now scarcely can any one threaten a Slave in that manner. *Fabius Gurges* after this, being Consul, fought unprosperously with the *Samnites*, whereupon the Senate consulted about removing him from the Army. *Fabius Maximus* his father deprecating this ignominy, prevented it, by promising he would go to the War as *Legatus* or *Lieutenant* to his son. He performed it, and so assisted the young man, that he procured him Victory, and a Triumph, wherein *C. Pontius* the *Samnite* being led was put to death. After this, *L. Posthumius* a man of *Consular* dignity, being set over the Army, used the help of the Soldiers in his own field, and for that was punished. The *Samnites* desiring Peace, the League was renewed with them the fourth time. But presently again, as it seemeth, they rebelled; for *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *Manius Curius* (sirnamed *Dentatus*, because born with teeth, according to *Plinie*) overthrew them in several bloody battels, and took divers of their Towns. *Livie* in his eleventh Book (as appeareth from it's Epitome) wrote, that *Curius Dentatus* the *Consul*, having overthrown the *Samnites* and *Sabines*, who had rebelled, triumphed twice the same year. After this were Colonies sent to *Castrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria.* The *Triumviri* for Capital matters were now also first made. The *Census* being *perfected*, the *Lustrum* was made, and 273000 polls of *Roman* Citizens were cessed.

The Priesthood and Augurship communicated to the Commons.

The Law of Appeal renewed the third time.

War with the *Samnites.*

Livii Epitom. lib. 11.

A. M. 3713. *Ol.* 122. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 462. *Seleuci* 21. *Ptol. Lagi* 32.

Eutropius lib. 2.

7. Presently after happened the third separation of the *Commons* from the *Patricians.* The cause was the great debts which the porer sort had contracted. As a remedy for this the *Tribunes* of the *Commons*, those incendiaries, proposed new tables in way of defalcation, which the *Consuls* in favour of the creditors opposed. The contest came to that height, that the *Plebeians* departed into the *Janiculum*, for the reconciliation and reducement of whom, *Q. Hortensius* was made *Dictator.* He appeased them with good

The third separation of the Commons.

Livii Epitom. lib. 11. *Plin. lib.* 16. *Xonaras.*

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good words, and perſwaded them to return, by promiſing that for the time to come their *Plebiſcita* ſhould have the force of Laws, and bind the whole politick body. This accordingly, by a Law called *Lex Hortenſia*, he enacted; though it appeareth out of *Livy*, that the ſame in effect had been granted twice before, *viz.* in the 305 year of the Citie, by *L. Valerius*, and *M. Horatius* the *Conſuls*, and again in the 416. by *Q. Publius Philo* the *Dictator*, 50 years before this preſent, which having not been obſerved, might give the *Commons* as great diſtaſte as the matter of debts, if we may judge from that which pacified them. * *Florus* telleth a ſtory, that the buſineſſe of Matrimony betwixt the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* cauſed this third ſeparation of the *Commons* into the *Janiculum*, the tumult being raiſed by *Canuleius* the *Tribune*. But Students are to take notice, that none but he ſpeak any thing of this Sedition in this place, and by the inſtigation of this perſon, for this cauſe of marriage. That great Contentions were raiſed betwixt the two orders about the taking away the Law made by the *Decemviri*, which forbad marriage betwixt them, is oftens arreſted by *Livy*. But that the *Commons* departed into the *Janiculum* for the burthen of their debts, after great and long contentions in the 468th year of the Citie, is by ſeveral Authors affirmed, and that thence they were reduced by *Hortenſius* the *Dictator*, who preferred a Law in the *Eſculeium*, that what the *Commons* commanded ſhould bind all *Quirites*: neither do Writers mention any other cauſe of the third *Separation*.

The *Lex Hortenſia*.

A.M. 3719. *Ol.* 123. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 468. *Seleuc.* 27. *Ptol. Lagi* 38.

* *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 23.

The errour of *Florus*.

8. *Hortenſius* died in the time of his Magiſtracy. After this there was action with the *Volſinienſes* and *Lucani*, againſt whom aſſiſtance was given to the *Thurini*. Then the *Roman* Ambaſſadors being killed by the *Galls Senones*, War was decreed againſt them, and *L. Cæcilius* the *Prætor* was cut off by them with the Legions. The *Tarentines* being jealous of the growth of the *Roman* power, had hitherto privily favoured the *Samnites*, though openly they maintained a confederacy with the *Romans*. This people, being the offſpring of the *Parthenie*, who were baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, for that being promiſcuouſly begotten, they could not have any inheritance, and therefore plotted againſt the State as was ſhown before, inhabited a Citie called *Tarentum*, from *Taras* a certain *Heroe*, the Metropolis once of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and all *Lucania*. It was ſituate in a Peninſula on the Bay of the *Adriatick* Sea, famous for its higneſſe, Walls, and Haven eſpecially, which lay ſo convenient for ſayling into the *Roman Coaſts*, *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Africk*, and *Sicily*, that *Florus* accounteth the ſituation admirable. The *Tarentines* affecting, took *Democratical* Government, obtained great power in thoſe parts, having a more conſiderable Fleet than any of their neighbours, 30000 foot, 3000 horſe, and 1000 perſons fit to command them. They imbraced the Philoſophy of *Pythagoras*, eſpecially one *Archytas*, who governed the Citie a long time. In after times luxury was produced by proſperity to ſuch exceſſe, that if credit may be given to *Strabo*, the *Tarentines* had more publick Feſtivals yearly, than the year hath dayes; by reaſon whereof, the State of the Commonwealth under ſuch a Government was rendred much worſe. One of their bad cuſtoms was (as he judgeth it) to uſe the Conduct of foreiners in their Wars; for againſt the *Meſſapii* and *Lucani* they imployed *Alexander* the *Moloſſian*, and before that *Archidamus* the ſon of *Ageſilaus*, as afterward *Cleonymus* and *Agathocles*; and afterwards *Pyrrhus* againſt the *Romans*. They contended with the *Meſſapii* about *Heraclea*, and imployed alſo againſt them the two Kings of the *Daunii* and *Peucetii*. Neither would they obey the forein Captains for whom they had ſent, but fell to odds with them, which procured no ſmall inconvenience.

The Original of the *Tarentines*, and a deſcription of their Citie, Government, and converſation.

Livius Epitom. l. 11, 12.

Lege Strabon. l. 6. *p.* 278. *&c. Florum lib.* 1. *c.* 18.

9. Near to the Haven, in the view of the Sea, was the Theatre of the City, which proved the cauſe of all its miſery and calamities, ſaith *Florus*. They were therein beholding Games, when *L. Valerius* the *Duumvir* (as he is called in *Livy*'s Epitome) or one of the *Roman Admirals* ſayled thither as to a confederate Citie. They taking the *Romans* for Enemies, ſaith *Florus*; (who addeth what cannot be credited, that they ſcarce knew, who, or whence the

Oroſius lib. 4. *cap.* 1. *Xonaras.*

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the *Romans* were) or as others think, having both knowledge and malice ſufficient, ſet upon the Fleet, and either ſunk, or at leaſt rifled it, and ſlew the Admiral. The *Senate* ſent *L. Poſthumius* to complain of the injury, who delivering his meſſage boldly was diſmiſſed with a very diſſatisfactory anſwer; at his coming in, having had * Urine thrown upon him, or one of his companions. War therefore was decreed againſt the *Tarentines*, and committed to the management of *L. Æmilius* the Conſul, who firſt indeavoured by fair means to reclaim them, and when that could not do it, waſted their Territories with fire and ſword, revenging their inſolence with cruelty as *Oroſius* writeth, for which ſervice he triumphed the year after his Conſulſhip, as appeareth out of an old inſcription. The *Tarentines* finding themſelves too weak for the encounter, ſent to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* for aid, whom they had formerly aſſiſted againſt the *Corcyræans*. The multitude were of themſelves rather inclined to peace; but a certain company of men, by *Greek* Authors called *Demagogi* (from their leading of the people) would not let them reſt, till they had reſolved upon the War; whereupon they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pyrrhus*, who not onely in their name, but of other *Italians* alſo Preſented him with gifts, and ſignified that they ſtood in need of a General, Eminent both for abilities and reputation; *Italy* it ſelf being able to furniſh them with forces out of the Countreys of the *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and *Samnites*. The King being of a reſtleſſe ſpirit, incouraging himſelf in vain hopes (whereby he graſped as it were the Empire of all the *Weſt*) promiſed them to come over with an Army, and diſpatched before him with 3000 men One *Cineas* a *Theſſalian*, an excellent Orator and Scholar of *Demoſthenes*. He afterwards took the Sea himſelf with twenty Elephants, 3000 horſe, and 22 foot, beſides 500 Archers and Slingers; but upon the Main was ſeized with ſuch a Tempeſt, that his Fleet being ſevered, many Veſſels were loſt, he was forced to leap out into the water, and with great hazard got to Land, and onely at preſent two Elephants, a very few horſ-men, and about 2000 foot could be recovered from the ſhipwrack by the *Meſſapians*, upon the Coaſts of whom they were caſt.

The Original of their War with the *Romans*.

* *Valer. Max. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. *Exemp.* 5.

They ſend for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*.

Plutarch in Pyrrho.

A.M. 3725. *Ol.* 125. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 474. *Seleucidarum* 33. *Antiochi Soteris* 3. *Ptol. Philadelph.* 5.

10. *Pyrrhus* did nothing without the conſent of the *Tarentines*, till his ſhips, and the greater part of his Army arrived; then taking notice how they minded nothing but bathing and feaſting, he ſhut up the publick meeting places, reſtrained them from walking (in which exerciſe they were wont to diſcourſe idly concerning War) and forbidding drinking, and Games, called them to Arms, making Levies of the youth with ſome rigour and ſeverity. *Valerius Lævinus* the *Conſul* haſting to give him battel ere the aſſiſtance of the Confederates came, he drew out his Army to him; but before they ſhould joyn, ſent to him, offering himſelf an Umpire betwixt the *Romans*, and their adverſaries, to which *Valerius* anſwered, that they neither cared for him as an Umpire, nor feared him as an Enemy, and taking his Spies, he cauſed them to be led throughout the Camp, and then bade them return, and tell him what they had ſeen. *Pyrrhus* pitched his Tents betwixt *Pandoſa* and *Heraclea*, a Town ſituate betwixt *Tarentum* and *Metapontus*, built by the *Tarentines*. The *Romans* beyond the River *Siris* not *Liris*, a River of *Campania*, as *Florus* and *Oroſius* write, who alſo draw *Heraclea* out of that part of *Magna Gracia*, lying upon *Siris* & *Metapontus*, into *Campania*. In the fight *Pyrrhus* had his horſe killed under him, by one *Obſidius* a *Ferentane*, who was ſlain in the place by his followers. This made him change Armour with one near to him, who being made at for him and ſtruck down, his Armour was taken from off him, and being carried about by the *Romans* in token of his death, ſtruck ſuch a terrour into his Soldiers that it had coſt him the victory, but that he ſeaſonably with ſome labour made himſelf known. Whileſt the victory ſeemed yet to be doubtfull, or rather to incline toward the *Romans*, the Elephants being brought into the battel decided the controverſie. Till the paſſing of *Alexander* into the *Eaſt*, this beaſt had been talked of, but never ſeen by the *Europæans* nor them of *Aſia*, except the *Indians* and their neighbours, as alſo the *Southern Africans*. *Homer* deſcribeth the houſes of

Idem ibid.

Eutrop.

rich

SECT. I. rich men to have been adorned with Ivory, but as * *Pauſanias* noteth, never mentioneth the beaſt. The *Romans* themſelves were amazed, not knowing what they were; but the fault is laid upon their horſes, which not enduring the ſmell nor bigneſſe of the Elephants broke their Ranks, which opportunity the King took, and ſending his horſe in amongſt the *Romans* thus diſordered, put them to the rout. He got but a bloudy victory, he himſelf being wounded, and a great part of his men ſlain, though of the numbers on either ſide Writers do not agree.

* *Exemp. vide in Atticis p.11. & Juſtin l.18.*

Who defeateth *Lævinus* the Conſul by the help of his Elephants.

11. Having taken priſoners 1800 of the *Romans*, he uſed them with great civility, and buried their dead, whom obſerving to be wounded all before, and to be with ſtern countenances, he lifted up his eyes, and ſaid: He could have been Maſter of all the world if he had had but ſuch Soldiers. After this having received the Auxiliaries of the *Samnites*, *Lucans* and *Brutii*, he marched towards *Rome* as far as *Præneſte*, a Town 18 miles diſtant from the Citie, waſting all with fire and ſword in his paſſage. Hearing that the *Romans* were buſie in recruiting their Army, he conſidered it was moſt creditable for him to make peace with them, being he had no hopes to ſubdue them, and for that purpoſe ſent *Cineas* to feel their minds, a man ſo powerfull in the art of Rhetorick, that the King acknowledged him to have ſtormed more Cities by his tongue, than he had ever done by force of Arms. *Cineas* preſented the principal Citizens and their Wives with gifts from *Pyrrhus*; but they refuſed them. When he had ſomething wrought upon the Senate to make a peace, and admit *Pyrrhus* into the Citie, *Appius Claudius* now blind came in, and by an Oration, recorded by *Plutarch*, procured the contrary. The Ambaſſadour at his return being asked what he thought of *Rome*, anſwered, that the Senate ſeemed to him as a Council of ſo many Kings. After *Cineas* his return the *Romans* ſent to *Pyrrhus* about redeeming of priſoners, amongſt others *C. Fabricius*, a man of great note for virtue and poverty. The King being informed by *Cineas* concerning his diſpoſition, offered him Gold, which when he refuſed with great reſolution, to try his gravity, the next day as they were talking together, he commanded the greateſt Elephant he had to be ſet behind the hanging, and then on a ſudden the Tapeſtry being removed, the beaſt held his proboſcis over *Fabricius* his head, and roared exceedingly. But he not at all terrified, though he had never before ſeen this kind of Creature, ſmiled, and told the King, that neither his Gold the day before, nor his Elephant now did at all move him. *Pyrrhus* amazed at his greatneſſe of mind, releaſed to him the priſoners, on this condition, that if the Senate accepted not of peace they ſhould return to him, which accordingly they did, having ſalured their friends, and ſolemnized the *Saturnalia*, being commanded to do it by the *Fathers* upon pain of death.

Eutrop. ut prius & Plutarch.

Marcheth towards *Rome*.

Sendeth about a peace which *Appius Claudius* hindereth.

Fabricius goeth to him about redeeming of priſoners.

12. *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, being *Conſuls* for the following year, were ſent againſt *Pyrrhus*. The *Romans* by this time had learnt not to fear Elephants with ſuch aſtoniſhment as formerly; ſo that theſe beaſts now were overcome and killed, *Pyrrhus* himſelf was wounded, 20000 of his men ſlain, and 5000 of the *Romans*, according to *Eutropius*, but from *Livies* Epitome, if ſhould appear that the iſſue of this battel was doubtfull, and *Cicero* writeth that *Decius* was ſlain. *Florus* relateth, that firſt in *Apulia*, and then at *Aſculum* the *Romans* had better ſucceſſe, *Curius* and *Fabricius* being Conſuls; for now the terrour of the Elephants was worn off, and *C. Minutius* by cutting off the *proboſcis* from one, ſhewed that the beaſts could die. Darts were thrown ſo thick upon them, and fire upon the Towers on their backs, that the Army was ſorely diſtreſſed, in which condition it remained till night relieved it, and the King being the laſt that fled, having received a wound in his ſhoulder, was carried out by his Guard in his Armour. But as *Florus* is to be read with great caution in every place, ſo eſpecially in this; for *Curius* and *Fabricius* were never Conſuls together, as the Tables ſhow. This therefore is to be referred to the enſuing year wherein *C. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Æmylius Papus* (both of them the ſecond time) were Conſuls. *Plutarch* writeth that two dayes together *Pyrrhus* and the Con-

A. M. 3716. *V. C.* 475.

Lib. 13.

Tuſcul.

Several ingagements of the *Romans* with him.

Conſuls fought at *Aſculum*; whereof, on the former, his Elephants could do him no ſervice, but on the later, chuſing a more even ground, by the means of the Elephants eſpecially, he drove the *Romans* back into their Camp, having ſlain of them 6000, and loſt 3505 of his own men, as *Hieronymus* relateth out of the King's Records. But he addeth, that *Dionyſius* neither wrote any thing of two battels fought at *Aſculum*, neither, for certain, of *Pyrrhus* his Victory: one fight he mentioned fought till Sun-ſet, at the concluſion whereof *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the Arm, which wound, with the *Samnites* riffling his baggage, put an end to it; either party having loſt above 15000 men. That this battel (or thoſe battels) fell out in the year aforeſaid is clear from that which moved *Pyrrhus* this way to attempt the ending of the controverſie. For the Conſuls, *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, receiving a letter from the King's * Phyſician, wherein he offered to poyſon him, upon condition to be well requited, they wrote back to *Pyrrhus* to acquaint him with the treaſon, and in theirs included the Phyſicians letter. To requite the *Romans* for this courteſie, he ſent back their priſoners *gratis*, and diſpatched away *Cineas* again to treat of Peace. The *Romans* would neither receeive their Captives in way of free gift, nor reward; but ſent him ſo many of the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*: as for Peace, they refuſed to admit of any, except he would return with his forces into *Epirus*. He perceiving (ſaith *Plutarch*) that he muſt try with them another battel, marched unto *Aſculum*. Moreover the *Triumphal* tables ſhow, that in the Conſulſhip of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, the *Romans* fought with the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, at *Aſculum*, which as * *Strabo* writeth, was a Town of the *Picenti* in the midland Country, moſt fortified by nature, being encompaſſed, beſides a wall, with mountains, over which no Army could paſſe.

SECT. I.

* *De hac hiſtoria aliter apud alios relata conſule Livii Epit. l. 13. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5. exem. 1. Tullii Offic. l. 3. Gellium l. 3. c. 8.*

* *Lib.* 5. *p.* 241. *B.*

13. *Pyrrhus* after this action at *Aſculum*, is reported to have anſwered one who congratulated with him about his ſucceſſe, in this manner: *If we overcome the Romans another time we are utterly loſt.* For he had by this time loſt a great part of the Soldiers he had brought over, and almoſt all his friends and Captains: he had no more to ſend for: he perceived his *Italian* Allies to loiter, and the *Romans* to have a conſtant ſupply, whereby they preſently recruited their Army, and filled up their Legions, and he ſaw clearly that their courage was nothing daunted by the loſſe of one battel, but rather their ſtrength and reſolution to be the more increaſed. Being preſſed with theſe difficulties, he had preſently a recourſe to vain hopes, occaſioned by ſuch affaires as caſt him neceſſarily into an anxious deliberation. For at the ſame time, the *Agrigentines*, *Syracuſians*, and *Leontines*, out of *Sicily*, give up themſelves to him, deſiring his help in caſting out the *Carthaginians*, and clearing the Iſland of *Tyrants*: and out of *Greece* came intelligence, that *Ptolomæus Ceraunus* was ſlain in battel by the *Galli*, and therefore it was moſt convenient for him to come into *Macedonia*, now without a King. Blaming Fortune much that had conjoyned two ſuch great opportunities, whereof the one muſt neceſſarily be omitted, after a long debate he reſolved to apply himſelf to the matters of *Sicily*, as more conſiderable than the other of *Greece*, becauſe of *Africk*. Having ſent over *Cineas* beforehand to deal with the Cities about the ſtate of affaires, he put a Garriſon upon the *Tarentines*, who took it in ill part, requiring him either to proſecute the Warre againſt the *Romans*, for which he had been called, or clearly quitting the Country of *Tarentum*, to leave the City in that condition wherein he found it: But returning them no pleaſant anſwer, he bade them ſtay his time, and ſo departed, after he had caried on the War in *Italy* two years and four moneths. For the following year, *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *C. Julius Brutus*, both the ſecond time, were *Conſuls*. *Rufinus* was a man very expert in War, but extraordinarily covetous and ſcraping, inſomuch that upon this account he was much hated by *Fabricius*, formerly mentioned. Yet, when this year he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, for that it was a very dangerous time, and his competitors were perſons of no value, *Fabricius* laboured earneſtly to have him elected, and when every one wondered at it; either to his friends, or, as

Pyrrhus getting nothing by his very ſucceſſe,

Is ſent for into *Sicily* and paſſeth over thither.

Gellius l. 4 *c.* 8. A. M. 3728. *V. C.* 477.

SECT. I. *Cicero writeth, to *Rufinus* himself, giving him thanks, hee answered: *Malui compilari quam venire, I desired rather to be pilled than sold.* L. 2. *de Oratore.*

14. *Pyrrhus* having found things in *Sicily* according to his mind, proceeded in his enterprize with as much satisfaction, till growing tyrannical, he incurred the hatred of those that imployed him, part of whom revolted to the *Carthaginians*, and others betook themselves to the aid of the *Mamertines*. Perceiving at length that he was involved in the deep hatred of all, and nothing throughout the Island but revolts, new councils and a strong conspiracy against him, he received letters from the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, who being shut up in their Towns, which they hardly maintained, desired his assistance. He was glad of so specious a prerence, that he might not seem to be driven by desperation out of *Sicily*, which indeed as a perishing Vessel in so great a Tempest he was not able to govern, and so returned into *Italy*, after he had been absent near as long as formerly he had there continued. The *Barbarians* set upon him in his passage, and the *Carthaginians* so distressed him the Straights, that he lost many of his ships. The *Mamertines* having landed, to the number of 10000 men before him, would not adventure to fight with him, but distressed his Army much in narrow and difficult places, killing two Elephants and many Men in the rear. He himself fighting in the front with a valiant and skilful Enemy, received a hurt in his head, whereupon he withdrew himself a little. This so animated the *Mamertines*, that one of them, great in buisck, and glittering with armour, came out far before the rest, and in a threatening manner bade *Pyrrhus* come forth if he were alive. *Pyrrhus* inraged with his guard, bloody as he was, and with a terrible countenance rushed through the midst, and coming up to the *Barbarian*, struck him with such fury upon the head, that the stroak through the swords mettal and the strength of the arm, pierced to the lower part of the body, so that in a moment it was chined down in the midle, and the two parts fell down on either side. The *Barbarians* astonished hereat, left off their attempts, and so without further interruption he marched with 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horse to *Tarentum*, where increasing his forces by new levies, he proceeded into *Samnium* against the *Romans*, who there lay incamped.

A. M. 3730. *Ol.* 126. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 479. *Seleucid.* 38. *Antiochi Sot.* 8. *Ptol. Philad.* 10.

Returneth with difficulty.

15. Few of the *Samnites* joyned now with him, because being so often overthrown by the *Romans*, their courage was wholly broken, and for that they were displeased with him for his going into *Sicily*. He divided his forces into two parts, whereof one he sent against *L. Cornelius Lentulus* into *Lucania* to hinder him from joyning with his Colleague *M. Curius Dentatus* the other *Consul*, against whom he marched, then lying in a fortified place near *Beneventum*. Hasting to set upon him ere the other could come to his relief, with the most valiant of his men, and fiercest of his Elephants picked out, he marched by night towards his Camp, but passing through Woods his lights faild him, and going out of his way he lost his time so much, that at break of day the *Romans* discovered him upon the hills. *Curius* then in haste, as he could, drew out his forces, and falling upon the vantguard of *Pyrrhus* put it to flight, killing many men, and taking some Elephants. Animated by this successe, he descended into the Plain, and there joyned battel with the whole Army. In one wing he beat back the Enemy, in the other by the violence of the beasts was born back to his Camp, whence calling forth those who kept the guard, they from high places so plied the Elephants with darts, that they forced them back upon their own friends, whom bearing down, and breaking their ranks, they thereby procured Victory to the *Romans*. *Florus* and *Orosius*, contrary to what *Plutarch* reporteth of *Beneventum* (concerning which place Learned men do much doubt) make the battel to have been fought in *Lucania* in the *Arusinian* Plains. *Florus* writeth, that the cause of the Victory was a young Elephants being wounded in the head, which turning back and roaring for the pain, the Dam hearing him, ran as to his relief, and so both of them disordered the battel, she overturning as Enemies all she met. *Orosius* saith, that the beasts were thus disordered by bundles of hemp besmeared with pitch, which having hooks in them and set on fire, the

He is defeated by *Curius Dentatus* the Consul.

SECT. I.

the *Romans* cast upon their backs, and the towers set thereon. *Frontinus* maketh the battel fought about *Fatuchum*, in the *Arusinian* Plains. *Eutropius* is silent concerning the place; but writeth, that *Curius Dentatus* beat *Pyrrhus* back to *Tarentum*, slew 23000 of his men, and led, the first of all others, Elephants (four in number) in triumph to *Rome*; which beasts the *Romans* called *Lucæ boves*, because they were first brought out of *Lucania*, where *Pyrrhus* was overthrown: This maketh much against that place which *Plutarch* assigneth for the battel, the original of whose error seemeth a mistaking of *Beneventum* for *Fatuentum*, or *Statuentum*, a City of *Lucania*.

16. This Victory, saith *Plutarch*, made way for the establishment of the *Roman* Empire: for the *Romans* got such courage and reputation by this successe, that being counted invincible, they presently obtained all *Italy*, and not long after, *Sicily* also. As for *Pyrrhus*, he having spent six years, and fallen from his *hopes* both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, returned into *Epirus*, yet with a mind nothing daunted. He was thought the ablest Captain of all the Kings of that time, both for military skill, and personal valour; but what he had already obtained, he lost still by striving to grasp more. Therefore *Antigonus* compared him to a *Gamester*, who having lucky hits, knew not how to use *them*. (*a*) Having sent to the Kings of *Asia*, and *Antigonus* especially, for men and money, after he had received bare letters, he called the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, and told them, that presently assistance would come, which report being caried unto the *Roman* Camp, the *Consuls* durst not stir, and so taking this advantage, the night following, he passed over unmolested into *Epirus*. (*b*) *Curius* the *Consul* having taken his Camp, touched nothing of the plunder; and whereas the Senate gave seven Akers of ground apiece to the People, and 500 to him, he would not exceed the common proportion. This year, *C. Fabricius Luscinus* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, much (*c*) commended for their poverty, being *Censors*, (*d*) removed *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, who had been twice *Consul* and once *Dictator*, from the Senate, because they had found in his house of plate for the service of his table ten pounds; this being against a Law, as (*e*) *Plutarch* hinteth. At this *Lustrum* were cessed 271224 polls of *Roman* Citizens, as appeareth from the Epitome of the 14 Book of *Livie's* History.

(*a*) *Pausan in Atticis.* (*b*) *Val. Max.* l. 4. c. 3. exemp 5. (*c*) *Idem.* l. 4. c. 4. exemp. 3. (*d*) *Livii Epit.* l. 14. *Val. Max.* l. 2. c. 9. exemp. 4. *Agellius* l. 17. c. 21. (*e*) *In Sylla.*

And withdraweth himself into his own Kingdom.

17. The *Roman* name had begun to be famous before, but was terrible after the overthrow of *Pyrrhus*. In the second year after his flight, (*a*) *Ptolomy Philadelphus* sent Ambassadors to congratulate with the *Romans* about their successe, and to enter into confederacy with them. They sent, to do him honour, Ambassadors also to *Alexandria*, where he received them most courteously, and sent them back loaded with gifts. At their return they brought the gifts, though given to themselves in particular, into the Treasury; but the Senate commanded them to be restored. In the third year after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the (*b*) *Tarentines*, being neither able to drive out the Garrison he had there left under *Milo*, nor procure Peace of the *Romans*, desired aid of the *Carthaginians*, wherewith giving the *Romans* battel, they were overthrown. *Milo* sensible how badly he was able to resist, by leave from the Consul *Papirius*, departed with his men, and left the Castle, which the *Romans* having got into their hands, easily mastered the City, the walls whereof they demolished. Peace and liberty was granted to the Citizens, and the two Consuls *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Cornelius Maximus* (both *Consuls* the second time) triumphed, having finished both the *Tarentine* War and that of the *Samnites* in the 481 (or 482) year of the City, as the *Capitoline* tables do shew. The greatest part of *Italy* was now conquered, an accession being made not onely of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but the *Lucanians* also, and a little before of the *Etruscans*. After this, the (*c*) *Campanian* Legion, which without command had seized upon *Rhegium* was besieged, and upon surrender was put to death. The inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, the two Ædiles *Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Apronius* beat them, and for that were delivered up to the *Apolloniates*.

Ptolomy Philadelphus by an Embasie maketh a confederacy with the *Romans*.

(*a*) *Livii Ep.* l. 14. *Eutrop.* l. 2. *Val. Max.* l. 4. c. 3. ex. 9.

(*b*) *Orosius* l. 4. c. 3. *Xoaaras.* A. M. 3733. *Ol.* 127. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 482. *Seleucid.* 41. *Antioch. Sot.* 11. *Ptol. Philad.* 13.

The Castle and Town of *Tarentum* taken most of *Italy* being now subdued.

(*c*) *Livii Epit. lib.* 15. *Val. Max.* l. 6 c. 6. exemp. 5.

SECT. 2.

The *Picentes* were overcome and had peace given them. Colonies were sent forth to *Ariminum* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* (till now called *Maleventum*) in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was silver Coin first stamped at *Rome*, brasse being used altogether till now, the State having got much silver in a Castle of the *Samnites*, as *Xonaras* writeth. This hapned five years before the first *Punick* War, as (*d*) *Pliny* computeth, *C. Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* being *Consuls*, in the fourteenth year of *Antiochus Soter*, and the sixteenth of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, A. M. 3736, 267 before the birth of Christ.

Silver money first stamped.

(*d*) *Lib.* 33. *c.* 3.

SECT. II.

From the First Punick War, to that with Antiochus *the Great, in which the* Romans *first invaded* Asia, *the space of* 37 *years.*

1. THe *Umbri* and *Sallentini* being newly subdued, and the number of *Quæstors* being increased to eight, the *Romans* took occasion to transfer their Armies over the Sea into *Sicily*, and begun that, which from the Island (that gave both occasion to, and was the seat of, it) is by *Greek* Writers called the *Sicilian* War. There had the *Mamertines* most perfidiously seized on *Messana*, as is already related, and thereupon were become Enemies to *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, who besieged them justly as thieves and murderers, and had taken the City, but that *Annibal* the *Carthaginian* cunningly diverted him, with an intention to get it into his own hands, as it came to passe; for pretending fair things to the *Mamertines*, as before to *Hiero*, and sending them in provisions, he possessed himself of the Castle. They being thus cheated by him, and now straightned by both, who had joyned together against them, betook themselves to the *Romans* for relief. The *Senate* begun to be very sensible of the power of the *Carthaginians*, who had now almost the whole Island in their hands, and was jealous of their approach so near to *Italy*; so that a just quarrel with them seemed very acceptable. But so bad was the cause of the *Mamertines*, as they could not in conscience undertake the patronage of it, and gave them a denial. From the Senate the thing was brought to the People, which besides it's antient use to debate matters concerning War, had by the *Hortensian* Law obtained power by it's *Plebiscita* to bind the whole State. The *Prætors* shewed what great profit would redound to the Commonwealth in general, and particularly to private Citizens (who having suffered much by the late *Italian* Wars, were desirous by a new one to recruit their fortunes) and therefore by a *Plebiscitum* they decreed aid to bee sent to the *Mamertines*, in the 489 year of the City, *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges* the third time, and *L. Mamilius Vitulus* being Consuls.

The original of the *Sicilian* or first Punick War.

A. M. 3740. *Ol.* 128. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 490. *Seleucid.* 49. *Antioch. Set.* 19. *Ptolom. Philad.* 21.

2. In the year following, and the Consulship of *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *Appius* was sent over with an Army to *Messana*, to execute the commands of the People. He first defeated *Hiero*, then the *Carthaginians*, and so raised the siege. The succeeding *Consuls Manius Otacilius* and *M. Valerius Maximus*, were ordered both, and with all the Legions, to passe into *Sicily*, wherewith *Hiero* was affrighted into obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* were most likely to remain Victors, and made his Peace upon these terms, *To restore all their prisoners without ransom, and pay* 100 *Talents of Silver*. The *Romans* imbraced his friendship the more readily, for that the *Carthaginians* being masters at Sea, they could not well send over provisions, which they hoped might be supplied by him in good measure. They also by this alliance thought themselves eased of the burthen of War, and therefore the next year they sent over but two Legions. *Valerius* the *Consul* from *Messana* had the firname of *Messala*, who also having taken *Catana*,

Hiero King of *Syracuse* being worsted maketh his peace with the *Romans*.

SECT. 2.

Catana, carried thence a new Sundial to *Rome*, *Papirius Cursor* having thirty years before set up the first that ever was in that City. This though not perfect, the People used 99 years, till *M. Philippus* their *Censor* set up a perfect one by it, and about the same time *Scipio Nasica* being *Censor*, first divided the equal division of the day into hours, by water dropping out of one vessel into another. This *Pliny* relateth out of *Varro*, who also reported, that out of *Sicily* the first Barbers were brought to *Rome* by *P. Ticinius Mena*, about the 454 year of the City, before which time the *Romans* never cut their hair. The first that was shaven every day was *Scipio Africanus*, whom *Augustus* imitated therein, none more using the Razor than he.

A Dial brought out of *Sicily* to *Rome*.

And Barbers.

3. the next year was *Agrigentum* taken after a long siege; *Hannibal* who came to raise it being overthrown by *L. Posthumius* and *Q. Mamilius* the *Consuls*. The news whereof filled *Rome* with excessive joy, and the Citizens now elevated in minds, would not acquiesce in former Councils. It seemed not sufficient to them, that they had saved the *Mamertines*, nor inriched themselves with great booty; but conceiving good hope that they might be able to cast the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and much thereby promote their affairs, they thitherto directed their thoughts and consultations. On Land indeed they seemed sufficiently to prosper, for *L. Valerius* and *T. Otacilius* the succeeding *Consuls*, managed the War very well; but the *Carthaginians* without controversie being Masters at Sea, thereby procured the Maritime Towns to revolt to them, so that the War was poised betwixt the two interests, now inclining to one side, and then presently to the other. Moreover *Italy* was often molested by the *Carthaginian* Fleet; but *Africk* out of all danger. Wherefore they concluded, there was necessity of betaking themselves also to Sea matters. Having never as much as thought of the Sea before, they now set upon building of 100 Quinqueremes and 20 Triremes, a thing most difficult, because the Carpenters were utterly to seek how to make the former sort of Gallies, their use being utterly unknown to the *Italians*. But before they had made trial, when they first transported their forces to *Messana*, they ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians*, who had received the Dominion of the Sea, without any competition from their Ancestors; which boldnesse and confidence *Polybius* esteemeth no lesse than miraculous. First of all *Cn. Cornelius* the *Consul* and *Admiral*, going with seven Vessels to reduce a Town of the *Liparæans*, was taken in the Haven by one sent from *Hannibal*. But *Duilius* his Collegue presently after gave the *Carthaginians* a great overthrow, the Soldiers having provided iron hooks, by the help of which they could board them and fight as on Land. The *Romans* hereby extraordinarily animated, relieved the *Ægestans*, and took *Macella* a certain Town by storm. But *Amilcar* Captain of the *Carthaginian* Land-forces then lying at *Panormus*, understanding that in the *Roman* Camp there was a mutiny, for that the Auxiliaries and Legions contended who should have the first place in battel; and that the former had separated themselves, he sodainly fell upon them in their removal, and killed almost 4000 men. *Hannibel* after this losse at Sea departed to *Carthage*, where recruiting his Naval forces he went into *Sardinia*, and being blocked up in a port by the *Romans*, lost many ships, and for that was crucified by the Soldiers, who overlived the defeat. The punishment which he feared for the former overthrow he craftily evaded; for, before the thing was heard at *Carthage*, he sent one of his friends thither, who coming to the Court, told the Senate that the *Roman* Admiral was come with a great Fleet, and therefore he was come to ask their advice whether he should fight him. All the Senate answered, *there was no doubt but he ought*, to which the messenger replied, *he hath fought and is overthrown*. By this means he hindered them from condemning this fact, which before they had judged that it ought to be done.

A. M. 3743. *Ol.* 129. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 493. *Antioch. Theï.* 1. *Ptol. Philad.* 23.

The *Romans* now first apply themselves to sea matters.

Hannibal crucified by his Soldiers.

A. M. 3745. *Val. Max. l. 6. c. 3. exter. excmp.* 7.

4. Now had the *Romans* passed both into *Sardina* and *Corsica*; Divine Providence as *Casaubon* noteth upon *Polybius*, so ordering it, that present successe should dispose their minds for such future undertakings, as made way for

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Hanno slain.

for their decteed *Empire*. (a) *Hanno*, the year following, being in *Sardinia* was slain, and his Army cut off by *L. Cornelius Scipio* the *Conſul*. The next, many Towns were loſt and taken in *Sicilie* on both ſides. But (b) *Calpurnius Flamma* a *Roman* Tribune (or Leader of a Legion) gave a great demonſtration of his valour. For *A. Attilius Calatinus* the *Conſul*, having raſhly brought the Army into ſuch ſtraights, out of which there was no poſſibility to extricate himſelf, he with 300 men took an hill near adjoyning, and drew thereby the *Carthaginians* to himſelf, till the Army could paſſe through without oppoſition. All the 300 were ſlain, yet he ſorely wounded and covered with dead bodies ſurvived, being by *Roman* Writes compared, for this act, to *Leonidas* the *Spartan*. This ſtory is twice told by *Julius Frontinus*, who acquainteth us with the uncertainty of the man's name, ſome calling him *Laberius*, others *Q. Caditius*, but moſt *Calpurnius Flamma*. The following year, *C. Attilius Regulus* the *Conſul* ſubdued the Iſlands *Lipara* and *Melita*, whereof the later is ennobled by the ſhip-wrack of St. *Paul*, lying betwixt *Sicily* and *Africk*. *Polybius* writeth, that firſt *Regulus* was worſted at Sea, and then he defeated the *Carthaginians*. Now the *Romans* reſolved to change the ſeat of the War into *Africk*, and the next year ſent a Fleet under command of the Conſuls *M. Attilus Regulus* (who was ſubſtituted in the place of *Caditius*) and *L. Manlius*, containing 330 long and covered ſhips. The *Carthaginians* ſenſible enough how concernd they were to keep the War from their own dores, oppoſed them with 350 Veſſels, and a threefold battel was fought on the ſame day, in which the *Romans* remained Victors, having taken 64 ſhips with the defendants, and ſunk 30, and of their own loſt 24, but not with the men; for the *Carthaginians* fearing their *Corvi* or iron hooks, were afraid to come near them. Repairing then the ſhips they had taken, they paſſed over into *Africk*, and had ſurrendered to them *Clupea* a City ſeated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they ſent to the Senate for further orders, employing themſelves, til the return of themeſſengers, in waſting the Country, which they did without interruption. At length they received the reſolution of the Senate, which was, that one of them ſhould continue in *Africk* with a convenient Army, and the other return to *Rome* with the remaining forces.

(a) *Oroſius l. 4. c. 7.*
(b) *Front. Stratag. l. 1. c. 5. Exemp. 15. & l. 4. c. 5. Exemp. 10. Gellius l. 3. c. 7. alii.*

The valiant act of *Calpurnius Flamma*.

The Conſuls paſſe into *Africk*, and in their paſſage defeat the *Carthaginians* at Sea.

5. (a) *M. Attillius Regulus* remained in *Africk* with 40 ſhips, 15000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. Pitching his Camp upon the River *Bragada*, or *Bagrada*, he was forced to make (b) War with a Serpent of a miraculous bigneſſe, which with the great trouble of his whole Army, and uſe of Engines for battery, at length he ſlew, and ſent it's ſkin, 120 foot long, to *Rome*. The hiſtory hereof was curiouſly and elegantly related by *Livie*, as (c) *Valerius* telleth us. After this, (d) the Conſul gave the *Carthaginians* a defeat, fighting in ſuch a place where their Horſe and Elephants could do them no ſervice, and then took *Tunetum* or *Tunis*. But not long after he was overthrown himſelf, taken priſoner, and almoſt his whole Army loſt; this Victory being got for the *Carthaginians* by *Xantippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, whom afterwards ſending honourably home as they pretended, they commanded thoſe that caried him to drown him and his in the Sea, leſt ſo great a Victory ſhould be aſcribed to the *Lacedemonians*, as *Appian* writeth. Of 30000 but a few eſcaped into the City *Aſpis* (called alſo *Clupea*) where they were beſieged, till their Enemies perceiving they profited nothing, roſe up and made proviſion for reſiſting the ſuccours which the Senate ſent the following year, under command of *M. Æmilius Paulus* and *Ser. Fabius Nobilior*, the Conſuls. They taking the Sea with 350 ſhips were oppoſed by the *Carthaginians*, whom they defeated, and took 114 of their Veſſels with the men in them, as *Polybius* writeth, or took 30 and ſank 104, as *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, the later whereof addeth, that of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain 35000, and that the *Romans* loſt nine Gallies and 1100 men. The Conſuls then went to *Clupea*, but, taking in the reliques of the Army, preſently ſet ſail again for *Sicily*. The Pilors told them they muſt take heed of the outward part of that Iſland, which was full of ſhelves and very dangerous, eſpecially at that time betwixt

Regulus maketh War againſt a monſtrous Serpent.

(a) *Polybius lib. 1.*
(b) *Gellius l. 6. c. 3. Liv. Epit. l. 18.*
(c) *Lib. 1. c. ult. Exemp. ult. Polybius ut ſupra.*

Defeateth the *Carthaginians*, and not long after is defeated and taken himſelf.

A. M. 3749. Ol. 131. an. 1. V. C. 498. Ant. Thei. 7. Ptol. Philad. 29. M. Attilio Regulo 2. L. Manlio Vulſone Coſſ.

Sect. 2.

betwixt the riſing of *Orion* and the *Dog*. But they gave no heed to the Seamen, out of a deſire, by ſhewing of their freſh Victory and Plunder, to procure certain Towns upon the Coaſts to yield. They had ſafely paſſed the middle of the ſea, and drew near to the Coaſts of *Camarina*, when ſuch a tempeſt and ſo great calamities fell upon them, as cannot be expreſſed, ſaith *Polybius*, for the greatneſſe thereof. For, of 464 ſhips, 80 ſcarcely were ſaved, and the reſt were ſwallowed up, or caſt upon rocks, ſo that the ſhoar was filled with dead bodies, and broken pieces of ſhips. Both the Conſuls periſhed. Thoſe few that eſcaped *Hiero* kindly received, and furniſhing them with clothes and other neceſſaries, coveyed them ſafe to *Meſſana*. *Karthalo* the *Carthaginian* taking advantage of this diſaſter, beſieged, conquered, and burnt *Agrigentum*, the walls whereof he alſo demoliſhed.

The Conſuls in their return from *Sicily* periſh by a lamentable ſhipwrack.

Agrigentum deſtroyed.

Idem ibid. Eutrop. l. 2. Diod. Sicul. l. 23. eclog. 12. A. M. 3750.

6. The *Romans* nothing at all diſcouraged by the greateſt loſſe that ever a tempeſt procured, gave order for the making of 220 Gallies, which was proſecuted with ſuch alacrity, that in three moneths time they were both made and lanched. *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* with all the old Army, new levies, and 140 Elephants, came into *Sicily*, and of old and new Veſſes made up a Fleet of 200 ſail. The Conſuls *A. Attilius* and *Cn. Cornelius* being commanded to paſſe into *Sicily*, therein, this year, took ſeveral Towns, and returned. Their ſucceſſors *C. Servilius Capio* and *C. Sempronius Blaſo*, in the beginning of the next Spring with all the Fleet paſſed into *Sicily*, and thence into *Africk*, where coaſting about they landed in many places, but did nothing memorable. At length they came to the Iſland of the *Lotophagi* called *Meninx*, not far diſtant from the leſſer *Syrtis*. Here they fell upon ſome quicks in the low water, and were in great danger, being utterly ignorant of the Coaſts, but the tide returning, when they had lightned the ſhips, cleared then off the ſhelves, and they returned in a kind of flight to *Panormus* in *Sicily*. Then paſſing hence towards *Rome* through the Straights very unadviſedly, ſuch a tempeſt fell upon them, as above 150 ſhips were loſt. Though the Senate and People were marvailouſly pricked forward to all attempts by deſire of glory, yet ſo many and great were their loſſes at Sea, that they were conſtrained to omit naval preparations, and place all their hope in the land forces. They ſent *L. Cacilius Metellus* and *Cn. Furius Pacilus* the Conſuls into *Sicily* with the Legions, and 60 ſhips onely, for the conveying of neceſſaries to the Army. And not onely did they plainly yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but feared them alſo on Land, becauſe of their Elephants, which had often times done them great dammage. *Aſdrubal* the *Punick* General underſtanding their fears, and how one of the Conſuls was returned back into *Italy* with half of the Army, in great confidence waſted the grounds about *Panormus*, and the more careleſſely, becauſe *Metellus* kept himſelf within the walls. But the Conſul taking an opportunity, ſo placed his men in reſpect of the Elephants, that when the *Carthaginians* came againſt the Town, he overthrew them, ſlew 20000, and took 26 Elephants, according to *Eutropius*. But *Oroſius* writeth, that 26 were ſlain, and 104 taken: and *Livie* related, as appeareth by the Epitome of his nineteenth Book, that 120 Elephants were led in triumph, with thirteen Captains of the Enemy. *Diodorus Siculus* maketh the occaſion of the overthrow to have been given by the *Celtæ*, in *Aſdrubals* Army, who meeting with wine brought thither by Merchants, ſo ingurgitated themſelves therein, that being not themſelves, they broke the ranks and turned all into diſorder, which opportunity *Metellus* inſtantly improved.

Another ſhipwrack of the Conſuls.

Metellus the Conſul defeateth the *Carthaginians*.

7 This defeat cauſed the *Carthaginians* to deſire Peace, and offered to ſend to the Senate about it. Amongſt the Meſſengers was *Atilius Regulus* whom they had overthrown, and taken priſoner, five years before, and now bound with an oath to return to *Carthage*, in caſe neither Peace nor exchange of priſoners could be procured. He when he came to *Rome*, according to what he thought of the intereſt of the Commonwealth, diſſwaded the Senate from Peace; and yet to keep his oath returned to *Carthage*, where he was cruelly

Which moveth them to ſend about a Peace.

SECT. 2.

Regulus one of the Messengers diſſwadeth it, and for that at his return is tormented to death.

cruelly tormented to death; and as * *Cicero* writeth, by hunger and watching, having his eye-lids cut off. The year following, becauſe the Land-forces were very fearful of the *Carthaginian* Elephants, and very unchearfully went about their work, the *Romans* provided another Fleet, and beſieged *Lilybæum*, a Town ſtanding upon the ſouthern Promontory of *Sicily*, over-againſt *Africk*, but without ſucceſſe; within a while the Navy was brought to nothing, and *Amilcar Barcas* being ſent from *Carthage* troubled *Italy* with his inroads and depredations. For ſeven years then did they abſtain from the Sea; but being ſorely diſturbed by *Amilcar*, they reſolved once more to try their fortune that way, and a Fleet was provided, and furniſhed out of their private purſes, the Treaſury being now exhauſted. With this they gave ſuch a blow to the *Carthaginians* near the Iſlands *Ægates*, under conduct of *C. Lutatius Catulus* the Conſul, as made them give commiſſion to *Amilcar* to conclude a Peace, if he found it requiſite. Though he was, as to his own diſpoſition, much averſe to it, yet ſeeing it neceſſary for his Countrie's welfare, he made an agreement with *Lutatius* upon theſe terms, if the *Romans* would approve them; viz. *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould wholly quit* Sicily; *make no War upon the* Syracuſians *or their allies*; *releaſe without ranſom all priſoners, and pay within the ſpace of twenty years* 2200 *Talents of Silver*. This pleaſed not the People, and therefore ten men were ſent into *Sicily*, with full authority to conclude the Peace, who *ſhortned the time of payment, added* 1000 *talents to the former ſum, and further cautionated that the* Carthaginians *ſhould not onely quit* Sicily, *but all the Iſlands alſo betwixt it and* Italy. Thus ended the firſt *Punick* War, after it had continued 24 years, and *Lilybæum* had been beſieged ten; in the 513 year of the City, the fourth of the 134 *Olympiad*, the ſixth of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the ſixth of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, A. M. 3764, 239 before the birth of Chriſt, *A. Manlius Torquatus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Lutatius Cerco* being Conſuls.

* *De Finib. l. 4. Sed conſule & Gellium l. 6. c. 4.*

Defeated again at the Iſlands *Ægates*, they deſire,

Polybius l. 3.

And obtain Peace.

Diodorus l. 24. A. M. 3764. Ol. 134 an. 4. V. C. 513. Seleuci Callin. 6. Ptol. Euerg. 6.

8. The *Carthaginians* ſubmitted to the terms of this Peace, that they might recruit themſelves by a ceſſation; but the Peace procured them greater danger than the War could well have done. For, *Amilcar Barcas*, after the ratification, drew down the forces to *Lilybæum*, and giving them up into the hands of *Geſco* to be tranſported, laid down his Office. *Geſco* wiſely conſidering what danger there was of ſuch a multitude of Mercenaries it's falling into ſedition (eſpecially becauſe they wanted their pay, which the publick Treaſury already exhauſted could not afford them) conveyed them into *Africk* by ſmall companies together. But his Superiours, either through inadvertency, or for want of money, diſmiſſed them not as they arrived; but ſtayed them till all ſhould come together, with intention to prevail for an abatement of their wages. The City growing full, many outrages were committed by the Soldiers, which cauſed the Townſmen to procure their Captains to lead them out to *Sicca* a Town not far off, and when they left their baggage behind them, as intending ſhortly to return to *Carthage*, they fearing their unwillingneſſe to depart, or their ſpeedy return, becauſe of their wives and children, in the cariages, forced them to take all away. When they were come to *Sicca*, they fell into greater licentiouſneſſe through want of employment, and demanded larger pay than formerly they had pretended to, expecting alſo great rewards promiſed them by their Captains in dangerous adventures. As ſoon as they were all come thither, *Hanno* the *Carthaginian Prætor* was ſent to them, who was ſo far from curing, that he heightened the diſtemper.

Lege Polybium l. 1.

A lamentable mutiny of the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries.

9. He not onely brought none of thoſe things with him which they expected, but complaining of the emptineſſe of the Treaſury, talked of abating ſomething of their conſtant wages. This put the multitude into a rage, into which having once fallen, it was hard to be appeaſed, as upon other accounts, ſo through the diverſity of ſpeech, things being either miſrepreſented by unskilful interpreters, or miſunderſtood by them who were willing enough to be miſtaken. Breathing nothing but fury and violence, they took Arms, and in deſpight of *Hanno* and the other Officers marched toward *Carthage*, and

Hanno ſent to make up the breach inlargeth it.

SECT. 2.

and encamped at *Tunis*, fifteen miles from the Citie, to the number of 20000. The *Carthaginians* affrighted at the multitude reſolved to ſatisfie them; but then the Mercenaries perceiving how they were feared, every day invented what to add to their demands, requiring beſides their pay the price of their horſes loſt in the War; and, after this was granted, Proviſion for ſeveral years, which they ſaid was behind. Their late Maſters not daring to deny them any thing, prevailed that ſome one who had commanded them in *Sicily* ſhould be choſen as Moderator, and the whole matter left to him.

They march towards *Carthage*.

10. The Soldiers made choice of *Geſco*, as one who had beſt deſerved of them. And he laboured to pacifie them all he might, and was about to pay them their Arrears. But there being in the Army one *Spendius*, a *Campanian* of *Italy* by birth, but by condition a *Roman* ſlave, who having ran away from his Maſter, wanted neither ſtrength nor courage; and one *Mathos* an *African*; the former fearing to be tortured to death if his Maſter caught him, as the *Roman* manner was, and the later though free, fearing to be called to account for his too great forwardneſſe in the late ſtirs, ſought how to drive all things into extremity, that they might procure a War, inveighing grievouſly againſt *Geſco* and the *Carthaginians*, as having a deſign as ſoon as the reſt were diſperſed and gone home, to ſpend their rage againſt the *Africans*. The multitude herewith were ſtrangely incenſed, ſo that who ever attempted to ſpeak, before they could be heard what they would ſay, were all ſtoned to death except theſe two. *Geſco* yet would not ceaſe to do his duty, but went from one Nation to another, labouring to pacifie them; but when the *Africans* demanded allowance for their Proviſions, he bade them ask it of *Mathos* their Captain. This ſo tranſported them, that they plundered the goods of the *Carthaginians*, with all the money he had brought for the diſchargement of the Army, and binding him and his followers in a contumelious manner caſt them into priſon.

Spendius and *Mathos* hinder the agreement, and provoke the multitude.

11. By the advice of *Mathos* they rebelled againſt the *Carthagians*, and ſo began the War called *Libycum* and *Africum*, as alſo Ξενικὸν. Their numbers being increaſed to 70000. *Mathos* and *Spendius* now created Generals, divided their forces, and beſieged *Utica* and *Hippacra*. *Hanno* was ſent from *Carthage* to the relief of the *Uticans*, and at the firſt onſet drove away the beſiegers; but entring the Town, and loitering there, they ſet upon his Camp without, and killing many, took all his Engines, and other things prepared for the War. His Superiours troubled hereat, created Captain *Amilcar Barcas*, and ſent him into the field with 70 Elephants, and 10000 men. There he was encompaſſed by the *Africans* on his Front, the *Numidians* on his Rear, and *Spendius* on his Flanck, where *Naravaſus* a *Numidian* with 2000 of his followers revolted to him. Encouraged by this addition he engaged with his Enemies, cauſing his men ſo to face about as the Front became the Rear, whereby ſeeming to be in confuſion, the Mercenaries thought they ran, and breaking their Ranks to purſue them he took this opportunity, and ſetting on them out of order obtained the victory, having ſlain 10000, and taken 4000 priſoners.

Whence ariſeth the *Libyan*, or *African* War.

Amilcar Barcas defeateth the Mercenaries.

12. He gave Arms to all ſuch priſoners as would ſerve under him, and having exhorted the reſt to fight no more againſt the *Carthaginians*, diſmiſſed them freely. *Spendius* and *Matho*, together with *Autaritus* Captain of the *Galls*, hearing this, doubted how far his clemency, eſpecially the offer of indemnity, might prevail with the *Africans* and others, and conſulted how to obviate this his deſign by ſetting the multitude at irreconcilable enmity with the *Carthaginians*. To this purpoſe they feigned Letters to be ſent out of *Sardinia* from their friends, giving them to underſtand, that certain amongſt them held intelligence with the Enemy, and adviſing them to keep cloſe *Geſco*, and the other with him. *Spendius* taking hereat occaſion, earneſtly adviſed them not to truſt to the pretended clemency of *Amilcar*, and by no means to permit *Geſco* to eſcape; for thereby they ſhould incur the contempt of their Enemies, and by ſtrengthning them through the aſſiſtance of ſo great a Captain, not a little damnifie their own affairs. Whileſt he yet ſpake

Who are further provoked by their Captains.

Sect. 2. another Carrier brought Letters as from *Tunis* of the same Contents with the former: and then *Annarius* openly protested, that whosoever had any regard to the kindnesse of the *Carthaginians* could not be faithfull, and therefore such were to be heard as perswaded the most bitter things against *Carthage*; all others being Traitors and Enemies. Then did he perswade them to Torture *Gesco* to death, with such as were now with him, and all that hereafter should be taken. There were many which spoke against this cruelty, especially as *Gesco* was concerned in it; but for some time they were not understood, speaking in their own languages, and when what they aimed at was fully known, some one cried out *strike them*, which so provoked the multitude, that they forthwith stoned them. After this, bringing forth *Gesco*, and the other *Carthaginians* to the number of 700, they cruelly tormented them to death; and made a decree, that whomsoever of them for the time to come they should take, he should be used in the same manner, and if any of their Allies were taken, his hands being cut off, he should be sent back to *Carthage*. This they very carefully afterwards observed, having also refused to deliver the dead bodies to the Messengers that came for them, and threatned, if any more came, to deal with them as they had used *Gesco*.

13. *Amilcar* seeing into what straights he was cast by this boldnesse of the Mercenaries, sent for *Hanno*, judging that an end might sooner be put to the War if the forces of the State were all United. Such of the Enemies as he took in the heat of the fight he killed, as he might by the Law of War, or taking them alive, cast them to wild beasts. When he thought that he had brought matters into a fair way of recovery, they presently relapsed into a far worse condition than ever. For, the ships that brought Provisions miscarried by force of Tempest; *Sardinia* at the same time revolted from them, which was wont to supply them with large Provisions; and *Hippacrita* and *Utica* which hitherto had remained faithfull, now revolted without any manifest cause. *Mathos* and *Spendius* herewith elevated, resolved to lay siege to *Carthage* it self, and shortly after performed it. The *Carthaginians* in this their distresse betook themselves to their neighbours, whereof the *Romans*, and *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, being sensible of the sawcinesse of their Enemies, were ready to do them all good Offices. Herewith better enabled, they held out, and *Amilcar* lying abroad, so cut off all Provisions from the Mercenaries, that being no other than besieged themselves, they were forced at length to rise up and depart, resolving to observe *Amilcar*'s motions, and ly in wait for him on the sides of the Mountains; for they would not venture to take the plain, being afraid of his Elephants, and the horse of *Naravascus*; and otherwise they were much inferior to the *Carthaginians*, who far surpassed them in Military skill, though but equal to them in valour.

Amilcar Uniteth the *Carthaginian* forces.

Mathos and *Spendius* elevated by their successe besiege *Carthage*.

Amilcar forceth them to break up.

14. But *Amilcar* singling them out by parties, killed many of them, and when they ingaged with their whole force cut them off by stratagems: sometimes by day, otherwhiles by night he would fall upon them on a sudden with great terrour; and such of them as he took he cast them to the beasts. At length he compassed them about in such a place, as, though they were afraid to fight, they could not escape, and being shut up within a Ditch and Rampire, they were forced to devour one another. Though they now could expect no mercy, yet they sent to desire a Parley, and having obtained leave, *Autarolus*, *Zarxas*, *Spendius*, and other Captains were ordered to manage it. It was agreed that the *Carthaginians* should pick out ten men whom they pleased, and the other be dismissed in their Coats. The Covenants being finished, *Amilcar* declared that he made choice of those who were present, and so got the most eminent Leaders into his power. The *Africans* understanding that their Officers were seized, took Arms in great haste, but *Amilcar* with his Elephants and his Army compassing them in on every side, put them to the sword. For the improvement of this successe, he and *Annibal* went and besieged *Mathos* in *Tunis*, before the Walls whereof he nailed *Spendius* to a Crosse

Crosse with the rest of the Captives. *Annibal* pitching his Camp on that side of the Town towards *Carthage*, carelesly demeaned himself, which *Mathos* considering, made a Sally, and killing many, took much plunder, and amongst other prisoners *Annibal* himself, whom bringing to *Spendius* his Cross, after he had taken down his Collegue's body, he nailed him to it, and killed 30 more of the most noble *Carthaginians*. Sect. 2.

15. It was long ere *Amilcar* knew of this disaster, and when he did, for the distance of place, and difficulty of passage, he could give no relief. Marching therefore from *Tunis*, he sate down by the mouth of the River *Macaris*, and his Superiours at *Carthage* making new Levies joyned *Hanno* in Commission with him. These two, after several passages, at length agreed to fight one set battel with the Enemy, who consenting, a bloody conflict ensued, wherein at length the *Carthaginians* had the better. A great part of the *Africans* were slain, and the rest fled to a neighbouring Citie, where not long after they yielded themselves, and *Mathos* was taken alive. The subjects of *Carthage* now turned to obedience all, except they of *Hippacrita* and *Utica*, who being past hope of mercy from their inraged Lords, seemed resolved to stand out; but *Hanno* and *Amilcar* bringing their forces, constrained them to submit to such conditions as the *Carthaginians* would lay upon them. *Mathos*, and those that were with him being carried to the Citie, was used with all sorts of contumely and torment, and so this *Libyan* War ended, having lasted three years, and almost four moneths, being, saith *Polybius*, the most cruel and wicked that ever we heard of. But it gave the *Carthaginians* occasion to repent of two great errors, viz. *Trusting so great a multitude of Mercenaries together when they were idle*; and the *cruel, and tyrannical usage of their subjects*.

Utterly defeateth them, and the War endeth, after three years and almost four moneths.

16. The *Romans*, (that we may return to them the History of whom is our proper subject) though they observed the League during these troubles, and at length, as was said, gave the *Carthaginians* also reason to like well of their friendship, yet thought they had some cause to be angry with them. For such of their subjects as sayled from *Italy* into *Africk*, they seized on, lest they should carry Provisions to their Enemies, and had at *Carthage* almost 500 of such kind of men in prison. Yet when Ambassadors were sent to complain hereof, they kindly dismissed all those in custody, which so affected the *Romans*, that they also sent them all their prisoners, gave them all they asked, and permitted their Merchants to carry them necessaries, forbidding them to Traffick with their Enemies: they also refused to hearken to such of the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries as having betrayed their trust invited them into *Sardinia*. But though *Polybius* telleth us that this they did; yet it appeareth from him also that this modesty continued but for a time. For, allured, as it seemeth, by this invitation, they sayled thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought that the place by far more right belonged to them; so that they prepared to send forces into the Island. The *Romans* took occasion hereat to decree War against them, complaining that these forces were not designed so much against the *Sardinians* as themselves, which forced the other, who found themselves in no good case to manage the War with them, to give way to the time, and quit not onely *Sardinia*, but pay further to the *Romans* 1200 Talents. This, though submitted to at present, bred such grudges and malice, as at length brake out into another War, a more dangerous and bloudy than the former, as will appear.

The *Romans* wrest *Sardinia* from the *Carthagians* with more Tribute.

17. In the (*a*) year after the ending of the first *Punick* War, the 514 of the Citie, *C. Claudius Cento*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Consuls, the year preceding the birth of *Ennius*, the first *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were made by *Livius Andronicus* the Poet. This man being a *Gracian* born, was rightly called *Andronicus*, and firnamed *Livius* from his Master *Livius Salinator*, whose Children he taught, and for his learning was manumitted by him. (*b*) *Gellius* saith, that he now first at *Rome* taught playes about 160 years after the death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and 52 after that of *Menander*.

(*a*) *Cicero Tuscul. lib.* 1. *& in Brito. Cassiodorus in Chronico.*

Comedies and *Tragedies* first *Rome*, made by *Livius Andronicus*.

(*b*) *Lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

SECT. 2. But whereas he is ſaid by *Gellius* firſt to have made or taught playes as *Rome*, it is to be underſtood of theſe two ſorts of Poetry now mentioned, (*c*) *Valerius Maximus* telling us, that he drew the minds of the ſpectators to thoſe ſhews from the uſe of *Satires*, which by little and little ſucceeded that moſt antient and plain *Roman* ſport of the *Hiſtriones* brought out of *Etruria*, (as we ſhewed before) for the ſtopping of the Peſtilence, through the command of the Oracle. Theſe *Ludi Scenici* were firſt managed with rude geſtures, and incompoſed Songs, called *Verſus Feſcennini* from *Feſcennium* a City of *Hetruria*. From theſe jocular ſpeeches, which at random were wont to be uttered at the *Roman* ſolemnities, came the *Satire*, as later in time ſo more elaborate, and as for metre a perfect Poeme containing ridiculous things digeſted into Verſe, which they were wont to utter amongſt themſelves, after the antient cuſtom. It differed as much from that of the *Greeks*, as from the reſt differeth *Dramatick* Poetry, whereof the *Romans* at this time knew not ſo much as the name. A *Satire* being afterwards variouſly handled by the *Romans*, at length was reduced to two ſorts, which *Fabius* onely acknowledgeth. The former was found out by *Lucilius*, and the later ennobled by *Varro*. *Horace* mentioneth two kinds of moſt antient Poetry; one whereof they uſed in the praiſe of their gods, as when they appeaſed *Tellus* with a ſow-pig, and *Sylvanus* with milk: the other, when in jeſt and ſport they jeered one another, being the ſame with the *Feſcennine* Verſes, whence came the *Satires*, to which *Livius Andronicus* added the playes of *Comedies* and *Tragedies*, as was obſerved.

(*c*) *Lib. 2. c. 4.*

The *Ludi Scenici.*

Lege Livium l. 7. & Caſaub. de Satira Romana.

The *Satire.*

18. Four years after, were celebrated at *Rome* the third time the *Secular Games*, concerning which it is convenient to ſpeak in this place, that beginners may know the differences of *Roman* exerciſes. Theſe were called *Ludi Magni*, as others were, (in oppoſition to the *Scenici*, and games made by private men) and *Ludi Terentini* (not *Tarentini*, whereof Students are to beware) from *Terentus* a place in the *Campus Martius* where they were celebrated. But there were other games called alſo *Terentini Ludi* (which ſome not conſidering have run into confuſion) and that more properly than theſe *Secular* ones were, and therefore the riſe of them all is to be related. There was one *Valeſius* a man of prime note, amongſt the *Sabines*, who living near *Eretus*, and not far from *Tiber*, in a great Plague, had two ſons and a daughter which fell dangerouſly ſick. Amongſt his prayers for them, he heard a voice that they ſhould recover, if carying them to *Terentus*, he would fetch them ſome warm water of *Tiber* from the altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*. He thought the City *Tarentum* was meant, and doubred how he ſhould come by any *Tiberine* water in that remote part of *Italy*; but reſolving to be obedient, he ſailed down the River towards *Oſtia*, and late at night arrived at the *Campus Martius*, where he underſtood there was a place called *Terentus*. Landing here, he gave his children ſome warm water, wherewith refreſhed they fully recovered, and told their father, how in a dream they had ſeen a certain god, who commanded, that at the altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina* black coloured ſacrifices (*furvæ hoſtiæ*) ſhould be offered, as alſo that *Lectiſternes* (beds made for the cauſe of ſacrifice, as whereon to lye down after the *Roman* faſhion at a ſolemn feaſt) and night games ſhould be made. *Valeſius* ſeeing no altar in the place, thought of making one, when, as his ſlaves were digging for that purpoſe, they found one in the earth dedicated to *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*. Here then he ſacrificed, and three nights together, becauſe of the number of his children, made *Lectiſterns* and *Games*, being afterwards from this thing named *Manius Valeſius Terentinus*. *Zozimus* writeth, that the *Romans* 100 years before being to fight with the *Albans*, were admoniſhed to build this altar in the earth, and that having ſacrifized they covered it. But this paſſage concerning *Valeſius* hapned about the twelfth year of *Servius Tullius*, wherein he founded the *Luſtrum*; in the 188 of the City, and the ſame wherein the *Panathenæa* were inſtituted (or rather reduced to the courſe of five years, being formerly inſtituted by *Theſeus*) at *Athens*, this being the third year of the 53 *Olympiad*.

A. M. 3769. *Ol.* 136. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 518. *Seleucid.* 77. *Seleuci Callinici* 11. *Ptol. Euerget.* 11.

The third Secular or Terentine Games.

Vide Valerium Maxim. l. 2. c. 4.

The Original of the Terentine Games.

Trina Terentio celebrata trino-ctialudo. Auſon.

19. This

The Terentine and Secular Games confounded,

19. This was the Original of *Terentine* Games, which ſome have confounded with the *Secular*. For, the next that were celebrated were made by *Valerius Poplicola* in the year following the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*, which *Zozimus* calleth Games of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*, and * *Cenſorinus*, from *Antias* the Hiſtorian, giveth them the name of *Secular*. This confuſion caſt *Cenſorinus* into ſuch a perplexity about the *Secular* Games, that he thus expreſſeth the incertainty of the *Roman* intervals of times and ages.

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* *Quem vide cap. 17. lib. de die Natali.*

Which much perplexed *Cenſorinus.*

'*Some think the* Roman *ages to be diſtinguiſhed by the* Sæcular *Games; which, 'if it be ſo, the manner of the* Roman *age is uncertain. For, concerning 'the intervals of times, wherein theſe Games ought to be celebrated, we are 'not onely ignorant how great they were formerly, but what they ought to be 'for the time to come. For,* Antias *and other Hiſtorians, with* Varro *and* Livy, *have written, that they ought to be made every hundreth year. But 'on the contrary, both the Commentaries of the* Quindecimviri (*or* 15 men) *'and the edicts of* Auguſtus *teſtifie, that they ought to be reiterated every 'hundred and tenth, as* * Horatius Flaccus *alſo ſaith. Further, if we ſearch 'the annals of antient times, we ſhall yet be in greater uncertainty by far. 'For,* Valerius Antias *ſaith, that the firſt* Sæcular *Games were made, after 'the baniſhment of the Kings,* 245 *years after the building of* Rome *by 'Valerius Publicola: But the commentaries of the* 15 Men *ſay, that* 298 *'years* M. Valerius *and* Sp. Virginius *being Conſuls. The ſecond Games 'Antias will have made in the* 305 *year of the City, but its written in the 'Commentaries of the* 15 Men, *in the* 408, M. Valerius Corvinus *the ſe-'cond time, and* C. Pætilius *being Conſul*: and ſo he proceedeth.

* *Certus undenos decies per annos Orbis ut cantus, reſervatq; ludos Ter die clarâ totienſq; grata Nocte frequentes.*

'20. * *Jacobus Cappellus* diſſolveth the difficulty in this manner. *The 'cauſe of this perplexity which troubleth* Cenſorinus *is this. All* Sæcular *'Games are* Terentine, *but all* Terentine *Games are not* Secular. *For ſome 'were made upon ſome occaſion, as thoſe which* Valerius Publicola *made this '*245 *year of the City, and* Valeſius *about the year* 188. *Theſe were* Te-'rentine *Games but not* Sæcular. *Now, the* Sæcular *are of two ſorts. The 'greater, which perhaps thou mayſt not call amiſſe* * Quindecimvirales, *were 'celebrated at the diſtance of* 110 *years. Of this kind the firſt were made 'by the command of the* Quindecimviri, *in the* 298 *year of the City,* 110 *'years, as it ſeemeth, after the firſt* Terentine *Games made by* Valeſius. *So, 'the* Valeſian *ſhall fall in the* 188 *of the City. The firſt of the* Quindecimviri *'were made in the* 298 *year of the City, the Second in the* 408, *the Third in 'the* 518, *and the Fourth in the* 628. *The leſſer* Sæculum, *or Age, con-'ſiſted but of* 100 *years, inſtituted as it ſeemeth, by* L. Valerius, *after the 'baniſhment of the* Decemviri, *that year being according to ſome the* 300 *of 'the City. So the Firſt* Centenarie *Games agree with the* 305 Varronian *'year of the City, the Second with the* 405, *the Third with the* 505, *the 'Fourth with the* 605.

The difficulty reſolved by *Jacobus Cappellus.*

Quindecim Diana preces virorum audit, Horat. in carm. Sæculari.

* *Hiſt Sacra & Exotica ad* A. M. 3491.

* *Vide Tacitum Annal. lib.* 11.

21. Though the Second of the *Centenaries* ſhould have been celebrated in the 405 year, yet (whether it happened through the *Gallick* War or otherwiſe) they were not till that following, wherein *M. Popilius Lænas* the fourth time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* were Conſuls, as *Zozimus* writeth. Theſe *Cenſorinus* hath omitted and four more, if credit be given to the inſcription of a certain ſtone mentioned by *George Herwart*, from which it ſhould appear, that before this year were celebrated three *Secular* Games, *viz.* in the 100, 200, and 300 years, according to the account of *Piſtor*, and the 105, 205, and 305, according to that of *Varro*. Two Solemnities alſo at the diſtance of 110 years, as in the 188 and 298, after the account of *Varro*, to which may be added thoſe made by *Poplicola* extraordinarily in the 245 year. So that the Games celebrated this year (*viz.* in the 406) may rightly be called the ſeventh Games. The *Quindecimvirals* (or thoſe of 100 years) continued till *Conſtantine*'s time, who forbad them to be celebrated in the 1067 year of the City. His ſon *Conſtantius* alſo prohibited the *Centenaries*, which in his time fell in the 1100 year of the City. Fifty ſeven years after, the Heathen got leave of *Honorius* to celebrate the

Obſervations concerning the Centenaries.

Terentine

SECT. 2. *Terentine* Games again in his sixth Consulship (for which *Claudian* thanks him) 200 years after they had been kept by *Severus*. But to return, these Third *Secular* Games which gave occasion to this discourse, and were celebrated in the 518 year of the City, and the fifth after the first *Punick* Warre, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Licinius Varus* being Consuls, were those of the *Quindecimviri*, or of the interval of 110 years; that we may note thus much for the information of Students.

The Temple of *Janus* shut the second time.

22. In the sixth year after the first *Punick* War (*a*) the Temple of *Janus* was shut at *Rome* now the second time, all things being in quiet, and the *Romans* having no Wars any where after the reducement of *Sardinia* by *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Consul. In the following year, being the 520 of the City, the first (*b*) divorce was made by *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who, though he did it under a specious pretence of his wives barrenness, was ever ill-willed for it by the People. This same year was *M. Porcius* (*c*) born in the precincts of *Tusculum*, who had the name of (*d*) *Cato* for his wisdom; *Catus* in the *Roman* language (whence the diminutive *Catulus*) signifying *sagacious, acute*, or *ingenious*. And this year did *Cn. Nevius* the Poet (*e*) publish playes to the People, who wrote also the first *Punick* war, (wherein he served) in the most ancient kind of Verse called *Saturnii Versus*, which were succeeded by the *Fescennini*, some being with merre, and some without. He died in the 30 year after this, and left a proud (*f*) Epitaph of his own making, which he commanded should be ingraven on his Tomb, and *Gellius* hath recorded together with those of *Plautus* and *Pacuvius*.

(*a*) *Livius l.* 1. *Eutropius l.* 3. *Plutarch in Numa.*

(*b*) *Val. Max. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *exemp.* 4. *Agellius l.* 17. *c.* 21. *Dionys. Halicarn.*

(*c*) *Cicero de Senectute.*

(*d*) *Plutarch in Catone.*

(*e*) *Agellius ut supra.*

(*f*) *Idem l.* 1. *c.* 24.

Cn. Nevius the Poet.

23. Five years the Temple of *Janus* continued shut, and in the sixth was opened by a War with the *Illyrians*. For, *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, the widdow of *Agron* (who for joy that he had prospered in his enterprises against the *Ætolians*, drank so hard, that he fell into a Pleurisie, and thereof died) elevated by her prosperity in Peace, gave out commissions to her Subjects to rob all at Sea whomsoever they met with. The *Illyrians* then having taken *Phœnice* a strong City of *Epirus*, struck a great terror into all the maritime parts of *Greece*, and setting upon the *Italian* Merchants, some they robbed, others they killed, and not a few they caried away prisoners. The *Romans* having hitherto neglected all complaints against them, when now many came together, sent unto *Illyricum Caius* and *Lucius Coruncani*, to inform themselves concerning these matters. *Teuta* answered, she would take care that no publick injury should be offered to the *Romans*, but it was not the custom to hinder any from making what private commodity they could out of the Sea. But saith *Lucius*, the *Romans* have a good custom publickly to prosecute private injuries, and to relieve the injured: therefore we will shortly endeavour, God willing, to constrain thee to amend these customs. The Queen took this liberty of speech so haiously, that her womanish impotency and anger prevailed against the Law of Nations, to have some sent after the Ambassadors, who killed *Lucius*. For this, War was decreed against her, and both the Consuls of the 525 year of the City, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* Consul the second time, were sent into *Illyricum*; *Fulvius* with the Navy, and his Collegue with the Land-Army.

Polybius l. 2.

The *Illyrians* infest the *Italians* at sea,

Whence a War ensueth.

24. *Fulvius* received *Corcyra*, given up into his hands by *Demetrius Pharius*; then took he *Apollonia*, and the Armies joyning, the Consuls freed *Dyrrhachium* besieged by the *Illyrians*. Then most of the *Illyrick* Cities were either taken or delivered up, whereupon the Queen retired with a few followers to *Rhizon* a strong Town, situate upon a River of the same name, and the Spring following sent to *Rome* to desire Peace. It was granted to her on these terms: *To pay a yearly tribute; to quit all* Illyricum, *except a very few places: and Not to sail beyond the River Quissus with more than two Barks, and these unarmed.* For nine years the *Illyrians* continued in obedience, till the 535 year of the City, wherein rebelling, they were again reduced by *Æmilius Paulus* and *M. Livius* the Consuls. For, *Demetrius Pharius* then their King, forgetting the great favours received from the People

A. M. 3776. *Ol.* 137. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 525. *Sel. Calimici* 18. *Ptol. Euerg.* 18. *Idem & Justin.*

Peace is granted to *Teuta* the Queen.

People of *Rome*, wasted the Towns of *Illyricum* subject to the *Romans*, and passed the bounds set by the League. *Æmilius* within seven dayes took *Dimalium*, and followed him to *Pharus*, a Town of the Island *Pharia*, which he also took. *Demarius* being fled to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, he seized on the rest of *Illyricum*, which he ordered to pay a stipend to *Pinnes*, the son of *Agron*. But thus was begun, and finished the War with *Teuta*, which *Florus* (according to his custom, breaking the order and series of time) falsly placeth after the *Gallicum Cisalpinum*, or that with the *Galls* inhabiting within the *Alps*.

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A. M. 3777. *V. C.* 526.

The Seditious attempts of *Flaminius* the Tribune,

25. For, the same year wherein the Peace was made with *Teuta*, the promulgating of the *Agrarian* Law by *C. Flaminius*, Tribune of the people, brought this great, and dangerous War upon the Commonwealth. There being a good quantity of ground Conquered within the Countrey of these *Galls*, he preferred a Law for the dividing of it to the people, man by man. *Q. Fabius Maximus* being now Consul the second time stifly opposed it, *Sp. Carbilius* his Collegue not stirring as (*a*) *Cicero* telleth us; the Senate also laboured to crosse it, but when in the Rostra *Flaminius* read the Law, his father laying hands on him he obeyed, and went down, though he neither valued the Consul nor Senate, nor yet was affrighted with the levying of an Army. Nay, the people about him was so overawed by paternal right, that as *Valerius Maximus* writeth, though the Assembly was thus disappointed, not the least muttering was heard. Whether the Law for division fully passed or not (by reason of the interruption by old *Flaminius*) yet this thing gave occasion to a new and great War, as *Polybius* writeth, who mistaketh the time by four years; for as much as these stirs about the *Agrarian* fell not out in the 522. but the 526 of the Citie, wherewithall the second Consulship of *Fabius Maximus*, and that of *Sp. Carnilius Maximus* is joyned. Indeed the first of *Fabius* fell in with the 521 year of the Citie, two years before *Teuta* killed the Ambassador, and two more at least before the finishing of the *Illyrian* War, whence may be conjectured, that as the mistake of *Polybius* might arise from want of distinction, betwixt the first and second Consulships of *Fabius*; so the error of *Florus* (or him, who ever wrote that *System*) in placing the *Gallick* War before the *Illyrian*, might proceed from an (inconsiderate) trust to the Authority of that excellent Author.

(*a*) *De Senect.*

Lib. 3. *cap.* 4. *Exemp.* 5.

Occasioneth the War, called *Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum.*

26. The report concerning this Law awakened the *Galls*, especially the *Boii*, who were nearest neighbours. Concluding now that the *Romans* fought not so much for glory and dominion, as out of a covetous design of inriching themselves, they sent to the *Insubres* for aid, exhorting them to remember what their Ancestors once did at *Rome*, and to tread in their steps. These joyning together sent over the *Alps* for other *Galls*, living near *Rhodanus*, and called *Gessata*, from their wages, saith *Polybius*, or as others write, from *Gessa* a kind of weapon they used. Their Kings, *Congolitanus* and *Aneroestus* being allured by great promises, with a vast force passed over the *Alpes*, and joyning with the *Insubres* and *Boii*, to the number of 50000 foot, and 20000 horse brake into *Etruria*. When first the *Romans* heard of their passing the *Alps*, they commanded *Æmilius* the Consul to go to *Ariminum*, to give them trouble in case they came that way. They ordered one of the *Prætors* into *Etruria*; for, C. *Atilius* the other of the Consuls was already sent into *Sardinia*. The whole Citie was sad and grievously afflicted, fearing the *Galls* as fatal to it. All the Registers of the Military age were inquired int, too feel what forces they, and what their Associates, were able to set forth. The *Italians* prepared to fight, not as for the *Roman* Empire, but their own safety; so that an Army was in a readiness, consisting of 700000 foot, and 70000 horse, according to *Polybius*. But *Fabius Pictor* wrote, as *Eutropius* relateth, that 800000 men were prepared for this War, wherein he himself was employed.

Preparations on the *Roman* side for this War.

27. The Tables of the Military age, as they were brought to the Senate, contained of the *Latines* 80000 foot, and 5000 horse; of the *Samnites* 70000 foot, and 7000 horse; of the *Iapyges* and *Messapians* 50000 foot, and 16000 horse;

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horse; of the *Lucanians* 30000 foot, and 3000 horse; of the *Marsi, Marrucini, Ferentani & Vestini* 20000 foot, and 4000 horse. And of the *Roman* people gave their names, together with those of *Campania*, 250000 foot, and 23000 horse. The total sum 558000. There went out with the Consuls four Legions, whereof each contained 5200 foot, and 300 horse, together with 30000 foot, and 3000 horse of the Associates: in all 50800 foot, and 3200 horse. There were in readinesse for necessary occasions, of the *Etruscans* and *Sabines* 50000 foot, and 4000 horse, which the *Prætor* led into *Etruria* to oppose the Enemy on the Borders. Of the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* were assembled 20000. and as many of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates* inhabiting the *Appennine* Mountains, who were placed on the Borders of *Gall*, by invading the Territories of the *Boii* to draw them back, and divide them from the rest. These were the forces placed on the Borders. At *Rome* were in a readinesse for the uncertain chances of War, as a supply 30000 foot, and 1500 horse of Citizens, besides of the Associates 30000 foot, and 2000 horse. In *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* were placed two Legions, whereof each contained 4200 foot, and 200 horse. The sum of all these amounts to 210300 men. So, saith *Polybius*, the sum of the forces which guarded the Citie were 150000 foot, and about 6000 horse, but the whole number of the multitude fit for War was 700000 foot, 70000 horse, which yet *Hannibal* durst oppose, and invade *Italy* with scarce 20000. But this will appear further in what shall be hereafter said.

28. The *Galls* descending into *Etruria* wasted all with fire and sword, till they came to *Clusium*, a place three dayes journey distant from *Rome*. There were they beset, the *Prætor* on their back, and the two Consuls before blocking up all the passages, so that they were forced to fight two contrary wayes in two fronts, and that very disadvantagiously, both by reason of their nakednesse, and the unfitnesse of their Arms. But the vanity of the *Gæsatæ* was most hurtfull to them, who casting off their Cloths would needs fight naked and charge first; for, being easily discomfited, they discouraged their fellows. Forty thousand were slain, and ten thousand taken, amongst whom was *Concolitanus*; the other King *Aneroestus* having killed himself. This battel was fought in the 529 year of the Citie, *L. Æmilius Papus*, and *C. Attilius Regulus* (who was therein slain) being Consuls. Afterwards inroads being made into the Territories of the *Galls*, they were several times overthrown, and so harrased, that they sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to beg peace on any terms. The people being inclining enough to it, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* the Consuls of the 532 year stopped the thing.

A. M. 3780. *Ol.* 138. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 529. *Sil. Ceruni* 2. *Ptol. Euerg.* 22.

The *Galls* overthrown beg peace.

Which the Consuls hinder.

29. The former especially, having a disposition suitable to his name (*Marcus* and *Mamercus* being thought to be derived of *Mars*, and therefore also the diminutives *Marculus* and *Marcellus*) inflamed the multitude to the War; whereupon the *Galls* now desperate resolved to make the last tryal, and using all indeavours, sent, and hired 20000 of the *Gæsatæ*. The Consuls invading the Countrey of the *Insubres* besieged *Acerræ*, which to relieve the *Galls* laid siege to *Clastidium*, a Town associate with the *Romans*. Here was fought a bloudy battel, wherein the *Galls* were overthrown, *Marcellus* with his own hand killed *Virdomarus* King of the *Gæsatæ*, and dedicated the third * *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, though *Numa* had commanded they should be consecrated to *Quirinus*. Those that escaped fled to *Mediolanum* (now *Millane*) the chief seat of the *Insubres*, which being shortly taken, the War was thereby ended after six years, and *Marcellus* returned in Triumph. The title of the Triumph in the *Capitoline* stories mentioned with the *Galls Insubres*, *Germans* also to have been subdued, which *Germans* seem no other then the *Gæsatæ*, thus called by some mistake. As for the name of *Gæsatæ*, though *Polybius* thinketh it derived from their wages, and others from a kind of weapon; yet another rendreth a more probable derivation, which the condition of these people being Mercenaries prompteth to. The *Teutonick* language (a dialect whereof *Joseph Scaliger* and others prove the antient *Gallick* to have been) calleth him *Gaest*, whom the *English Saxon* (a branch

Vide Polybium *lib.* 2. *Plutarch. in Marcello. Florum l.* 2. *c.* 4. *Eutrop. lib.* 3. *Orosium lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. *Livii Epitom. lib.* 20.

Marcellus endeth the War.

* *Aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis Ingreditur, victorque viros superemicat omnes. Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu Sistet, eques sternet Pœnos Gallumq; rebellem Telisque animam frustratur vulnere Quirino. Virgil. Æn.* 6.

* Simpson in Chronic. Catholic. ad A.M. 3780.

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(a branch also of the *Teutonick*) nameth *Gaest* at this time, betokening a stranger. The word *Gæsata* might well therefore be thence derived, being changed something by those that were ignorant of the Language, from that whereby the *Galls* signified strangers, such as these Mercenaries were.

30. The third year after the ending of the *Gallick*, began the *second Punick*, or *Carthaginian* War. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain had a great itching desire to renew the quarrel with the *Romans*, as soon as the State could recover its strength, and had done it betimes, but that the War with the Mercenaries hapned, which much distressing the Commonwealth, he passed over into *Spain*, where having to do with such an Enemy as he could grow upon, he there inlarged far and wide the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and died in great honour, though he was drowned in a River, being put also to flight by *Orisson* King of the *Iberi*, who pretending to come to his assistance in the siege of *Helice* unexpectedly fell upon him. As he had governed the Army in *Spain* nine years, so his son-in-law *Asdrubal* succeeding him, commanded it almost as many, with a mind as averse from the *Romans* as he; but he dissembled his hatred and designs, that he might gain all *Spain* to the *Carthaginian* interest. After 8 years he was slain by a *Gall* (saith *Polybius*) or a slave to a certain *Spaniard* (saith *Justin*) who killed him in revenge for his Masters death. He also much bettered the affairs of *Carthage*, not so much by Arms, as his winning carriage upon the petty Princes. After his death *Annibal* the son of *Amilcar Barcas* was chosen Captain by the Army, and presently confirmed at *Carthage* by the people, whom his father taking along with him into *Spain*, being then nine years old, compelled to swear at the Altar, his hand touching the sacrifice, that as soon as he could he would be an Enemy to the people of *Rome*.

The Acts of *Amilcar Barcas*, after the ending of the first *Punick* War.

Diod. Sicul. lib. 25. *Eclog.*

Of *Asdrubal* his son-in-law.

Polyb. lib. 3. *Livius l.* 21. *Corn. Nepos in Hamilcar. Val. Max. l.* 9. *c.* 3. *Eutr. Exemp.* 3.

Annibal the son of *Amilcar Barcas* created General by the *Carthaginians*

31. *Annibal* presently after his Creation fell upon the *Olcades* whom he subdued, and besides them, within a years space, the *Vaccæi* and *Carpentani*, and nothing remained beyond the River *Iberus* that was considerable, and unsubdued, besides the *Saguntines*. They being confederate with *Rome* gave them there intelligence how things went, who sent some into *Spain* to see how matters stood, and what was intended by the *Carthaginians*. These Commissioners having audience of *Hannibal*, religiously admonished him not to meddle with the *Saguntines*, and (according to the League made with *Asdrubal*) not to passe over the River *Iberus*. His answers did not conceal his inward hatred, which caused the *Romans* to expect no better than a War; but they hoped to have *Saguntus* the seat thereof, and endeavoured to clear themselves of *Illyricum* ere it hapned. *Annibal* was not ignorant of what they designed, and therefore resolved by taking that Town to cut off all hope of warring in *Spain*. He doubted not by that example to terrifie others, so as to reduce to obedience those that yet stood out, and confirm therein such as he had already brought under; and this especially he aimed at, by reducing this place, to leave no Enemy at his back, by the plunder of which also he intended to gratifie his Soldiers. With all his force then he set upon it, and provoking his men by his own example to all manner of diligence, took it in the eighth moneth. The Inhabitants retained their fidelity unto the *Romans* to the last, and when almost spent with hunger, Fire, Sword, and Engines, they that remained, in a fire made in the Forum consumed themselves with all their riches, as *Florus* writeth, though *Polybius* speaketh of much money found in the Town, besides rich stuff, which *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage*.

He taketh *Saguntus* a Town in *Spain*, confederate with *Rome*.

32. When first the *Romans* heard that *Saguntus* was taken, they sent Ambassadors to *Carthage* to require that *Hannibal* should be delivered up as the breaker of the League, or else to denounce War. Upon their arrival the *Carthaginians* deputed *Hanno* to treat with them, who sleighted the matter of the League made with *Asdrubal*, pretending there was none; and if there was, it was made by his meer pleasure without consent of the Senate. Besides, therein, he said, was no mention made of the River *Iberus*; that a

Satisfaction is demanded by the *Romans*.

Sect. 2. regard was to be had of the Allies of both the States he confeſſed, but this nothing concerned the *Saguntines*, who at the time of the ratification were not confederates with *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors perceiving the *Carthaginians* backward to what they propounded, ſaid no more; but the Senior of them holding out the lap of his Gown to the Senate. *Here*, ſaith he, *we bring you both War and Peace; whether you will have I ſhall bring forth.* The *Carthaginian* King *bade them bring forth which they pleaſed*; then the *Roman*, ſaying, *he would take out War*, many of the Senators anſwered, that *they accepted of it.* This fell out in the Conſulſhip of *M. Livius*, afterward called *Salinator* (from his bringing up the Impoſt upon Salt) and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. In their time forein Ceremonies begun to be brought into *Rome*, which diſpleaſing the more ſober ſort of men, the *Senate thought fit that the Chapels of *Iſis* and *Serapis* ſhould be pulled down. When no Artificers would venture to touch them, *Æmilius* the Conſul put off his *prætexta*, or long Roab edged with purple ſilk, and taking an Hatchet ſtruck it into the door.

And none being given, War is denounced and accepted of.

* *Val. Max. l. 1. c. 3. exemp. 3.*

33. In the year following, being the 536 of the City, the ſixth of *Antiochus* the Great, and the fifth of *Ptolomy Philopator*, in the Conſulſhip of *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, three and twenty years after the ending of the *firſt Punick* War, the *Second* began, which we have deſcribed by *Polybius*, and after him by *T. Livius*, who hath tranſcribed the 21 Book of his Hiſtory almoſt word for word. *Annibal* now 26 years of age, in the Spring moved from his winter quarters with 90000 Foot, and 12000 Horſe, and paſſing over the River *Iberus*, ſubdued all the Towns as far as the *Pyrenæan* hills. Then leaving *Hanno* with a ſufficient force to keep the Country, and ſending as many of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers home, he marched with the the reſt, in number 50000 Foot, and nigh 9000 Horſe, over the *Pyrenean* hills; and ſo through *Gall* unto the *Alpes*. Having marched 100 miles in ten days from the River *Rhodanus*, he came to the foot of theſe mountains, which when he aſcended, he encountred with great difficulties, being oppoſed by the *Allobroges* (inhabiting the Country now called *Savoy*) who poſſeſſed themſelves of the places through which he muſt neceſſarily paſſe. On the ninth day he came to the top, whence his Soldiers had a proſpect of *Italy*. Proceeding after a little reſt, he loſt as many men here in the depth of the Snow, as formerly by the incurſions of Enemies, and at length came to a place which would affoard no paſſage for Horſe, or Elephants. The place of it ſelf was precipitious, but lately by a falling of earth it was become ſo, to the depth of 1000 foot. He laboured then to bring his men through other wayes never before trodden, but at length the Snow making them impaſſible, he was forced to berake himſelf to the levelling of the *Rock*. They made a great fire, wherewith the Rock being heated, they putrified it with Vinegar, then did they cleave it, and ſo diminiſhed the deſcent by moderate turnings, that not onely the beaſts of burthen, but the Elephants alſo might ſafely paſſe. Four dayes were ſpent about the Rock: and by this time almoſt all the beaſts were waſted; for on the top was little graſſe, and that covered with Snow. Coming lower, certaing valleys afforded paſture, where the cattel were refreſhed, and reſt was given to the weary Soldiers. Thence deſcended *Annibal* into the Plain, in the fifth moneth after he had parted from new *Carthage* (built by *Aſdrubal*, and now called *Cartagena*) in *Spain*, having paſſed over the *Alpes* in fourteen dayes. In the paſſage he loſt a great part of his Army, bringing into the Country of the *Inſubres*, but 10200 *African* Foot, 8000 of the *Spaniſh*, and 6000 Horſe.

A. M. 3787. *Ol.* 140. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 536. *Antiochi Mag.* 6. *Ptol. Philop.* 5. *Polyb. l.* 3. *Livius l.* 21.

The ſecond *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War beginneth.

Annibal having conquered all *Spain* as far as the *Pyreneans* hills,

Paſſeth over the *Alps* into *Italy.*

34. *Scipio* the Conſul having *Spain* for his Province, was by Sea going thither, when he underſtood that *Hannibal* was near the River *Rhodanus*. There he intended to have given him a ſtop; but miſſing of him, he returned on ſhipboard and haſted to *Italy*, there to meet him, before his men had yet refreſhed themſelves. They met and joyned battel, wherein the Conſul had the worſt, being wounded, and preſerved alive by the valour of his young ſon afterwards named *Africanus*. The *Roman* Senate, when firſt they received

Defeateth *Scipio* the Conſul.

ceived intelligence that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Alpes*, ſent for the other Conſul *Sempronius* out of *Sicily*, to the aid of his Collegue. According to order he brought over his Army, and united it with *Scipio*'s at the River *Trebia*. Having had the better in ſome skirmiſhes with certain parties of *Annibal*, he deſired to make trial of a battel, that his Collegue being ſick, he might have all the glory of Victory, and though *Scipio* alleged, that by delaying to fight the *Galls* might be farther drawn in, and their own Soldiers better exerciſed, yet leſt the battel ſhould be deferred till the coming of the next Conſuls, he reſolved to fight alone. *Annibal* feared nothing more, than that they ſhould refuſe to fight, becauſe as yet the *Galls* continued his, and he knew the beſt of the *Roman* Captains to be unable to act, and his own Army freſh and chearful. In the battel, which ſhortly followed, the *Romans* were overthrown, being drawn out by a party that *Hannibal* ſent to provoke them, ere they had armed their bodies againſt the extremity of the mid-winter ſeaſon, either by meat or other proviſion; ſo that ingaging with cold and hunger, and beſet with their enemies (whereof as in the former battel, the *Numidians*, to their great terror fell upon their rear) they were defeated, though with great ſlaughter of the Enemy, through whoſe ranks 10000 broke and eſcaped to *Placentia*, the reſt being either ſlain, taken, or drowned in the River. The *Carthaginians* having purſued them to the River *Trebia*, returned to their Camp ſo ſtupified with cold, that they were ſcarce ſenſible of the Victory. For, rain mixed with ſnow, and intollerable cold, killed many men, and almoſt all the beaſts and Elephants.

Sect. 2.

And *Sempronius* his Collegue.

35. At this time things went better with the *Romans* in *Spain* and *Sicily*. In the former *Cnæus Scipio* (being ſent thither by his brother the Conſul upon his return into *Italy*) overthrew *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and took in a good part of the Country, wherein was alſo new *Carthage*. For the following year *C. Flaminius* (who being *Tribune* had preferred the *Agrarian* Law) was the ſecond time made *Conſul*, together with *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. He had a good gift in ſpeaking, but no skill in War, being yet heady and impatient of advice. *Hannibal* having all this while made the Country of the *Galls* the ſeat of War, reſolved to change it, and after ſome conſultation about his way into *Etruria*, reſolved upon that of the Fens, as ſhort and unexpected to the Enemy, though more troubleſome to paſſe. Being forced to march three or four whole dayes through water, this ſorely diſtreſſed all his men, except the *Galls*, many of the beaſts were left in the mud, and the hoofs of the Horſes came off. He himſelf riding on an Elephant that was onely left, eſcaped with his life, but was ſorely pained in his eyes, one whereof he loſt utterly. Being arrived at dry ground, he hoped by ſome means or other to intrap the Conſul, underſtanding what his diſpoſition was: He paſſed by his Camp and went further into the Country, which intraged *Flaminius*, who thought himſelf ſlighted by the Enemy. When amongſt the *Romans* ſome told him that he muſt not raſhly purſue, but uſe great caution, eſpecially by reaſon of the Horſe; but above all things ſtay for his Collegue, and not hazard a battel without the conjunction of both Armies, he was ſo far from following their advice, that he could not bear their words. Riſing with all his forces he hid neither reſpect to time nor place, onely ſeeking to fight, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, with hope whereof he he ſo elevated the vulgar, that a rable followed the Camp greater in number than the Army it ſelf, and furniſhed with chains, bonds, and other things, wherewith to keep faſt thoſe priſoners and booty, whereof they doubted not to become Maſters.

Lege præter Polyb. & Liv. Plutarch in vita Fabii. Corn. Nepot. Annib. Appian. in Annibalicis. Florum l. 2. c. 6.

And *Flaminius* at the Lake *Thraſymene.*

36. *Annibal* marching through *Etruria*, waſted it with fire and ſword, the more to intrage his Enemy, and at length came to the Lake called *Thraſymenus* and *Thraſymene*, near to which are certain mountains, and betwixt them and it a narrow way leading to a valley, beſet with them, and a ridge of hills. Theſe hills he made choice of, wherein to place his men, beſtowing them round about, ſo that *Flaminius* following him into the valley, was falſen upon round about, and ſlain with many of his men ere (almoſt) they knew

SECT. 2. who hurt them, by reason of a mist which then was risen from the Lake. Within the valley fell 15000, and near upon 6000 escaped to a Village, where they were forced to yield themselves. *Annibal* gathering all his prisoners together, to the number of 15000, kept in custody the *Romans*, but dismissed the *Latines* without ransome. The body of the Consul, saith *Valerius Maximus*, was sought for by *Annibal* to be buried; even his body, who, as much as in him lay, had buried the *Roman* Empire. *Cn. Servilius* the other Consul who kept *Ariminum* (a Country of *Italy* now called *Rimini*, lying upon the River *Rubicon*) hearing of *Annibal*'s coming into *Etruria*, purposed to go and joyn with his Collegue, but finding that difficult, chose out 4000 men whom he sent to his aid, under conduct of *C. Centenius* (by some called *Centronius*) whom he commanded, if possible, to reach him before the fight. *Hannibal* hearing of this supplie, after the battel, sent out *Maharbal* with a party, which cutting off one half, forced the other to an hill, where they also yielded themselves.

Val. Max. l. 1. c. 6. exemp. 6. Entrop. Orosium.

37. The *Romans* struck with consternation at these losses, upon mature deliberation resolved there was need of a General with absolute authority. But the Consul (who alone had power, and that in the *Roman* Dominions, to name a *Dictator*) being absent, and incompassed with the *Carthaginian* Forces, so that no message could conveniently be sent to him, and the People having no power to create a *Dictator*, they created as a *Proditator*, or *Vice Dictator*, *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, whose Master of the Horsemen was *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Fabius* matched *Annibal* in policy, breaking his successe by delaying to fight, which others had increased by their temerity, so that he obtained the name of * *Cunctator*. *Hannibal* was hereof very sensible, being by him put to his shifts, wanting provisions exceedingly, and lying in an Enemies Country. But the Master of Horse-men being something hot and rash, in *Fabius* his absence, got the better in certain skirmishes, and hereby procured so much favour from the multitude, which now accounted the worthy *Dictator* lazie and fearful, that beyond all example his power was made equal to that of his. *Minutius* puffed up herewith, sought to improve his authority by further rashnesse, so as to ingage with the Enemy, in which action he and his party had been overthrown, but that *Fabius* in good time came in and saved him. This so convinced him of his former folly, that he confessed his fault to the *Dictator*, whom he called his Father, and renouncing his new power again, subjected his office to the *Dictatorship*.

Whereupon *Fabius Maximus* is made Vice Dictator, who by delaying breaketh *Annibal*'s succes.

* *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

38. *Fabius*, when his six moneths were out, laid down his Office, and was badly requited, the *Tribunes* and others calumniating him with the Nobility, as wilfully lengthening the War, which procured *Terentius Varro* a rash, hot, and inconsiderable man, for the next year to be created Consul. He, though joyned with a prudent person *L. Æmilius Paulus*, so far prevailed, as to joyn battel with *Annibal* at the place of *Canna* an ignoble Village of *Apulia*, which the year before had been destroyed, and onely the Castle remained, on which *Annibal* had lately seized. The *Romans* brought into the field 80000 Foot, and about 6000 Horse; the *Carthaginians* not much above 40000 Foot, and 10000 Horse. *Florus* writeth, that for the destruction of the unhappy Army, both General, Earth, Heaven, the day, and the whole nature of things conspired. For *Annibal* not content with the sending of those who counterfeiting a revolt, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, observing the nature of the place, so chose out his ground, that besides his Army they must needs fight with wind, dust, and Sun. But from others it appeareth, that the *Romans* fighting with their faces toward the South, and the *Carthaginians* toward the North, the Sun-beams offended neither. However, the abilities of the *Punick* General were seen so far in this, as in other battels, that he overmatched them in skill, who exceeded him in numbers, making such slaughter of them, that at length wearied, he commanded his Soldiers to forbear, as *Florus* telleth us. Of the *Romans* were slain 50000 men say *Plutarch* and *Appian*; 70000 saith *Polybius*, and *Livy* hath 40000 Foot, and 2600 Horse. Amongst these was *Æmilius* the Consul (who unwilling

Who yet giveth the *Romans* a most grievous overthrow at *Canne*.

unwilling to survive the defeat refused to flie) 2 *Quæstors*, 21. *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorian* degree, divers of *Consular* dignity, and so many *Equites* or Knights, that, as *Pliny* writeth, *Hannibal* sent three bushels of gold rings to *Rome*, which were the Ensignes of that order, though *Pliny* from this number endeavoureth to prove that the use of them at this time was promiscuous, else a vast number must there have been of them: but *Livy* writeth, that more likely report held there were but one bushel. *Hannibal* lost 5700 of his men. *Varro* the Consul fled to *Venusia* with 70 Horse, whither also escaped 4000 Foot and Horse, which leading to *Canusium*, where were already 10000 men, he made up a shew of a *Consular* Army, which by the help of walls, though not of arms, seemed able to defend it self.

SECT. 2. A. M. 3789. *Ol.* 141. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 538. *Ant. Mag.* 8. *Ptol. Philop.* 7. *Belli Punici* 3.

And enervateth his Army by wintring at *Capua*.

39. Had *Hannibal* taken his opportunity and marched to *Rome*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, and of the *Roman* Empire both together; but this great Soldier knew (as *Maharbal* Captain of his Horse truly told him) how to use and improve a Victory. For, he loitered all this Summer, and having *Capua* a wealthy and luxurious Citie given up into his hands by the Townsmen, there he took up his Winter quarters, and *Capua* became a *Canne* to his Soldiers. For, hereby he utterly spoyled an excellent Army, which now was so enervated by the pleasures and effeminatenesse of the place, as ever after it became impatient of labour, and its antient Military Discipline, so that before this it was harder for the *Romans* not to be overcome by *Hannibal*, than afterwards to overcome him. His fortune presently began to change. He was worsted at *Nola* by *Marcellus* the *Prætor*, and repulsed at *Casilinum*, a very small Castle, for a good space. At this time, though there was a *Dictator* in the Camp (*M. Junius Pera*, whose Master of the Horse-men was *Tib. Sempronius*) yet the Senate being exhausted by the War, *M. Fabius Buteo* was named *Dictator* by *Terentius* the Consul, for filling it up, without a Master of Horse-men. He coming into the *Rostra*, said, he did not approve that there should be two *Dictators* at one time (which never before had been known) nor that he was created without a Master of Horse-men; neither that the power of Censorship should twice be permitted to one man; nor that power for six moneths should be given to any *Dictator*, except for the War. What extream necessity had procured, he said he would moderate. For he would not remove any Senator which *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Æmilius* the late Censors had chosen, onely transcribe, and cause them to be read over, lest the credit, and esteem of Senators should be in the power of one man; and so he would supply the places of the dead, that this man before that, and not one order should seem preferred above another. The old Senate then being called over, he chose into vacant places, first such as since the last Censorship had born *Curule* Offices, as each one had been first created; then such as had been *Ædiles*, *Tribunes* of the Commons, or *Quæstors*, and lastly, such had any spoyls hung up at home, which they themselves had taken from the Enemy, or had received a *Civick* Crown. So 177 being thus chosen with universal approbation, he presently laid down his Office.

Livius lib. 23.

Two *Dictators* at the same time.

The Senate filled.

40. The *Romans*, though the defeat at *Canne* threatned them with no less than ruin, quickly recovered their courage. When *Varro* (being sent for to name a *Dictator*) was near the Citie, all Ranks went forth to meet him, and though he was the cause of the overthrow, gave him thanks that he had not despaired concerning the Commonwealth. *Philip* King of *Macedonia* having expected the fortune of both parties, after the battel of *Canne* joyned in affiancy with *Hannibal*; and this being discovered through the intercepting of his Ambassadors, for to prevent his coming into *Italy*, the *Romans* took order for the invasion of his own Territories. At this time *Hannibal* was beaten at *Cuma*, and constrained to raise his siege; and from *Nola* the second time by the same hand; *Hanno* having the same fortune at *Grumentum*. In *Spain* the *Scipioes* so managed the War that they got ground, being continually Superiors. *Asdrubal* was ordered by the Senate at *Carthage* to passe into *Italy*, but upon his departure they defeated him in battel, and

The *Romans* quickly recovered their courage.

Annibal and his party goeth down the wind in *Italy*, and *Spain*.

Sect. 2. and by this succeſſe not onely overthrew the deſign of joyning with *Hannibal*, but drew moſt of the *Spaniards* to their party, ſtill improving the victory.

41. In *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*, though ſeveral attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and ſome revolts happened, yet things proceeded in a good condition. In one battel in *Sardinia* 12000 were ſlain, and many taken priſoners, amongſt whom were *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all noble *Carthaginians*. A year or two after the death of *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe* (who hive- *Livius lib.24.*
ing been a faſt friend to the *Romans* died at 90 years of age or more) altered much the face of affairs. For *Hieronymus* his Grandſon ſucceeding him, was for his wicked diſpoſition quickly made away, and then the Citie breaking into divers factions; that which was moſt contrary to the *Roman* intereſt prevailed, by the means of two inconſiderable men made *Prætors*. *Marcellus* the Conſul beſieged *Syracuſe* both by Sea and Land, but was hindred from ſtorming it by the skill and invention of that excellent Mathematican *Archimedes*. He framed ſuch Engins, as therewith to caſt huge ſtones upon the *Romans*, and great beams upon their ſhips. He would ſet the ſhips upon one end, overturn them, and hoizing them up into the air, after all the men, and other things were falln out of them, let them fall upon the Walls, or return down into the Sea. Such was the exactneſſe of his skill, both near at hand, and afar of, that neither by Sea nor by Land could they attempt a ſtorm, their Engins of battery being alſo diſmounted by the force of his.

And in *Sardinia.*

In *Sicily Marcellus* beſiegeth *Syracuſe.*

Lege Plutarch in Marcello. Livium lib.25. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap.7. extera. Exempl. 7. Ciceron. Tuſcul. lib.1. & 5. & De Finibus l.5.

42. *Marcellus* hereupon departed from the ſiege, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes* by the name of *Briarens*. He deſtroyed *Megara*, one of the moſt antient Cities of the Iſland, and falling upon the Army of *Hippocrates*, as it was incamping it ſelf, killed above 8000 men. After this he made incurſions, and drew ſeveral Towns from the *Carthaginians*. He took *Damippus* the *Spartan* as he ſayled from *Syracuſe*, about the redemption of whom coming often near the Walls of that Citie, he obſerved a Tower negligently kept, & convenient for receiving of men, becauſe the Wall there might be eaſily mounted. Taking the opportunity of *Diana*'s feaſt, wherein the *Syracuſians* gave up themſelves to Wine and ſports, he ſeized on this Tower, and through it beſtowing his men about the Walls, eaſily became Maſter of the Citie, after three years ſpent in the ſiege. He wept when he beheld the goodlineſſe of it, which notwithſtanding his Commands for moderation (in which he was eminent) he knew would ſuffer much. But more than the reſt, the death of *Archimedes* troubled him, whom he moſt laboured to preſerve. Some wrote that this famous Artiſt buſied in his Geometrical ſpeculations minded not what was doing in the Citie; but a Soldier coming to him, and bidding him follow him to *Marcellus*, he would not go till he had finiſhed his probleme, and demonſtrated it, whereupon the Soldier killed him. Others reported that a Soldier ruſhing in upon him, he deſired reſpite from death till he had finiſhed his contemplation; but the Soldier not at all regarding him ſlew him preſently. A third report went, that as he was carrying his Mathematical inſtruments to *Marcellus*, certain Soldiers came upon him, who ſuppoſing it to be Gold he carried in the Veſſel, inſtantly ſlew him. One of theſe wayes periſhed *Archimedes*, who excelling all men in this noble skill, deſerveth as much of blame as he had of knowledge, in that eſteeming ſordid and baſe the making of Engins, and what ſerved neceſſary uſes, he onely ſeriouſly ſtudied the Science abſtracted from Mechanick works, and through this kind of greatneſſe of mind, refuſed to write any thing concerning thoſe works, which procured him his deſerved fame and eſtimation.

Archimedes forceth him to depart.

Yet he ſurprizeth the City, but cannot preſerve *Archimedes.*

A. M. 3793. *Ol.* 142. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 542. *Ant. M.* 12. *Ptol. Philop.* 11. *Bell. Punici* 7.

The *Scipios* having Conquered almoſt all *Spain*, are deſtroyed by dividing their forces, and their death is revenged by *Marcus.*

43. At this time the *Scipioes* in *Spain* having well nigh done their work, and intending ſuddenly to make an end of the War, unfortunately divided their forces, and through the treachery of the *Celtiberians* were both cut off with almoſt their whole Armies. The *Roman* intereſt hereby had been deſtroyed in that Countrey, had not the remainders of the forces been kept together,

gether, and preſerved by *L. Marcius* a *Tribune*, who revenged the death of the two Generals and his other Countrey-men, by falling on the *Carthaginians*, divided into two ſeveral Camps, Secure, and without any watch, and ſuffering none to eſcape from one to give notice to the other, ſlew 37000. and took 1830 with great plunder. In *Italy*, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betrayed to him by the Inhabitants, the Caſtle ſtill holding out; and the *Romans* laid ſiege to *Capua*. Hither was *Annibal* called for aid; but he made no great haſte, out of deſire he had to take the Caſtle of *Tarentum*. Bethinking himſelf how great ſcandal he ſhould give to all his confederates, in caſe he did not relieve that Citie, he marched thither, and ſet upon the *Roman* Camp, which was ſo well defended, that he was repulſed, though aſſiſted by the Inhabitants, and his own Garriſon he there had left. Perceiving then that the Enemy would not be drawn out of his Trenches, and that he could not break through his Camp, leſt the new Conſuls ſhould intercept his Proviſions, he reſolved to be gone. Conſidering much whither he ſhould go, he reſolved for *Rome* it ſelf, the head of the War, deſigning at leaſt by this Enterprize to raiſe the ſiege of *Capua*.

Sect. 2.

The *Romans* beſiege *Capua.*

Livius lib.26.

Hannibal having got *Tarentum* beſiegeth the Caſtle in vain, and

44. His coming being heard of at *Rome*, they were there variouſly inclined as to reſiſtance. Some thought that all the Armies in *Italy* were to be ſent for; but *Fabius Maximus* would by no means hear of leaving *Capua*: Therefore a middle way was taken, to ſend for one of the Captains from the ſiege to the defence of the Citie. *Q. Fulvius* then the *Proconſul* chuſing out 15000 foot, and 1000 horſe out of the three Armies, marched for *Rome*, which he entred at the Gate *Capena* (when *Hannibal* now lay incamped eight miles off) the Senate, leſt his power ſhould be diminiſhed, having decreed, that if he came into the Citie he ſhould have equal authority with the Conſuls. *Annibal* removing to the River *Aniene*, three miles from the Citie, with two thouſand horſe thence went to take a view of it. *Flaccus* ſtomaching he ſhould take this liberty and do it with eaſe, ſent out a party of horſe, which falling on made him retreat. The day after, and that following, *Hannibal* on one ſide, and *Flaccus* with the Conſuls on the other, drew out their forces for a battel, when on both dayes fell ſuch ſtorms of hail and rain, as the Armies could not joyn, but when they had retreated into their Camps, a wonderfull ſerenity appeared. This ſtruck the *Carthaginians* with a religious awe, and cauſed *Hannibal* to ſay, that *ſometimes a Will, and otherwiles fortune were wanting to him for the taking of the Citie.* Removing back then his Camp to the River *Turia*, thence he proceeded to the Lake of *Feronia*, which Goddeſſe had then a rich Temple there. This he robbed, and ſo marched through the Countreys of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* towards *Rhegium* and the Straights, where he well nigh had deſtroyed the Inhabitants unawares by the ſuddenneſſe of his coming. *Flaccus* returned to the ſiege of *Capua*, whither that *Hannibal* returned not was much admired.

Marcheth for *Rome.*

Is hindred from fighting by Tempeſts, and departeth towards *Rhegium.*

A.M. 3794. *V. C.* 543.

Capua yielded.

The *Campanians* therefore deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from him, *Capua* was yielded up. The heads of the Rebellion (53 in number) were put death (28 having before poyſoned themſelves) at the command of *Fulvius*, contrary to the Will of his Collegue *Appius Claudius*, who would have had the matter determined by the Senate at *Rome*. The common ſort was ſold, and the Citie, becauſe ſituare in ſo good a ſoyl, reſerved for a receptacle of all ſorts of Plow-men, Labourers, and Artificers, without any ſhew of government of its own, after it had ſtood about 260 years. Theſe things hapned in the eighth year of the War, being the 543 of the Citie, the 15th of *Antiochus* the Great, and the 12 of *Ptolomy Philopator*, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* being Conſuls.

Paterculus lib.1.

45. This year was ſent into *Spain Claudius Nero*, who having got *Aſdrubal* the *Carthagimian* into a ſtraight ſo as he might have cut off him and his Army, *Aſdrubal* promiſed he would draw all his Soldiers out of the Countrey, but drew out the time in length by the interpoſition of his *Punick faith*, till by ſirtle and he withdrew all his men out of the danger. The Senate and People hearing this, took it ill that *Nero* would thus ſuffer himſelf

Nero deluded by *Aſdrubal.*

Livius lib.27.

Sect. 2.

self to be abused, yet know they not whom to send to succeed him, and when the *Comitia* were held for the creation of a *Proconsul*, none appeared to stand for the Office. A great sadnesse hereupon seized on the multitude, When *Publius Scipio* son to *Publius Cornelius Scipio* slain in *Spain* (whom as we said he defended in battel) a young man but of 24 years of age, stood up in a place where he might be seen, and professed himself *candidate*, having the year before been made *Ædilis*, though under age, by the great favour and confidence of the People. With great joy he was created by the suffrages of all, but when they considered what they had done, and especially thought of his age, they were again much perplexed, which he apprehending, called them together, and with such spirit and resolution promised them good successe, that they departed well satisfied, judging many things to be in him which surpassed humane admiration; for having good parts, he could set them off to purpose. Passing into *Spain* then this year, the summer following he took new *Carthage* by storm, a place of great consequence both for riches and situation, by the fame of which exploit, together with his loving demeanour towards the natives, he well improved the Victory.

Publius Scipio taketh upon him the government of *Spain* and exceedingly prospereth.

46. *Hannibal* at this time indulging his cruel disposition in wasting such Countries as he could not keep, lost his credit; and the *Romans* in *Italy* gained thereby. This year *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had done good service against *Philip* of *Macedonia*, was the second time, in his absence, created Consul, together with *Marcellus* the fourth time. *Lævinus* went into *Sicily*, where taking the City *Agrigentum*, he thereby brought the whole Island under the *Roman* jurisdiction. The year following being the tenth of the War, *Tarentum* was betraied into the hands of *Fabius Maximus*, now Consul the fifth time, with *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who the fourth time bore this Office. *Marcellus* for this year sometimes winning and sometimes losing with *Annibal*, for that following being created Consul (though he scarcely seemeth rightly created according to the *Roman* superstition) though other whiles wary enough, was cut off in an ambush, whilst with his Collegue *T. Quintius Crispinus*, accompanied onely with 220 Horse, he went to view a place where he had a great desire to fight *Hannibal*. *Crispinus* also received a wound whereof he died, after he had named a *Dictator* for creation of the next Consuls.

Lævinus recovereth all *Sicily*.

Marcellus slain.

A. M. 3797. *Ol.* 143. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 546. *Ant. M.* 16. *Ptol. Philop.* 15, *Bellî* 11.

47. The year following, *Asdrubal* was ordered to go out of *Spain* into *Italy*, to the assistance of his brother *Annibal*. This caused great carefulnesse in *Rome*, by reason they knew not well whom to oppose against him. At length *M. Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius Salinator* (who lately had returned to the City, after that being publickly disgraced he had absented himself for several years) were created Consuls, having been at great ods, and now reconciled through the interposition of the Senate. *Livius* was ordered to meet *Asdrubal*, and *Nero* appointed to attend the motions of *Annibal*. But the later having some successe against his Enemy, picked out of the flower of his Army 6000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, and with great secrecy, and as much speed, marched towards his Collegue, that he might reach him ere he joyned with *Asdrubal*. Being joyned, they incompassed him, who was by a deceitful guide led into a dangerous place, and cut him with his whole Army in pieces: then marched *Nero* back to his own Army, and ere *Hannibal* knew of his departure, cast his brothers head into his Camp, whereby to his grief he knew of the defeat. The year following did *P. Scipio* after many Victories obtained, finish the War in *Spain*; all the *Carthaginian* Captains being either taken or driven away. This hapned five years after his undertaking the charge, and thirteen after the beginning of the Warre.

Asdrubal ordered to march out of *Spain* into *Italy*,

Is cut off with his whole Army by *Livius* and *Nero* the Consuls.

48. *Scipio* coming to *Rome*, and being made Consul, greatly desired to be sent into *Africk*, urging it to the Senate as necessary for finishing the War, and undertaking so to manage his affaires, as to force the *Carthaginians* to recall *Hannibal* for the defence of his own Country. *Fabius Maximus* most earnestly, and with some heat opposed this, and a considerable difference hereupon

Livius lib. 29.

Scipio having subdued *Spain* is made Consul.

hereupon arose; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and leave given him to passe over into *Africk*, if he saw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All this year he spent in the Island; in providing necessaries for his Expedition, and the next, with a brave Fleet landed in *Africk*, where *Masanissa* King of *Numidia* (who in *Spain* had joyned with him) came in to his aid. Within a while he killed *Hanno* with 3000 men; and besieged *Utica*; but *Syphax* King of *Numidia*, the enemy and competitor of *Masanissa* (who formerly had entred into league with *Scipio*, but again upon a mariage with *Annibal's* niece revolted) coming with the *Carthaginians* to raise the siege, he having attempted in vain to storm the Town, rose up and departed to his winter quarters.

Sect. 2.

A. M. 3800. *Ol.* 143. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 549. *Seleucidarum* 108. *Ant. Mag.* 19. *Ptol. Philop.* 18. *Belli Punici.* 14.

The year following passeth into *Africk*.

49. In Winter he was not idle, but again besieged *Utica*, and entred into a Treaty with *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* about a Peace, in the mean time sending his ablest Soldiers in the habit of slaves with his Commissioners, to view the Enemie's Camps. This being sufficiently done, he brake off the Treaty, and set fire upon the Camps, which the other not suspecting, but thinking it came by accident, were cut in pieces when they were busied in quenching the fire, to the number of 40000 men, and 6000 were taken Prisoners. Not long after he gave them another great overthrow, which so affected the *Carthaginians* with fear, that they called home *Hannibal*. Presently after they sent a Fleet to relieve *Utica*, which worsted the *Roman* Navy; and they might have done more than this had not fear made them loiter. But shortly after this, *Scipio* again routed *Syphax*, who had got together an unexperienced company of strangers, and taking him prisoner, gave his Kingdom to *Masanissa*. In *Italy* about this time *Mago* was overthrown, and wounded in an ingagement with *Quintilius Varus* the *Prætor*, and *M. Cornelius* the *Proconsul*: he also was recalled as well as his brother *Annibal*, and died on the Sea of his wounds. The *Carthaginians* sent an Ambassage to *Rome*, with a design to obtain a cessation till *Hannibal* could arrive out of *Italy*. But their aim being sufficiently understood, the message was slighted; and to witnesse their perfidiousnesse, they brake the Law of Nations, by offering to violate Messengers sent from *Scipio*.

Idem lib. 30. *Polyb. l.* 14, & 15

Where he so distresseth the *Carthaginians*,

That they recal *Hannibal*,

50. *Annibal* being recalled by his superiours, with very much reluctancy quitted *Italy*, after he had therein spent sixteen years. He complained much of the Senate and of himself. Of the Senate, because fighting so long a time in an Enemie's Country, they had so little supplied him with money and other things necessary for War. Of himself, for that having so often overthrown and put to flight the *Roman* Legions, he had still delayed and given them time to breath. It's reported also, that ere he took ship, he built an arch near the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, wherein, in *Punick* and *Greek* letters, he wrote the sum of his great atchievements. Taking the Sea, he landed in a few dayes at *Leptis*, whence he marched to *Adrumentum*, and thence to *Zama*. Considering now the weak estate of his Country, he desired a meeting with *Scipio* to treat of Peace, which being granted, the two greatest Captains in the World came to an interview betwixt their Armies, but receiving mutually no satisfaction, they returned to decide the controversie by the sword. *Hannibal* in the battel behaved himself most gallantly, and like so expert a Warriour amongst his Soldiers, consisting of so many Nations and languages. But providence ordained the Victory to *Scipio*, who slew 20000, and took as many prisoners, yet not without great losse of his own men, whereof 2000 fell. After this, *Annibal* perswaded his Country-men to aske Peace, and Ambassadors were dispatched away accordingly.

A. M. 3802. *V. C.* 551.

Whom he also overthroweth,

51. *Scipio* was not averse to a closure, as loth to part with the glory of concluding the War, which the year before was in danger of being taken from him by *Tib. Claudius Nero* the Consul, and now by *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, who both had procured *Africk* for their Province, and to be joyned in æqual authority with him. The power of concluding the Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio*, with ten others, which was at length agreed to on these termes. *That the* Carthaginians *being free, should enjoy all their territories*

SECT. 2. Whereupon Peace is desired and obtained.

in Africk; *but the* Romans *hold* Spain *with all the Islands of the* Mediterranean *any time in question betwixt the two States. That all rebells and fugitives should be given up to the* Romans. *That the* Carthaginians *should deliver up all their beaked ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tamed Elephants, and tame no more. It was made unlawful for them to make War in* Africk *or elsewhere, without licence from the People of* Rome. *They were to restore all to* Masanissa, *and enter into confederacy with him. To give money and corn to the* Roman *Auxiliaries, till the Ambassadors should be returned. To pay* 10000 *talents of Silver in the space of fifty years, and give* 100 *Hostages for performance of these things.* Thus ended the second *Punick* War, in the eighteenth year, and *Scipio* obtained the honourable surname of *Africanus*, being the first General (if *Livy* observeth rightly) who was ennobled by the name of a Country he had overcome. A. M. 3804. *Ol.* 144. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 553. *Ant. Mag.* 23. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 3. *Belli Punici* 18.

The *Macedonian* War.

52. The *Romans* had little or no rest after this War; for immediately begun, or rather went on the *Macedonian*, or that with *Philip*, the occasion being given, as was said, ten years before, upon his entrance into confederacy with *Annibal*. The *Ætolians* being also invaded by him, aid was sent them, by which he was worsted, and after seven years a Peace was made. But now the *Romans* having nothing to do, and being not without provocation, as well by his breaking of his faith with the *Ætolians* and others of their friends in those parts, as by his supply of men and mony not long before sent to *Hannibal*, and at the earnest request of the *Athenians* (the territories of whom he had wasted) they decreed War anew against him, being also complained of by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, for molesting the Cities in *Asia*. *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* the Consul obtaining *Macedonia* for his Province, by himself and his Lieutenant, put him to the worst divers times, and, had almost taken him. Together with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* he caused him to raise his siege from *Athens*, whereupon the *Ætolians* before backward enough, by reason of their Magistrate, and the *Athamanians* now incouraged invaded his Dominions, but being idle and careleless were easily repelled by him. This year, did *M. Furius* the *Prætor* get a great Victory over the *Galls*, which besieged *Cremona* in *Italy*, killing 30000, and with them *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain. For this, after much dispute in the Senate, he triumphed, though against the custom, and without president, for any one to receive this honour, that had obtained Victory with the Army of another, as he had done with the Soldiers of *C. Aurelius Cotta* the Consul in his absence, who took it most hainously. The year following, *C. Bebius* the *Prætor* entering unadvisedly into the territories of the *Galls Insubres*, was incompassed and lost above 6600 men. *Livius lib.* 31. *Galba* the Consul prospereth against *Philip*. A. M. 3805. *Ol.* 145. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 554. *Seleucidarum* 113. *Ant. M.* 24. *Ptol. Epiph.* 4.

53. Nothing considerable was this year done in *Macedonia* by *P. Villius Tappulus* the Consul; but his successor *T. Quintius* **Flamininus* (not *Flaminius* as *Plutarch* now hath him; for the *Flaminini Patritians* must not be confounded with the *Flaminii* who were *Plebeians*) using great expedition beat *Philip* out of the Straights, wherein securely he had incamped, and by Sea his brother *Lucius* (with *Attalus*) took several towns of his confederates, and besieged *Corinth*, though in vain. The time coming for the election of new Consuls, and it being usual for them to take the Provinces from their predecessors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, that this course hindred the progresse of the Wars, and procured *Quintius* his Government to be continued to him, who being about taking of the Castle of *Opus*, Messengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met (which before they had also done at the Straights) and the Ambassadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Achæans* were present; but the effect was nothing, and *Philip* gave up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who used the Inhabitants with great cruelty and incredible exaction. But *Quintius* following *Philip* into *Thessaly*, gave him such a blow at *Cynoscephalæ*, as forced him to ask Peace, which was granted upon terms moderate enough. All the Cities of *Greece* which he had got in his hands, were hereby, beyond all expectation, and to the wonder of themselves and others, set at liberty, and left to their

* *Apud Livium l.* 32.

And so doth *Flaminius*.

One good thing done by the Tribunes of the People envied.

Philip overthrown by *Flaminius* at *Cynoscephalæ*, desireth, and obtaineth peace. A. M. 3809. *Ol.* 146. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 558. *Ant. M.* 28. *Ptol. Epiph.* 8.

their own Laws. The year preceding this conclusion, did the *Galls* receive a great overthrow from *Cornelius* the Consul. But in *Spain*, *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* was totally defeated. The same year wherein the *Macedonian* War ended, the slaves in *Tuscany* made a dangerous Rebellion, but were chastized, and quieted, by *Atilius* the *Prætor*. And about the same time was another victory obtained over the *Galls*. SECT. 2.

54. The year after the ratification of the peace, some bickering there was in the Citie about the women. For, twenty years before, there had been a Law preferred by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, presently after the defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding women the wearing of Gold or Purple, and the use of any other kind of Pomp. This now did two of the present Tribunes labour to abrogate, the face of things being changed, and the occasion removed. *M. Porcius Cato* the Consul stood stifly for preserving the Law, inveighing much against the Females; but partly through the apposite reply of *L. Valerius* the Tribune unto the Consul, out of his own book, called *Origenes*, and especially through the importunity of the women themselves (who with liberty of behaviour sufficient filled the streets, and came to the Assembly, and constrained two of the Tribunes to let fall their interposition) it was abrogated. A. M. 3810. *V. C.* 559.

The *Oppian* Law against the women repealed.

Cato then betook himself into *Spain* his Province, where using severity towards himself as well as his Soldiers, he restored the *Roman* interest by good Discipline. Having led his Army upon the back of the *Spaniards*, and thereby necessitated them to fight, he overthrew them in a great battel, and took their Camp; after which, notwithstanding the fickleness of the Natives, he reduced the Province to obedience. The same Summer did *L. Valerius Flaccus* his Collegue give another overthrow to the *Galls* in *Italy*.

55. In *Greece*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, still held it, and *Argos*, in slavery; wherefore the freedom of them still was wanting to the universal liberty of *Greece*, resolved to be vindicated from the oppression of the *Macedonian* party. *Quintius*, upon *Nabis* his refusal to quit *Argos*, besieged them both, and took in *Gytheum* a Port Town, which drove *Nabis* to ask peace. *Quintius* was not against it, urging to the *Gracian* Allies the length, which was likely to be of the siege of *Sparta*, the unseasonableness of the Winter season, and the War that threatned from *Antiochus* King of *Asia*; but indeed fearing lest one of the new Consuls taking *Macedonia* for his Province, might rob him of the glory of ending the whole controversie in these parts. Yet the *Greeks* being earnest for suppressing the Tyrant, he seemed to yield to it, and afterwards put them off by demanding such supplies as they could not furnish him with. Notwithstanding this, the peace could not be made; for, *Nabis* accepted not of the terms, especially of parting with his ships. Hereupon *Sparta* was set upon round about, and had been taken, but that *Pythagoras* son-in-law to the Tyrant set the out-houses on fire, which drove away the Inhabitants. Though the onset succeeded not, yet the danger put *Nabis* into such a fright, that he now accepted of the former conditions, and had peace granted him; the *Argives* having ere this taken heart at the absence of *Pythagoras* their Governour, and freed themselves. The following year *T. Sempronius* the Consul killed many of the *Galls* who had set upon his Camp, but with great losse of his own men. Several times had the *Romans* now the better against these people, and the *Ligurians*. Then came they flatly to fall out with *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, and began a War with him five years after the ending of the *Macedonian*, in the 563 year of the Citie, the second of the 147 *Olympiad*, the 33th of *Antiochus*, and the 13th of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, A.M. 3814. *P. Corn. Scipio Nasica*, and *Manius Acilius Glabrio* being Consuls.

Motions in *Greece*.

The *Romans* fight prosperously against the *Galls*.

Sect. 3.

SECT. III.

From the war with Antiochus, *and the invasion of* Asia, *to the destruction of* Carthage, *after which the* Romans *degenerated through security, the space of* 45 *years.*

The occasions of the War with *Antiochus.*

1. *Antiochus* had invaded the Territories of *Attalus*; but being then the friend of the *Romans*, gave over his Enterprize at their desire. After this, having an hungry desire after *Egypt*; upon application of the *Egyptians* to *Rome*, he was commanded to desist, which breeding in him discontent, it was heightned by reason of his setting upon several Cities in *Greece*. He said that they once had belonged (though not of a long time) to his Predecessors; but the *Romans* being ambitious to set all *Greece* at liberty, plainly told him that these Towns must not be excepted. When he was thus enough incensed, and by *Hannibal* (who had fled to him) spurred on, the *Ætolians* importuned him to joyn with them against their late friends and benefactors. This they did, being an inconstant people, and very covetous, having taken offence at the small quantity of booty, as they accounted it, allotted to them in the War against *Philip*, by *T. Quintius*.

Things introductive to it.

2. The *Ætolians* first of all attempted to get into their hands *Lacedæmon*, and other Towns, before held as cautionary by *Quintius*; but missed of their design, though they brake into the former, and killed *Nabis* the Tyrant; for, they were afterwards cut in pieces by the Inhabitants themselves. *Antiochus* having through the cunning insinuations of *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, changed his purpose of sending *Annibal* into *Africk*, and thence into *Italy*, landed in *Greece*, with an intention to make it the Seat of War. He brought an inconsiderable Army with him; but seemed to have made a good beginning, having got *Chalcis* into his hands, and by that means easily brought under the whole Island of *Eubœa*. After this, he sent, and buried the dead bodies of the *Macedonians* slain at *Cynoscephalæ*, thinking thereby to oblige *Philip*, who taking it as tending to his reproach, because he had not done it before, it proved but an effectual means to make him his Enemy, the *Thessalians* being no better affected, because he had taken some of their Towns. Then wintring at *Chalcis*, he fell in Love with, and married an obscure maid; his Army which before was indifferently good, falling with him into all idleness and excesse.

M. Acilius the Consul defeateth *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ.*

3. *M. Acilius* the Consul, to whom *Greece* fell by lot, easily recovered the places of *Thessaly*; and afterwards beat *Antiochus* out of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, whither, being deserted by his confederates, he had retired, as is shewn in the History of his Kingdom. Then the Consul received the *Bœotians*, chiding them onely for their ingratitude, and the Gates of *Chalcis* being set open to him, he presently recovered *Eubœa*. This done, he went against the *Ætolians*, from whom after he had taken one or two Towns they offered to submit, but being offended with the hard conditions he propounded, and for that large things were promised by *Antiochus*, they flew back. Hereupon he besieged *Naupactus* (now *Lepanto*) and had utterly ruined them, but for the intercession of *T. Quintius*. For he having then received the Island of *Zacynthus* from the *Athenians*, came to the Camp, and though they had ill deserved at his hands by detracting from his worth, yet thinking it dishonourable for him, being the deliverer of *Greece*, that any one people should perish, he proposed to the Consul to be considered, whether *to counterpoise the power of* Philip, *who now had got by his leave* Athamania, Perrhebia, Aperantia, *and* Dolopia *into his hands, it would not be good policy to preserve the Ætolians*. For this respect, and at their humble sute he gave them Truce, that they might send to the Senate at *Rome*, and broke up his siege. Whilest *Acilius* did these things in *Greece*, his Collegue *Scipio Nasica* got a notable

A. M. 3814. *Ol.* 147. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 563. *Seleucidarum* 122. *Ant. Mag.* 33. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 13.

Sect. 2.

rable victory over the *Boii* in *Italy*, which utterly broke their power in pieces.

L. Cornelius Scipio the Consul obtaineth *Greece* for his Province with leave to passe into *Asia.*

4. *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius Nepos*, being Consuls for the following year, came, according to the custom, to divide the Provinces by lot. Both were extreamly desirous to have *Greece*, and *Lælius* being a man in great favour, offered that the thing might be left to the discretion of the Senate. *Scipio* at first knew not what to do, but his brother *Africanus* perswaded him by all means to assent to it. The thing was new, and the Senate expected many words on both sides, when *Africanus* standing up, told the *Fathers*, that if they would decree *Greece* to his brother, he would go his *Legatus* or *Lieutenant*, whereupon there was no need any more should be said; for it was presently voted with universal consent, and power given to the Consul to passe into *Asia*, if he saw it convenient. Coming into *Greece* he found *Acilius* fallen upon the *Ætolians* again, because the Senate had given them no positive answer, either as to peace or War; onely two things were proposed: *To cast themselves wholely upon the Senate, or pay down* 1000 *Talents, and have the same friends and enemies with the* Romans. When they desired an exposition of the former, no answer would be given, but a command to their Ambassadors to depart: The Consul prosecuted what his Predecessor had begun, and with much ado, through the intercession of the *Athenians* by *Africanus*, another Truce was granted that they might have time once more to send to *Rome*. There their Ambassadors instead of confessing their faults, and asking pardon, boasted what friends and assistants they had been to the *Roman* State, which gave such offence, that they were commanded out of the Citie, as before.

Antiochus affrighted at his bad successe at Sea maketh offers.

5. *Antiochus* having with his son *Seleucus* besieged *Pergamus* the Chief Citie of *Eumenes*, the friend of the *Romans*, was forced to raise his siege. He sent to *Æmilius* the *Roman* Admiral now on those Coasts about peace, who disowned any power of concluding it without the Consul. Then did the *Rhodians* at Sea defeat his Admiral, which was *Hannibal*, a man out of his proper Element, and afterward in a battel fought with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, he fully lost the command of the Sea. Affrighted hereat, he foolishly left *Lysimachia*, which this year might have kept the Consul in action, and adding one folly to another suffered *Scipio* to passe the *Hellespont* without interruption. Now he offered to quit all places in *Europe*, and such in *Asia* as were the friends of *Rome*; to discharge half of the costs sustained by the *Romans* in the War, and rather than not be quiet, he was content to part with a portion of his own Kingdom. These seemed but small things to the Consul, who thought it just that he, who had been the cause of the War, should bear all the charges of it, and not onely quit *Ionia* and *Æolis*, but leave all the *Greek* Cities to their liberty, which could not be, except he parted with all *Asia* on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. The Ambassador had in charge to procure the favour of *Africanus*, to whom was offered the restitution of his son taken prisoner, and all that could be expected on this side the title of King, if he would live with him. But all private Offices of kindnesse onely would *Africanus* promise, desiring him by all means to procure peace, and, when he had received his son, not to fight till he should (being now sick) return to the Camp. This caused *Antiochus* to delay fighting, but the Consul followed, and provoked him to give battel, wherein his own Chariots Armed with Scithes, being driven back upon his own men, procured his overthrow. After this, peace was granted on the same terms as it had been offered to him before the battel. And thus this War ended in a short time, and lesse trouble than was expected, the second Consul putting a period to it, who in imitation of his brother took on him the firname of *Asiaticus*.

Which are rejected.

He is overthrown, and hath peace granted upon former demands.

6. The year following, wherein *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, the former going into *Greece* fell upon the *Ætolians*, who now had taken from *Philip* Dolopia, and *Amphilochia* with *Athamania*; and besieging *Ambracia*, drove them once more to sue for peace. They were re-

Livius lib. 38.

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referred by the Conſul to *Rome*, where the Ambaſſadors of *Philip* made great complaints againſt them upon the former account. But the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* interceding once more for them, their ſute was granted, on condition to *pay* 500 Eubœan *Talents at ſeveral paiments, to reſtore all priſoners, and have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the People of* Rome.

Peace granted to the *Ætolians.*

7. *Cn. Manlius* the other Conſul was now in *Aſia*, where of that part taken from *Antiochus*, much he conferred upon *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, according to the reſult of the Senate. This done, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Gallogracians*, or *Galatians*, a People which having followed *Brennus* into *Greece*, after his death, had 90 years before paſſed into *Aſia*, where they were ſo terrible, as none denied them tribute before *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*. They inhabited vaſt and high mountains, and in that reſpect were with difficulty to be come at; but the Conſul by throwing darts, eſpecially at their huge bodies, made great ſlaughter and ſubdued them. Returning home through *Thrace*, he had well nigh loſt his booty by the inhabitants that lay in wait for it in the woody paſſages, and hardly got leave to triumph, becauſe he had undertaken the War on his own head. It is obſerved, that luxury and idleneſſe were firſt brought to *Rome* by his Army, out of *Aſia*, through the provocations to effeminateneſſe there found, and his looſe and neglected Government.

Manlius ſubdueth the *Galatians.* *Juſtin. lib. 3.*

Luxury firſt brought to *Rome* by his Army.

8. In the third year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, and the ſame wherein he died, envy procured the fall of thoſe by whom the Victory was obtained. For, *Scipio Africanus* was accuſed of having defrauded the Treaſury of the booty taken in the War, and had a day ſet him by the *Tribunes* to anſwer it before the People. It is not certain who was his accuſer, ſome mentioning *M. Nævius*, and others the two *Pætilii* Tribunes, ſet on, as ſome delivered, by *M. Porcius Cato* the Enemy of *Scipio*. The day of hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their places in the *Roſtra*, the party entred the Aſſembly with a great train of Friends and Clients. Silence being made, he put on his triumphal crown, and told the People, how as that day he had overthrown *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; wherefore thinking it convenient for that time not to medle with any brawling buſineſſe, he would go and ſalute the gods in the Capitol, and give them thanks, that as well that day, as at other times, they had given him both will and power to do eminent ſervice for his Countrey. Then he wiſhed that ſuch of them there preſent as thought it convenient, would accompany him, and pray that they might have ſuch principal Officers (*Principes*) as he had been.

Scipio Africanus called to account by the *Tribunes.*

Lege Livium lib. 28. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 7. exemp. 1. Gellium Noct. Attic. l. 4. c. 18.

A. M. 3818. *Ol.* 148. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 567. *Seleuci Philop.* 2. *Ptol. Epiphan.* 17.

9. Going up to the Capitol, the whole Aſſembly followed him, as alſo to all the temples in the City, inſomuch that the very *Viators* and *Clerks* left the *Tribunes* alone, who alſo followed, and from accuſers turned admirers, (as appeareth from *Valerius Maximus*) out of very ſhame. The *Tribunes* accuſed him alſo grievouſly in the Senate, and deſired he might be brought to his anſwer. He riſing up, produced the Books of accounts, wherein was punctually ſet down all the particulars, but he tore it in pieces before them all, diſdaining to give account for ſo ſmall a matter in compariſon of thoſe vaſt ſums he himſelf had brought into the Treaſury. The next day of appearance he abſented himſelf, and his brother pretending his indiſpoſition, he was excuſed, and another day appointed, before which he withdrew himſelf to *Linternum* (or *Liternum*) a Sea Town of *Campania*. For he clearly perceived under what envy he laboured, it being alſo objected againſt him, that he had ſpent in idleneſſe all that Summer he lay in *Sicily*, and his power with *Antiochus*, who having diſcharged his ſon without ranſom, honoured him above all others, which he willingly took upon him, as one, who alone ſate at the helm, and could ſteer matters concerning *Rome* according to his pleaſure. In his abſence the *Tribunes* were very fierce againſt him, yet through the interpoſition of *Tiberius Gracchus* (formerly accounted his Enemy) he was not condemned.

His great ſpirit.

He departeth to *Linternum* and is not condemned through the procurement of *Gracchus.*

10. *Lucius*

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10. *Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus* his brother was alſo called to an account, and eſcaped not condemnation, the money ſuppoſed to be retained to his own uſe, being charged upon his eſtate; and he was kept from impriſonment meerly by the power of *Gracchus*. The following year was diſcovered the abhominable practice of certain women at the feaſts of *Bacchus*, which being kept in the night, all manner of filthineſſe and continual murders were committed. At firſt theſe feſtivals were obſerved but three dayes in a year; but now five in every moneth, and men were admitted, whereas they were begun by women. All who being preſent and drawn in, would not conſent to ſuch abhominations, were ſacrificed as beaſts, a vaſt number being bewitched with this folly. The matter being revealed to *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* the Conſul, he acquainted the Senate with it, by which, order was taken for apprehending the perſons, impriſoning ſome, and putting others to death, as well in other parts of *Italy*, as in the City; the contagion having infected many other places, but eſpecially *Capua*. It was brought to *Rome* out of *Hetruria*.

Aſiaticus his brother is fined.

The abhominable practices at the *Bacchanalia* diſcovered.

Livius lib. 39. Val. Max. l. 6. cap. 3. exemp. 7. Auguſtin de Civitate Dei l. 18. c. 13.

A. M. 3819. *V. C.* 568.

11. In the ſecond or third year after this diſcovery, and the fourth of his exile, died *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, whether at *Linternum*, or *Rome*, is unknown, the place of his burial being alſo uncertain. That he died this year, *Livy* gathereth, becauſe having been *Prince* or chief of the Senate at the former Luſtrum, this year he was left out, (which none uſed to be as long as he lived) by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato* the *Cenſors*, the former whereof was choſen into the place. *Valerius Maximus* telleth us, that he commanded this to be ingraven on his Tomb, *Ingrata Patria ne oſſa quidem mea habes*, which ſheweth that he was not buried at *Rome*. He had that hap which uſually accompanieth the beſt men, to find their Country ingrateful, being of excellent parts, and of a kingly ſpirit, which he aſcribed to himſelf in *Spain*, when the natives ſaluted him by, and would have had him take upon him, the title it ſelf. And upon this account he might be hated by *Cato*, who though a virtuous man, was moroſe and ſowre. *Livy* joyneth with his (in the ſame year) the death of *Philopœmen*, and of *Hannibal*; ſo that the three great Captains of the World at that time, left it deſolate as it were by agreement. *Philopœmen* Captain of the *Achæans* was through the fall off his Horſe, taken in an engagement with the *Meſſenians*, and compelled to drink poyſon, having done great ſervice for his Countrey. *Hannibal* having notice that the *Romans* would demand him from *Antiochus*, fled into *Crete* to the *Gortynians*. Having great treaſure with him, and knowing himſelf to be in much danger, becauſe of the Avarice of the *Cretans*, he filled many barrels with Lead, which covering on the top with Gold, he depoſited in the Temple of *Diana*, truſting the *Gortynians* with his wealth. Then put he his money into brazen Statues, wich he was wont to cary about with him, and caſt them before the gate. They then watching the Temple diligently from none ſo much as him, he got away ſecretly, and went to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, who uſed him in the Warre againſt *Eumenes*. But *T. Quintius* being ſent to *Pruſias*, whether by the Senate on purpoſe, or upon other occaſions, demanded him as the grand enemy of *Rome*, to be delivered into his hands. He had provided in his houſe ſeveral places for iſſuing out upon ſuch an occaſion; but being beſet, and no way left to eſcape, he took poyſon, which it's ſaid he caried about him in his ring. So this renowned Captain ended his life in his 70 year; for which thing *Quintius* was by many hardly thought of, and got the eſteem of an importune and cruel man, as *Plutarch* writeth.

Africanus dieth.

And *Philopœmen* General of the *Achæans.*

Lege Livium ut ſupra. Corn. Nepot. in Hannibale. Juſtin l. 32. Auctorem lib. de viris illuſtrib.

And *Hannibal*, all three in one year.

12. After theſe things, the *Ligurians* were often defeated by the Conſuls and other Commanders; many a thouſand of them being ſlain, as alſo of the *Celtiberians* and other Nations in *Spain* who were continually rebelling. The *Iſtrians* beat the *Romans* out of their camp, and put them to the rout; *Manlius* the Conſul in vain oppoſing it; but ſhortly after they were diſcomfited by the ſaid *Manlius*, and afterward fully ſubdued by *Claudius* the Conſul, who quelled alſo the *Ligurians*, as his Collegue *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*

Livius l. 40, 41.

Several Nations ſubued.

Sect. 3. *chus* did the rebellion of *Sardinia*, with the loſſe of 1500 of the revolters. About this time *Corſica* alſo was ſubdued. The year following, *Cornelius* one of the Conſuls died at the bath at *Cuma*, into whoſe place *C. Valerius Lævinus* was elected. *Petilius Spurinus* the other Conſul fighting againſt the *Ligurians*, laboured to take a certain Mountain called *Letus*, concerning which in his ſpeech to his Soldiers he ſaying, that that day he would take *Letus* (*Hodie ego Letum utique capiam*) by raſh fighting confirmed what he had ſaid in another ſence (*viz.* wherein *Lethum* ſignifieth death) than he had meant it. Theſe actions abroad were ſhortly after followed by the ſecond *Macedonian* War, or that with *Perſeus*, in the 583 year of the City, 24 after the Peace made with his Father, and ſeventeen after the concluſion with *Antiochus*.

The War with *Perſeus*.

13. *Perſeus* in a manner ſucceeded to this War as well as the Kingdom, his Father having intended and made great preparations for it. Puffed up by theſe preparations, he ſought to draw away the Allies of the *Romans* from their friendſhip, and abuſed ſeveral of their friends. Their Ambaſſadors he ſlighted, refuſing to give them audience, which made the Senate reſolve upon the War; but it was to be committed to one of the following Conſuls; only for the preſent, *Cn. Sicinius* the *Prætor* of the City was commanded to raiſe men, and tranſport them into *Epirus*, there to ſeize on the Sea-towns, that the Conſul might more freely land his Army. Some were ſent alſo into *Greece* to confirm the States in their friendſhip and alliance, who alſo demanding audience of *Perſeus*, after long waiting, he renounced the league made with the *Romans*, as entred into at the beginning of his reign meerly for ſecurity. Hereupon the Ambaſſadors renounced alſo the confederacy made with him, and after that the Conſuls *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus* had aſſumed their Office, the Warre was propounded to, and decreed by, the People.

14. *Quintus Martius* and others being ſent into *Greece* to eſtabliſh the confederates in their fidelity, *Perſeus* began to bethink himſelf, and was affrighted, hearing of the motions of the Eneny. He applied himſelf to *Martius* about a Treaty for Peace, truſting to that friendſhip which had paſſed betwixt their two families. The Ambaſſadors were glad of this addreſſe, and to divert him granted him Truce, that he might ſend to *Rome*, for he had all

Peace is denied him by the Senate.

things in a readineſſe, and might have begun the War, as with great advantage to himſelf, ſo too ſpeedily to the *Romans*, who as yet had neither Army nor Leader arrived. Peace was denied him by the Senate, and *A. Atilius* was ſent to ſeize upon *Lariſſa* the chief City of *Theſſaly*. Whereupon he drew together his Forces, having got a greater Army than any of his predeceſſors were Maſters of ſince *Alexander* the Great. He took in ſome Towns upon his borders, and *Licinius* the Conſul led ſo raw and unexperienced an Army into *Macedonia*, and through ſuch difficult and almoſt unpaſſable places, as had *Perſeus* taken his opportunity, he might eaſily have deſtroyed it, as alſo if he had not too ſoon retreated in a battel fought ſhortly after. After this he ſent to *Licinius*, offering to embrace the conditions ſubmitted to by his Father, in paying the tribute, and leaving the Cities to their liberty; which yet would not be granted. Then were *Thebes* and *Aliartus* taken in by *Lucretius* the *Prætor*; and the *Conſul* having had the better in another skirmiſh, received ſome Towns, and took up his winter quarters; whilſt *Appius Claudius* in *Illyricum* loſt many men.

A. M. 3834. *Ol.* 152 *an.* 2. *V. C.* 583. *Seleucid.* 142. *Ant. Epiph.* 6. *Ptol. Philom.* 10.

Thebes and *Aliartus* taken.

15. The year following *C. Hoſtilius* the Conſul did nothing of moment; yet this he did in reference to the Army; he reduced the Soldiers to that antient diſcipline which his predeceſſor had let fall. *Q. Marcius Philippus* ſucceeding him, at his firſt entrance into his Province might eaſily have been defeated, had he met with a prudent enemy, the wayes being ſo difficult and dangerous, that the Soldiers could ſcarcely for wearineſſe hold their weapons. And after he had got into the plains he might eaſily have been ſhut up on every ſide, and famiſhed, but that *Perſeus* beſotted with fear ran away to *Pydna*, and left the Straights open to him. Yet *Martius* did nothing of conſequence, leaving

Perſeus beſotted with fear neglecteth his opportunities.

leaving all to be performed by his Succeſſor *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had been Conſul 17 years before. He cauſed the Eclypſe of the Moon to be foretold to his Soldiers, leſt they ſhould be diſcouraged by it, which brought great terrour to the Enemy, that knew nothing of the natural cauſe. He kept them from fighting when they were weary, though the Officers much deſired to ingage. But the Armies lying incamped on each ſide of the River *Enipeus*, it hapned that a beaſt paſſing over from the *Roman* ſide, was ſeized on, and being reſcued by degrees drew both the Armies into an ingagement, wherein *Perſeus* loſt the day, and with it his Kingdom. Flying into the Iſle of *Crete*, when all forſook him, he delivered up himſelf into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* ſeverely chaſtized the *Epirots*, who had joyned with *Perſeus*, plundering and demoliſhing about 70 of their Towns, whereby ſo much booty was got, as each foot-man had 200 *Denarii*, and every horſ-man as much more. But the Soldiers having got little or no plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the King's Treaſure, denied their General a Triumph, which yet he obtained, and that very ſplendid. Of his four ſons, the two eldeſt he granted to be adopted to *Fabius Maximus*, and *Publius Scipio* the ſon of *Africanus*, and of his two youngeſt, the one died five dayes before his Triumph, and the other three dayes after, which loſſe he ſuſtained with great courage. Before his Triumphal Chariot was led *Perſeus* with his two ſons, and this ſame year Triumphed *Cn. Octavius* the *Prætor* at Sea, beſides *L. Anicius*, before whoſe Chariot was led *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, whom being the Confederate of *Perſeus* he had ſubdued, and forced to yield himſelf. This hapned to *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, in the 586 year of the Citie, the ſaid *Æmilius*, and *L. Licinius Craſſus* being Conſuls.

Livius l. 45. *Plutarch in Æmylio.*

Is overthrown by *Æmilius* the Conſul, and yeildeth himſelf.

Sect. 3.

16. In the late War, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, being wrought upon by *Perſeus*, ſtood Neuters, whereupon *Eumenes* coming towards *Rome*, the *Senate* being unwilling either to declare him friend or foe, made a decree in General, that no King ſhould come into the Citie: the *Rhodians* with much ado, and after much ſeeking, were hardly received as friends and confederates. The ſame year that *Perſeus* was overthrown, *Antiochus Epiphanes* beſieging *Ptolomy* in *Alexandria*, upon the deſire of the beſieged. *C. Popillius Lænas* an auſtere man, with *C. Decimus*, were ſent from the Senate to command him to deſiſt, which he obeyed. After this the *Romans* fought in *Liguria* and *Corſica* with various fortune, the *Dalmatians* who had waſted the Borders of *Illyricum* and had overcome, and were overcome by *C. Marcius*, were ſubdued by *Scipio Naſica*. But in *Spain* things went ſo badly, and ſuch loſſes were received, that the Citie was abaſhed, none being found who would either go Lieutenant to the Conſul, or take place of a *Tribune* upon him, till *Scipio Æmilianus* (the ſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted by *Scipio* the ſon of the *African*) ſtanding up offered himſelf, and by his example drew on others. He went Lieutenant to *Lucullus* the Conſul, and behaving himſelf moſt gallantly in the War, killed an Enemy in a Duel which had challenged out any one in the Army, and firſt mounted the Walls of *Intercatia*.

Livii Epitom. lib. 46.

Eumenes and the *Rhodians* having ſtood Neuters, are accordingly reſpected by the Senate.

Velleius Paterculus l. 1. *c.* 10.

Things go ill in *Spain*.

17. *Lucullus* ſubdued ſeveral Nations in *Spain*, though *Sulpicius Galba* unfortunately fought againſt the *Luſitanians*. About the ſame time one *Andiſcus* a counterfeit ſon of *Perſeus*. He was once ſent to *Rome* by *Demetrius* the King of *Syria*, but making thence an eſcape returned, and renewed his claim to *Macedonia*, which partly by fair means, and partly by conſtraint, he got into his hands. *Juventius* the *Prætor* was firſt ſent againſt him; but he having ſtrengthned himſelf with the *Thracians*, cut him off and all his Army, and invaded *Theſſaly*, whence he was ejected by the help of the *Achæans*. After this, *Q. Metellus* the *Prætor* ſufficiently revenged the Commonwealth upon him, for he overthrew him in a great battel, whence he fled to *Byzus*, a petty King of *Thrace*, who delivering him up, he led him in Triumph. *Metellus* (accounted moſt fortunate) reduced *Macedonia* in this third *Macedonian* War into the form of Province, which ſhortly after

Floras lib. 2. *c.* 12. *Velleius lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *Oroſius lib.* 4. *cap.* 22.

A. M. 3857. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 606. *Ptol. Philom.* 33.

Is taken.

SECT. 3. after also hapned to *Africk*. For, even now was profecuting with all earneſtneſſe the third and laſt *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, and the ruin of the Citie *Carthage* it ſelf.

18. Their opinion is not faulty, who profeſſe not to be able to find any Meritorious cauſe of this War in the *Carthaginians*, & theirs, who affirm that *Carthage* was more hated for its competition of Empire, than for any fault it had committed in thoſe times. But there wanted not pretences. For, divers times had *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians*, quarrelled about grounds upon the Borders, and often had the *Romans* ſent to take up the quarrel, but eſpecially of late not with indifferency had they judged, for that the fault lay in *Maſaniſſa*, who being a great friend of theirs, preſumed too much upon their affection to himſelf, and the jealouſie wherewith he knew them prejudiced againſt the other. The Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent to *Carthage*, finding the Citie full, and flouriſhing, from that peace they had now enjoyed about fifty years, and provided alſo for War as well as peace, ſpake much of the danger which threatned *Rome* from it; eſpecially *Cato*, who never came into the *Senate*, but after that he had ſpoken his mind to any buſineſſe, added, *This I think, and that* Carthage *is to be deſtroyed.* He was earneſtly contradicted by *Scipio Naſica*, who feared, that this rival for Empire once being removed, ſecurity would breed the deſtruction of the Commonwealth, as it too truely proved, this ſecurity being ſtrengthned by luxury and avarice, which the *Aſiatick* Triumphs had brought in. But *Cato*'s reaſons drawn from preſent danger, ſo, in the apprehenſion of the Senate, over-ruled *Scipio*'s forecaſt, that they reſolved upon a War, and kept the reſolution cloſe till they could catch at a convenient opportunity and pretence.

The pretences for the third Punick War.

Lege Polyb. Excerpt. lib. 33. Appian. in Punicis. Livii Epitom. Lib. 49, &c. Flor. lib. 2. cap. 15. Eutrop. lib. 4. Oroſium lib. 4. cap. 22.

19. There being at this time three factions in *Carthage*, one affected towards the *Romans*, another ſtanding for the true intereſt of the State it ſelf, and the third for *Maſaniſſa*, this later was expelled by the ſecond, and a Law made that they ſhould never be again received. Thoſe men flying to *Maſaniſſa*, he ſent *Guluſſa* his ſon to intercede for them, who being laid in wait for by *Amilcar Samnis*, although he eſcaped, yet thereupon the King beſieged *Horoſcopa*, a Town he much deſired; which act was expreſly againſt the articles of the League. *Aſdrubal* went with a great Army to raiſe the ſiege, and a bloudy battel was fought, wherein the *Carthaginians* were overthrown; but more died of the Plague, being incompaſſed near a Lake, which by its noiſom vapours corrupted the air. Hereby the remnant were forced to yield, and conſent to a great Tribute, with the receiving back of their Exiles, and yet were they almoſt all ſlain by a party of horſe ſent againſt them, out of revenge by *Guluſſa*. The *Carthaginians* therefore had now had an Army in the field, and that againſt a confederate of *Rome*, which was againſt the tenour of the laſt League. This advantage the *Romans* took, and ordered the Conſuls to undertake the War, though the other condemned thoſe that had broken the League, and moſt humbly offered any reaſonable ſatisfaction. *M. Manilius Nepos*, and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* being now on their journey, it was anſwered, that they ſhould enjoy all as formerly, if within 30 dayes they would ſend 300 hoſtages, (all ſons of Senators, or the principal Citizens) to *Lilybæum*, and do what the Conſuls ſhould further command them. The *Carthaginians* deſirous to give ſatisfaction within the time limited ſent the Children, and when now the Conſuls were landed at *Utica* (which being a Sea-Town convenient for their purpoſe had been ſeized on beforehand) thither they ſent their Commiſſioners to wait on them, and know their pleaſure. *Cenſorinus* the Senior Conſul commending their diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any deceit were delivered up. Now with tears imploring mercy they deſired to know their laſt doom, and were commanded to leave their Citie (which the Conſuls had order to level with the ground) and build another any where in their own Territories, ſo it were but ten miles from the Sea. This they received with great horrour and rage, and all reſolved rather to die than forſake, or give way to the ruin of, their antient ſeat and habitation.

The *Carthaginians* being commanded to leave their Citie, refuſe to obey.

20. The

20. The Conſuls delayed to begin the War, as not doubting in the leaſt but to take the Citie thus diſarmed and naked at their pleaſure. But they found it not ſo; for the Inhabitants acted by indignation and fury, though at firſt ſcarce themſelves, ſetled their minds to reſiſtance, men and women working night and day in making of Arms. Where iron and braſſe were wanting, they made uſe of Gold and Silver; and the women gave the hair of their heads to ſupply the defect of Tow, or Flax. They made alſo *Aſdrubal* (whom before for fear of the *Romans* they had condemned) their General in the field, where he had already a good Army. When the Conſuls came againſt the Citie, they found ſuch reſiſtance that they were diſcouraged; and the reſolution of the beſieged increaſed hereby. They ingaged ſeveral times to their diſadvantage, and might have ſuffered much, had not the Army been ſecured and brought off, through the great wiſdom and courage of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who drew off alſo *Pharneas*, the Maſter of the *Carthaginian* horſ-men, to his own party; which things procured him an exceeding great name. This year died *Maſaniſſa* 90 years old, leaving a ſon but of four years behind him; and truſting his Kingdom with *Scipio*, to be at his diſcretion diſpoſed of to his Children. This ſame year alſo died *Cato*, being about 85 years of age, and lived not to ſee the too much deſired ruin of *Carthage*.

SECT. 3.

And the War beginneth.

Maſaniſſa and *Cato* die.

21. The year following, *Calpurnius Piſo* the Conſul, and *Mancinus* the *Admiral* did no great matters, beſieging *Clupea*, and *Hippo* (a Town ſituate betwixt *Carthage* and *Utica*) to no purpoſe. Within *Carthage*, *Aſdrubal* Grand-ſon to *Maſaniſſa* by his daughter, being joyned in commiſſion with the other *Aſdrubal* without, was accuſed by him as intending to betray the Citie to his Uncle *Guluſſa*, and having nothing to ſay for himſelf, or being too ſlow in it, was knocked on the head by a form in the Council-houſe. Now at *Rome* were all mens eyes upon *Scipio Æmilianus*, looking on him as deſtined to end the War; and whereas he ſought but the *Ædileſhip*, and it was againſt the Law for him to be choſen Conſul ſo young (being but 36. whereas the Law required 43) it was diſpenſed with for this time, and then was he made Conſul, who ſo ordered the matter, though not wholy during his Conſulſhip, as he demonſtrated the people not to have conceived vain hopes concerning him.

Scipio Æmilianus made Conſul, though under the Conſular age.

22. For, reſtoring Diſcipline which had gone much to wreck through the neglect of *Piſo*, he ſoon after took that part of *Carthage*, called *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the *Citadel* or *Byrſa*. Then ſecuring the *Iſthmus* leading to the Citie, he cut off all Proviſions from out of the Countrey, and blocked up the Haven; but the Citizens with incredible induſtry cut out another paſſage into the Sea, whereby at certain times they could receive neceſſaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore in the beginning of Winter ſet upon their forces lying abroad, whereof he ſlew 70000. and took 10000. ſo that now no relief could be obtained from without. In the beginning of Spring, he firſt took the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and then the *Forum*, where was a moſt lamentable ſpectacle, ſome being killed by the ſword, and other wayes, others half killed by the fall of houſes, or by fire, or half buried in the earth; or having one Limb torn from another. Six dayes the ſiege of the Citadel continued. On the ſeventh it was deſired by ſome that all who would come forth ſhould have their lives, which being granted to all but revolters, ſome 50000 yielded, and afterward *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who was reviled for it by the revolters (who ſet fire to the Temple, and therewith burnt themſelves) as alſo by his wife, which threw her ſelf with her two Children into the flames.

Taketh *Carthage*.

A. M. 3859. *Ol.* 158. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 608. *Ptol. Phyſconis* 1.

23. Then was the Citie deſtroyed, being 22 miles in compaſſe, and ſo big, that the burning of it continued 17 dayes. The Senate at *Rome* receiving the news joyfully, ſent ten of their own Rank whom they joyned with *Scipio* for diſpoſing of the Countrey. They ordered none of *Carthage* to be left, and that it ſhould never be rebuilt, laying heavy curſes on thoſe that ſhould do it. All the Cities which aſſiſted it in the War were to be razed, and the

Which is razed.

Sect. 4. grounds given to the friends of the People of *Rome*: the reſt of the Towns were to be tributaries, and governed yearly by a *Prator*. All the Captives were ſold, except ſome of the chief. And ſuch was the deſtruction of this renowned City, ſo famous once for command and Empire, and rival to *Rome* it ſelf, after it had ſtood about 700 years, in the fourth after the beginning of the War, the 608 of *Rome*, the third of the 158 *Olympiad*, and the fifth of *Ptolomy Phyſcon*. A. M. 3859, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius Nepos* being Conſuls.

SECT. IV.

From the deſtruction of Carthage *to the War with* Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *which afforded the occaſion to the firſt Civil War, the ſpace of* 58 *years.*

1. THis year was fatal, not onely to the greateſt City of *Africk*, but of *Greece* alſo; *Corinth* that famous Mart-town being levelled with the ground. The occaſion was given by the *Achæans* themſelves, who violated the *Roman* Ambaſſadors (though whether by word or deed is uncertain) who were ſent to diſſolve their Communality, and leave the Cities to their own peculiar Laws, which becauſe of this union and fellowſhip had been too formidable. They had alſo in conjunction with the *Bœotians* and thoſe of *Chalcis*, made War againſt the *Lacedæmonians* the friends and allies of *Rome*, becauſe they would not be ſubject to them. Upon theſe grounds the Senate decreed the War, which *Metellus* as yet in *Macedonia* firſt undertook; who drawing down his Army through *Theſſaly* into *Bœotia*, there overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes*, with *Megara*, and coming to the *Iſthmus* was there treating of Peace, when *L. Mummius* the Conſul came into this his Province. He overthrew *Diæus* the *Achæan* General, after which he entred *Corinth* and razed it, becauſe there the Ambaſſadors had been abuſed. The men were ſlain, and the women and children ſold, with all ſuch ſlaves as the *Achæans* had manumitted for the Wars. As *Scipio*, who deſtroyed *Carthage* (as his Grand-father before him for conquering it) had the ſirname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus* for his reducing *Macedonia*, that of *Macedonicus*; ſo this year *Mummius* for this ſucceſſe obtained the Sirname of *Achaicus*, and according to the cuſtom, having others joyned with him, reduced thoſe parts and all *Greece* with *Epirus* into the form of a Province, called afterwards *Achaia*, not *Greece*, becauſe the *Greeks* were ſubdued when the *Achæans* had the chief command, as *Pauſanias* writeth.

The *Achæan* war, and the deſtruction of *Corinth*.

Lege Velleium Paterc. l. 1. c. 12. Florum l. 2. c. 16. Livii Epitom. lib. 6. c. 51, 52. Pauſan. in Achaicis, & de æve Corinthio Plinium l. 34.

A. M. 3859. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 608. *Seleucid.* 167. *Ptol. Phyſcon.* 1.

Mummius thence ſirnamed *Achaicus.*

2. Now was it 74 years ſince the *Romans*, in the ſecond year of the ſecond *Punick* War, entred *Spain* in an hoſtile manner, and ſince that time, eſpecially ſince the departure of *Scipio Africanus* the elder, many had the riſings and ſtruglings of that People been, of all others moſt impatient of the yoak. Now was *Viriatus* up in arms, who of a ſhepherd became a robber, and of a robber a General over ſuch-like as himſelf, and made the *Romans* work ſufficient for the ſpace of 14 years, in which time he defeated many Armies. *Q. Fabius Maximus Semilianus* (or rather *Æmilianus*, being brother to *Scipio Æmilius*, and adopted by *Fabius Maximus*) after ſome ſucceſſe was yet by him brought to ſuch ſtraights, as glad he was to ask Peace upon equal terms, which *Cepio* the Conſul of the following year refuſing to ſtand to, received orders from the Senate accordingly to proſecute the War. *Cepio* attempted at unawares to deſtroy him; but he eſcaped, and ſending Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, *Cepio* ſo wrought on them, that returning they murdered him, to their own ſhame, and the Conſul's ſmall credit, in his bed.

Viriatus up in *Spain*,

Vide Appianum in Ibericis. Florum l. 2. c. 18.

Is deſtroyed by *Cepio*.

3. But, a more dangerous War than this threatned from *Numantia* a town of no great bigneſſe, yet peopled with moſt valiant, though but few, Inhabitants.

Before

Before *Viriatus* his death they had foiled *Q. Pompeius* the Conſul ſeveral times, and forced him to condeſcend to a diſhonourable Peace, which though he denied, was ſufficiently proved, and by favour onely he eſcaped that puniſhment which fell on *Mancinus*, who being conſtrained to accept of the ſame terms, was delivered up to the Enemy; but (as the *Samnites* formerly did by another after the defeat at *Caudinum*) they refuſed to receive him. After this *Brutus* defeated many thouſands of the *Luſitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallecians*; but *Lepidus* the *Proconſul* ſet upon the *Vaccæi* an harmleſſe People of the hithermoſt *Spain*, or *Hiſpania Terraconenſis* (for in the 559 year of the City, *Spain* was divided into *Citerior* or *Terraconenſis*, and *Ulterior* or *Bætica*, and *Luſitania*, two *Prators* being yearly ſent thither, the number of which Officers was therefore upon this occaſion increaſed to ſix) by whom he was utterly defeated. Theſe things ſo affrighted the *Roman* Soldier, that he almoſt quaked at the ſight of a *Spaniard*, and at *Rome* men were ſeized with great fear and ſhame. Therefore *Scipio Æmilianus Africanus* muſt be created Conſul the ſecond time, as the onely refuge and hope of his Country.

Sect. 4.

Oroſium l. 5. c. 7. Paterc. l. 2. c. 4.

Bad ſucceſſe in *Spain*

Cauſeth *Scipio Æmilianus* to be created Conſul the ſecond time.

4. At the firſt he reſtored diſcipline, the want of which had ſpoiled all, but then coming to engage, found the courage of the Enemy ſuch, that he reſolved to fight no more, but lay cloſe ſiege to *Numantia*, and govern himſelf according to the comportment of affairs. At length the beſieged greatly ſtraightned offered to yield upon reaſonable conditions, or fight if they might have battel given them, which being denied, having drunk ſtrong drink on purpoſe, they aſſailed the beſiegers ſo fiercely, that the *Romans* had run, but that *Scipio* was the General. At laſt they fired the City over their own heads, and ſcarcely one of them remained to be led in triumph. This famous City was ſeated in the hithermoſt *Spain*, in the head of *Gallecia*, and the confines of the *Celtiberians*. It had with 4000 men, for the ſpace of fourteen years, ſaith *Florus*, or twenty according to *Strabo*, born the brunt of 40000 *Romans*, and many times put them to ſhameful flight with great ſlaughter. *Scipio* deſtroyed it, after he had for a year and three moneths continued the ſiege, fourteen years after he had ſo dealt with *Carthage*, in the 621 of the City, A. M. 3871, P. *Mutius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi* (both learned men) being Conſuls. At this time a ſervile War was raiſed in *Sicily* by one *Ennus* a *Syrian* of *Apamea*, the ſlave of *Antigenes* of *Enna*. It was followed by *Calpurnius Piſo* the Conſul, and finiſhed by *P. Rupilius Nepos* his Succeſſor. Twenty thouſand ſlaves were by him ſlain in battel: *Ennus* being caſt in priſon died (it's ſaid, of the lowſie diſeaſe) at *Morgantia*.

He beſiegeth *Numantia* and taketh it.

A ſervile war in *Sicily*.

Excerpt. Diod. Siculi. lib. 34. Oroſius l. 5. c. 9.

5. Ever ſince the beginning of the *Tarentine* War to this time, for the ſpace of almoſt 150 years was there much modeſty, abſtinence, ſelfdenial, valour and virtue amongſt the *Romans* in general, of which yet eſpecially the *Fabii*, *Fabritii*, *Marcelli*, *Curii*, *Metelli*, the *Scipio's* and *Æmilii* have left examples admirable to be commended to all poſterity, ſuch were their cautious and politick yet juſt and noble carriage both at home and abroad. But now the *Aſian* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in exceſſe and riot, and the ruine of *Carthage* having taken away fear, idleneſſe with ſecurity by degrees ſtole in upon them, and the infirmity of the Government (after that fear, which hitherto had preſerved it ſafe, was removed) again effectually ſhewed it ſelf. For though after this time many a People was ſubdued and brought under, and much glory gotten abroad, yet was it ſtained by emulations, jealouſies, and contentions at home, and even by ſhedding the blood of one another in an open though civil feud, which firſt came to paſſe while the former things were performed in *Spain* by *Scipio*.

6. *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* ſon to one of the ſame name (who had been twice Conſul and once Cenſor) by *Cornelia* an excellent woman, daughter of *Africanus* the elder, being *Quæſtor* to *Mancinus* the Conſul in *Spain*, had an hand in the diſhonourable Peace made by him, for which being reflected on by the Senate, or or at leaſt thinking himſelf ſo to be, acted

Oroſius l. 5. c. 8, 9. Florus l. 3. c. 14.

Tiberius *Gracchus* raiſeth a ſedition about the *Agrarian*.

now

Sect. 4. now by ſhame and fear, in diſtaſt of the Nobility, as it's ſaid, he caſt in his head how to become gracious and popular with the commons. Procuring himſelf to be choſen *Tribune*, he preferred a Law, forbidding any man to poſſeſſe above 500 acres of the publick grounds, and ordering the overplus to be divided to the poor. For, ſuch grounds as the People of *Rome* took from their Enemies, they were wont, if tilled, to divide to their own Citizens; if not arable, they then let them out to farm by the *Cenſors* to *Italians*, or the ordinary ſort of *Romans*, on condition, that if they plowed them, they ſhould pay the tenth part of the Corn, and the fifth of other fruits: and if they bred up Cattel, they were charged with a certain rent. But it came to paſſe, that by incredible impudence and licentiouſneſſe of the rich, the Husband-men were outed of their antient poſſeſſions, which by purchaſing and other wayes they got wholly into their hands, ſo that the Publick was defrauded of it's revenue, and the poor of their livelyhoods. For reſtraining the avarice of the rich, the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were enacted. *Gracchus* increaſed the former by adding that, leſt the Law ſhould be wreſted, half ſhould be given to the children, and the reſt divided to ſuch poor as had nothing. And if any went about to inlarge their portion by purchaſe, *Triumviri* or three men ſhould be yearly appointed to judge what ground was publick, and what private.

Joh. Stadius Com. in Flor. l. 3. c. 14.

7. This netled the Nobility exceedingly, who by virtue of this Law were to part with their inheritances; and one of his Collegues, *Octavius* by name, oppoſed it, for which he ſo handled him, as glad he was to quit his place, into which *Gracchus* choſe *Q. Mummius* one of his own faction. This ſeverity being without preſident, much alienated even the minds of the multitude from *Gracchus*, who alſo perceiving there was not ground enough to quiet them all (the expectation of whom he had now raiſed) he offered a Law for diſtributing the money which *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* had left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. The Senate being aſſembled to conſult what was to be done, and all being of opinion that *P. Mutius Scævola* the Conſul ſhould defend the Commonwealth by arms, he refuſed to do any thing by force. Hereupon *Scipio Naſica* taking up his gown under his left arm, held up his right hand, and bade every one that loved the State to follow him. Up he went into the Capitol, being accompanied with moſt of the Senate, many *Equites*, and ſome Commoners, where *Gracchus* was ſpeaking to the People, and endeavoring to be choſen *Tribune* for the following year. They fell upon him and his hearers, whereof they killed 300, and amongſt them himſelf with a piece of a ſeat as he ran down from the Capitol. Thus he fell by the means of his own kinſman, being a moſt excellently accompliſhed man, though too violent in a matter honeſt enough. And this was the firſt blood which in a ſedicious way the *Romans* firſt drew from one another, obſerved by *Cicero* to have been at the ſame time that the other *Scipio* deſtroyed *Numantia*.

Livii Epitom. l. 58.
Velleius l. 2. c. 3.
A. M. 3872. Ol. 161. an. 4. V. C. 621.
Ptol. Phyſc. 14.
Offic. l. 1.

8. At this time were there ſome riſings at *Athens*, and in *Delos*, being as ſparks of that fire formerly kindled by *Ennus* in *Sicily*, which with ſome trouble were extinguiſhed; neither was *Italy* altogether free from them. But a more noble War inſued about the Kingdom of *Aſia*. For, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Aſia* (for ſo he is called, becauſe of a good part of *Aſia* given to *Eumenes* his father) by his laſt will left the People of *Rome* his heir: But after his death *Ariſtonicus* his baſe brother ſeized on the Kingdom as his inheritance. Firſt was *Lucinius Craſſus* the Conſul ſent againſt him, but was overthrown, and being taken ſtruck one of the Soldiers on the eye, on purpoſe to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He having thus miſcaried (though he was aſſiſted in his enterpriſe by ſeveral Kings,) his Succeſſor *M. Perpenna*, haſting into *Aſia* ſet upon *Ariſtonicus* at unawares, when he was not yet recovered of the ſecurity contracted by his Victory, and overthrowing him in battel beſieged him in *Stratonice*, where he forced him by famine to yield, and ſhortly after the Conſul died at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finiſhed by *M. Aquilius* the next year's Conſul, who

Livii Epitom. l. 59.
Oroſius l. 5. c. 8, & 9.
Velleius Paterc. l. 2. c. 4.
Florus l. 2. c. ult.

Propoſing another Law for dividing of money,

He and his complices are killed by the means of *Scipio Naſica* his kinſman, which was the firſt blood drawn by the *Romans* from one another.

Ariſtonicus conteſting with the *Romans* for the Kingdom of *Pergamus*,

Is taken

Sect. 4. who poiſoned Fountains for taking in ſome Cities, and having together with thoſe joyned with him (according to the cuſtom) ſetled the Province with ſufficient oppreſſion of the people, he led *Ariſtonicus* in Triumph, though taken by another man's labour; who by order of the Senate was ſtrangled in priſon, in the 625 year of the Citie, the ſaid *M. Aquilius Nepos*, and *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Conſuls.

And ſtrangled.

9. The civil diſtentions died not with *Gracchus* (who periſhed four years before) his Law for diviſion of the grounds being ſtill in force, and the people being ſenſible of the equity thereof, as they accounted it; for that the rich had got all into their hands, and thoſe that underwent all the toyl in Conquering the Land, were ready to ſtarve, being alſo exhauſted by the Wars, and almoſt none but ſlaves left in *Italy* for ordering of the grounds. *Gracchus* had a younger brother called *Caius*, whom together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Papirius Carbo*, he had made *Triumviri* for diviſion of grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the patronage of the Law, and proſecuting his Enterprize with all earneſtneſſe, ſuch trouble aroſe about the diviſion, in accounting and removing, that the *Italians* finding themſelves agrieved betook themſelves to *Scipio Africanus*. He refuſed not to undertake their patronage, yet in the Senate ſpake nothing againſt the Law; onely thought fit that the executive power thereof ſhould be taken from the *Triumviri*, and given to ſome others. The Senate moſt willingly did this, and conferred it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Conſul, who finding the work troubleſom, went his way under pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being now none to ſtie to in this caſe, the people conceived great indignation againſt *Scipio*, as ingratefull, and favouring the *Italians* more than themſelves, from which his Enemies took occaſion to raiſe further jealouſies. Indeed hearing of *Gracchus* his death at *Numantia* by repeating a verſe in * *Homer* he liked well of what was done to him, and being at his return asked concerning his death, he approved of it before all the people, which being offended at him for it, he rebuked the multitude with contumelious language. But at night going to his Chamber, he meditated of ſomething he intended to ſpeak to the people the day following, and in the morning was found dead in his bed, it's uncertain by what means. *Cornelia* the Mother of the *Gracchi* was ſuſpected to have joyned with her daughter his wife (who being not over-handſome, neither loved him much nor was over much loved) in practizing ſomething upon him. No inquiſition was made after his death, and he was buried privately, though ſo great a man, and one that had been the pillar of the Commonwealth.

Vide Appian. de bello civili lib. 2. Velleium lib. 2. cap. 6. Plutarch in Gracchis. Val. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 2. Exemp. 3. Livii Epitom. lib. 59, 60. Oroſium lib. 5. cap. 10. Florum lib. 3. cap. 15.

The civil diſtentions renewed.

Caius Gracchus, the brother of *Tiberius*, patronizeth his Law.

Scipio *Africanus* the younger dieth ſuddenly.

* Ὃς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτα ῥέζοι. *Odyſſ. 1.*

10. The Poſſeſſors of the grounds ſtill made delayes in the diviſion, and ſome thought that they to whom they were to be divided ſhould in way of recompenſe be made free of the Citie, which however pleaſing to others, was highly diſpleaſing to the Senate. While men muttered much of theſe things, *C. Gracchus* procured the *Tribuneſhip*, and then bearing a grudge to the Senate effectually ſhewed it. He preferred a Law for dividing of the publick Corn to every man monethly, and getting his Office continued to him for another year, that he might gratifie the *Equites*, brought down the Office of judging corrupt Officers from the Senators unto them. *Romulus*, as we ſaid, inſtituted three Centuries of *Equites* or *Horſemen*, whereof one from himſelf was named *Ramnenſis*; another from *Titus Tatius*, *Tatienſis*; and the third from *Lucanio* (or *Lucus*) *Luceris*. Under *Romulus*, and the Kings, they were alſo called *Celeres*, *Flexumines* and *Troſſuli*. Afterwards, *Tarquinius Priſcus* added 300 more, and ſo there continued to be 600 *Equites*. But though they were in the Commonwealth from the beginning, yet had they no peculiar order, authority, or rank, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, that theſe judgements ſhould be peculiar to them. Their reputation thence forward increaſed with various ſucceſſe about the Publicans till *Cicero's* time, who boaſting himſelf of this order, procured it ſuch honour, that from his *Conſulſhip* it came to be as a peculiar order in the State (before being included in the *Plebeian*, though it had a diſtinction by way

Caius getting the *Tribuneſhip* preferreth Laws diſtaſtfull to the Senate.

The Order and Rank of Equites, or Knights, how, and when it came up.

of

SECT. 4. of ſervice) being added to the *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*; out of which reſpect it was written after them both. Thus in ſeveral times were there ſeveral Ranks and diſtinctions; the firſt diſtinction was betwixt *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; then *Plebeians* wreſting from the other a Communion in the greateſt Offices and places, though *Patricians* might ſtill be diſtinguiſhed in reference to Families, yet all Dignities being common to the reſt with them, ſuch *Plebeians* as could riſe to be *Senators*, conſtituted with the other the *Senatorian* rank (which included the *Patritian*, though the *Patritian* not it) thenceforth diſtinct from the *Plebeian* which ſtill contained the *Equites*. Then, as was ſaid, the *Equites* by the means of *Gracchus* and *Cicero* brake out from amongſt the *Plebeians* into a rank of their own.

11. By this Law (ſaith *Florus*) *Gracchus* ſo divided the people of *Rome*, that he made it *double headed* (*bicipitem*, which expreſſion *Varro* alſo uſed, as appeareth from *Nonius*) and the *Equites* having the lives, and fortunes of Senators and Nobles in their hands, by ſeizing on the Revenue, with authority pilled the Commonwealth. He took the beſt time that could be deviſed for the making of the Law, becauſe the Senators having had hitherto the power of judging, were become odious of late, in that for money they had acquitted *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *M. Aquilius*, perſons Capitally guilty of corruption. Its ſaid, he boaſted, that by this Law he had cut the ſinews of the *Senatorian* rank. And ſo he did; for by the authority of judicature they paſſed ſentence upon *Roman* Citizens, *Italians* and *Senators*, noting them with ignominy, baniſhing, or putting them to death at pleaſure, till ſuch time as their power was abated, as will be ſeen. For in the *Comitia*, or *Aſſemblies*, they conſpired with the *Tribunes*, and obtaining thereby what they pleaſed, had all things in their power, and flouriſhed with riches, whereas nothing remained to *Senators*, but a vain ſhew of Dignity. The Senators prevailed with *Servilius Capio* when Conſul, to make themſelves partakers of the power of judging, by a Law which he got preferred; yet ſtill had the *Equites* the better, for 300 *Senators* onely were added to them, who were in number 600. By the Laws of *Livius Druſus*, *Sylla* and *Cotta* their power was abated, *Druſus* making it but equal in judgement with that of *Senators*. *Sylla* transferred it wholely to the *Senators*, and *Aurelius Cotta* communicated the power of judging to three ſorts; *viz. Senators*, *Equites*, and the *Tribuni Ærarii*. But the *Equites* alone were wont to farm the cuſtomes of the *Cenſors* for five years, and thence from their farming the *Publick* Revenue had the name of *Publicans*. Theſe were the principal of the *Equeſtrian* order, the Ornament of the Citie, and the ſtrength of the State, who made ſo many Companies as there were Provinces ſubject to the payment of Toll, Tribute, Cuſtom, or Impoſt.

How the Senators loſt in the tranſlation of the judicial power to the Equites by *Caius*.

Publicans whence ſo called.

12. But, *C. Gracchus*, further than this, to gratifie the *Commons*, repaired the high-wayes throughout *Italy*, ſent forth Colonies, bade the *Italians* ſue for their freedom, and gave power of ſuffrages to other Friends and Allies, contrary to the cuſtom; whom the Senate forbad to come near the Citie, at ſuch time as they knew his Laws would be offered, and to pleaſe the people, they gave way to the ſending out of twelve Colonies. *Gracchus* thus fruſtrated, departed into *Africk* with *Flaccus* his Collegue, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* ſtood; but was diſappointed therein alſo, Wolves, it's ſaid, removing the bounds of the intended Citie by night, as they were laid by day, whereupon the Sooth-ſayers pronounced the deſign unlawfull. Having been twice *Tribune*, he ſtood for it the third time, and had many voices; but his Collegues offended by his vehement carriage, got *Minucius Rufus* choſen into his place, who reſcinded many of his Laws. *Gracchus* inraged hereat, when the Aſſembly was met, went up to the Capitol, accompanied with *Flaccus* and his friends privily Armed. There *Attilius* the Crier of *Opimius* the Conſul taking him by the hand, and deſiring him to ſpare his own Countrey, was ſlain. He then went about to excuſe the fact to the people, but could not be heard, and ſo together with *Flaccus*, and his other Confederates got them home, the Conſul keeping ſtrict watch all night in the Citie.

Caius attempteth other ſeditious acts.

Citie. After this they were cited by the Senate to come and give an account of their actions, but they betook themſelves to the *Aventine* Mount, where fortifying themſelves, they offered in vain liberty to all ſlaves that would come in to them. But the Conſul ſending a party againſt them, *Gracchus* fled into a grove beyond *Tiber*, and procured his ſlave to kill him, who inſtantly after he had cut off his head, run himſelf through with the bloody ſword. *Flaccus* flying to a friends houſe was betrayed and ſlain: and of their party, through the ſevere inquiſition of the Conſul, were put to death 3000 perſons, 11 years after the death of the elder *Gracchus*. In the *Conſulſhip* of this *Opimius* was there ſuch a temper of the air called *Coctura*, that wine being congealed through the heat of the Sun into a conſiſtency of honey, kept good for near 200 years, and from him had the name of *Vinum Opimianum*, being ſtill preſerved in *Plinius* (*a*) his time, though (*b*) *Paterculus* denieth there was any in his, which was long before.

SECT. 4. A. M. 3884. *Ol.* 164. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 631. *Ptol. Phyſc.* 26.

Is deſtroyed with his party.

(*a*) *Plin. l.* 14. *c.* 4. & 14. (*b*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 7.

13. The death of *Gracchus* (whoſe head was not *Sacroſanct*, as *Florus* imagineth, being out of the Office of *Tribune*) for the preſent allayed the diſtempers of the Commonwealth. For, preſently after was a Law made, that any one might ſell his Land, which the Elder *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the poor, partly by purchaſe, & partly by conſtraint, were again diſpoſſeſſed. Afterward the Law for diviſion was fully abrogated by *Sp. Borcus*, and the grounds left to their antient Owners, with this condition, that a Tribute out of them ſhould be payed to the people, and this divided man by man. But not long after another *Tribune* abrogated the Tribute it ſelf, and ſo nothing was left remaining to the poor.

The diſtempers of the State ſomething allayed thereby.

Lege Appianum de bello civili lib. 1.

14. During theſe Domeſtick troubles the *Sardinians* rebelled, and were reduced by *L. Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were puniſhed with the loſſe of their Citie by *L. Opimius* the *Prator*. Upon *Africk* fell ſuch a Peſtilence, as for its Original, and effects, was ſtrange and wonderfull. It aroſe from an infinite number of Locuſts, which having overſpread the ground, and deſtroyed not onely Corn and other fruits, but even Trees and dry things themſelves, at length by a wind were driven into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there putrifying corrupted the air. Hence enſued a moſt fearfull plague, both of men, Cattel, and Fowls. In *Numidia*, where *Micipſa* was now King, 800000 died; upon the Sea-Coaſts about *Carthage* and *Utica* 200000; and in *Utica* it ſelf 30000 Soldiers there lying in Garriſon, 1500 being reported to have been carried out in one day through one Gate alone. Two years after, *Q. Metellus* the Conſul ſubdued the *Iſlands Baleares*, and reſtrained pyracy there maintained, and at the ſame time was carried on the War, called *Bellum Allobrogicum*; which hence aroſe. The *Salies* in *Gall* beyond the *Alps* invaded the *Maſſilians*, the friends of the people of *Rome*, and for this were chaſtized by *Fulvius*, and ſubdued by *C. Sextius Calvinus*. *Teutomalus* their King flying out of the battel, was received, and protected by the *Allobroges*, who alſo invaded the *Ædui* friends of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Arverni*. Firſt, *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* overthrew them, and (by the uſe of Elephants eſpecially) ſlew 20000, and took 3000 priſoners. After him *Q. Fabius Maximus* (Grandſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, by his ſon adopted into the *Fabian* family) defeated them, with the *Arverni* and *Ruteni*, in a bloody battel, wherein 120000 are reported to have been ſlain, and taking *Bituitus* (or *Betultus*) King of the *Arverni* priſoner, obtained the ſirname of *Allobrogicus*. Theſe *Allobroges* inhabited about the Countreys now called *Daulphine* and *Savoy*: the *Ruteni* nearer to the Sea; the *Arverni* more toward the North; the *Ædui* in *Burgundy*, and the *Saloii* or *Salyes* in *Piemont*. Now was *Gallia Narbonenſis* reduced into a Province.

An horrid Peſtilence in *Africk*.

Oroſius lib. 5. *cap.* 12.

The *Allobrick* War.

Livii Epitom. lib. 60, 61. *Florus lib.* 3. *cap.* 2.

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 1.

15. But the *Scordiſci*, a people of *Gallish* Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* Army under *Caio* the Conſul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Countrey by *Didius* the *Prator*, and the Conſul *Druſus*; and after this gave occaſion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which honour *Metellus* alſo had partaken. Theſe tranſactions of *Thrace* are of all

Affairs of *Thrace* very obſcure.

Livii Epitom. lib. 53, & 55. *Florus lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. *Velleius lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.

Sect. 4. others moſt unknown; either becauſe they are confounded with thoſe of *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Myſia*, or *Macedonia*; or becauſe what has been written of that ſubject in particular, hath miſcaried. Now we arrive at two Wars both together, and carying noyſe ſufficient with them through the variery of events, and fulneſſe of hiſtory: *viz.* that with *Jugurtha*, and the other with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Now to know the Original of the former, it's neceſſary to fetch things a little higher.

The original of the War with *Jugurtha*.

16. *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*, that old and conſtant friend of the *Romans*, left three ſons: *Gulaſſa*, *Maſtanabal*, and *Micipſa*, of whom the laſt (his brothers being dead) obtained the Kingdom alone. He had two ſons, *Hiempſal* and *Adherbal*, with whom he brought up *Jugurtha* his brother *Maſtanabal*'s ſon in the ſame condition, and receiving letters from *Scipio* out of *Spain*, who gave him large commendations (and under whom he ſerved with his Uncle's Auxiliary forces) he adopted him. When *Micipſa* was dead, *Jugurtha* murdered *Hiempſal*, and attempted to do as much for *Adherbal*, who fled to the *Romans* for ſuccour. By this time avarice and injuſtice had ſo much poſſeſſed the City, that *Jugurtha* ſenſible of it, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with full hands, who ſo wrought upon the *Senate*, that might overcame right, and it was decreed, that ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to divide the Kingdom betwixt them. The Commiſſioners thinking they might lawfully imitate thoſe that ſent them, were bribed to beſtow the richeſt and beſt Peopled part upon *Jugurtha*, who therewith not ſatisfied, after their departure, fell ſodainly upon *Adherbal*, beſieged him in *Cirtha*, and at length getting him into his hands made him away. For this, War was at length decreed againſt him by the Senate, and committed to the management of *L. Calpurnius Beſtia* the Conſul, in the 643 year of the City, the ſecond of the 167 *Olympiad*, the ſeventh of *Ptolomy Lathurus*, the 25 of *Joh. Hyrcanus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and the ſaid *Calpurnius* being Conſuls.

Lege Salluſt. de bello Jugurthino. Oroſium l. 5. c. 15. Florum l. 3. c. 1. Livii Epitom. lib. 62, 64, 65, 66.

A. M. 3894. V. C. 643.

17. *Calpurnius* invaded *Numidia* with great fierceneſſe, and took in ſome Towns, but was preſently ſtopped in his career, being allured with the golden balls of *Jugurtha*; ſo that a Treaty of Peace was ſet on foot. The Senate was moved hereat, and at the power of *M. Scaurus*, who accompanying the *Conſul* as his friend and counſellor, was guilty of the ſame crime. The People was perſwaded to ſend *L. Caſſius Longinus* the *Prætor* to fetch *Jugurtha* to *Rome* upon the publick faith, to diſcover his complices, whereof he had by gold procured many in the Senate it ſelf. *Caſſius* perſwaded him to caſt himſelf upon the Peoples mercy, and he came to the City in a mourning habit. But coming into the Aſſembly to do as he was commanded, *Bælus* the *Tribune* bade him hold his Peace, being alſo bribed to put off the buſineſſe, and delude the People. At this time there was one *Maſſina* the ſon of *Guluſſa* his couſin german at *Rome*, who when he had murdered *Adherbal* eſcaped out of *Africk*. Him *Albinus* the Conſul, (who gladly would have had to do with *Numidia*) perſwaded to beg the Kingdom of the Senate: but *Jugurtha* having ſome notice hereof, procured him to be killed, and conveyed away the murderer into *Numidia*. Hereupon within a few dayes he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he looked back upon it, and uttered theſe words: *O City that wouldeſt be ſold if there was but a chapman for thee.* This he ſaid, as having himſelf experience of the corruption of it's Inhabitants; ſo horribly were they now degenerated from the fidelity and abſtinence of the preceding age.

Fighting with ſilver weapons he conquereth all oppoſition,

18. *Albinus* followed him with an Army, and at firſt ſeemed to be very ambitious of finiſhing the War, before the creation of new Conſuls. But upon ſome account he prolonged it, and his brother, by virtue of ſome compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the treaſure of the Kingdom lay, when he was about to beſiege it. The Centurions alſo were ſo corrupted, as *Jugurtha* was ſuffered to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forced, or by former agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit unto moſt diſhonourable terms. In this condition *Metellus* the following Conſul

Sect. 4. Conſul found affairs and the Army ſpoiled for want of diſcipline. But bringing the Soldiers into good order, within the ſpace of two years he overthrew

But is humbled by *Metellus*.

Jugurtha ſeveral times, outed him of ſeveral Towns, and chaſed him further than his own borders, which conſtrained him to ſubmit and beg Peace; but the conditions thereof he brake, and the former hoſtility returned. Now was there one *C. Marius*, *Legatus* or *Lieutenant* to *Metellus*, who by his good demeanour won much upon the Soldiers, for being deſirous of the Conſulſhip, he took all wayes to purchaſe their favour. He calumniated *Metellus* privily to the Merchants at *Utica*, avowing that he was able with half of the Army, and that within a few dayes, to take *Jugurtha*. By theſe ſpeeches he procured many complaints to be written to *Rome* againſt *Metellus*, and getting leave to go thither, obtained his deſire, being created Conſul, and had the management of the War committed to him, which now was even ended. Notwithſtanding, the People was ſo grateful to *Metellus*, that at his return, being certified what he had done, they both granted him a Triumph, and beſtowed on him the ſirname of *Numidicus*.

Marius by undermining *Metellus* getteth the Conſulſhip.

19. This was the fourth *Metellus*, who from the Nation ſubdued obtained a ſirname. The firſt was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* ſirnamed *Macedonicus*, of whom we have formerly ſpoken. Much is ſaid of this man's * felicity, whereof this is chief, that when he died, he had, of four ſons, ſeen three *Conſuls*, and the fourth *Prætor*. Of theſe, the firſt was *Q. Metellus* ſirnamed *Balearicus* from his ſubduing the *Baleares*, who was Conſul in the 631 year of the City: the ſecond *L. Metellus*, who was Conſul in the 635 year: the third *M. Metellus*, Conſul in the 639 year, the ſame wherein his father died: and the fourth *C. Metellus* of *Prætorian* rank. But the third of this name who obtained a ſirname was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſirnamed firſt *Diadematus*, becauſe having an ulcer in his forehead, he kept it bound a long time, and afterwards *Dalmaticus*, from the *Dalmatians* whom he ſubdued to get him a Triumph; this People having nothing offended. He was ſon to *L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*, who was Conſul in the 612 year. Laſtly, the fourth thus ſirnamed was this *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus*, who was Conſul together with *M. Junius Silanus* in the 645 year of the City.

Several of the *Metelli* obtained ſirnames from Countries conquered.

* *Conſule Val. Max. l. 7. c. 1. exemp. 1. Patercul. l. 1. c. 11. Ciceron. de Finibus lib. 4.*

20. *Marius* after ſome time took the City *Capſa* a place very rich and ſtrong, and after this another called *Mulucha*. *Jugurtha* finding himſelf too weak, drew in to his aſſiſtance *Bocchus* King of *Mauritiana* his Father in Law, by the help of whoſe Horſe he very much wearied the *Roman* Army. Coming to raiſe the ſiege at *Cirta*, before which *Marius* was ſat down, what by the number of the Horſe reported to be 60000, and what by heat and duſt, the *Romans* were ſorely diſtreſſed, and the fight continued dangerous and terrible to them for three dayes. Then a Tempeſt of rain fell, which ſpoiled their Enemies weapons, and relieved *Marius* his men almoſt killed with thirſt; and the courſe of fortune changing, the two Kings were defeated and fled. In another battel *Marius*, as it's ſaid, killed 90000, after which *Bocchus* began to repent of his enterprize, and ſent to *Rome* to enter into a League, which he could not procure, but obtained pardon of his fault. Not long after, *Marius* took *Jugurtha* in an ambuſh, whither he had drawn him by ſpecious prerences, and delivered him up to *Sylla* his *Quæſtor*, who had brought over ſome forces gathered in *Italy*. *Sylla* having little or no skill in matters of War before, under him got that skill, which afterwards he uſed againſt his General. *Jugurtha* being led in triumph by *Marius* with his two ſons, was after, by order of the Senate put to death, and ſo the Warre ended, after about ſeven years continuance. *Numidia* was not now made a Province, as ſome have thought; for we find other four Kings on which it was beſtowed, viz. *Hiempſal*, *Hiarbas*, and *Juba*, concerning whom we may have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Now is to be deſcribed the War with the *Cimbri*.

Marius overthroweth *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus*.

Taketh *Jugurtha* who is led in triumph and put to death.

21. The *Cimbri* inhabited the *Cherſoneſus* from them named *Cimbrica*, (now *Holſatia*) and were a vagabond People. With a ſort of *Germans* called *Teutones* (from *Tento* or *Tuiſco* the Patriarch, or reputed god of that

Sect. 4. Nation) they brake into *Illyricum* in the 641 year of the City, and there put to flight *Cn. Carbo* the Consul, to whom that Province had fallen by lot. Some three years after, they made an irruption into *Gall* and *Spain*, but being repelled, sent to *Silanus* the Consul, desiring some ground wherein to plant and settle themselves. This being denied by the Senate, they betook themselves from intreaties to force, and setting upon the Consul put him to flight, entertaining *M. Scaurus* sent against them into *Gall* in the same manner. *Scaurus* was succeeded by the Consul *L. Cassius Longinus*, who pursuing the *Tigurins* (now *Switzers*) to the Ocean, was circumvented by them, and slain, with *L. Piso*, a man of Consular dignity, his Lieutenant. After him *Capio* the Consul made War upon the *Tectosages* or *Tolosans*, whose chief City *Tolose* (now in *Gascoigne*) he took, and therein a great treasure, which some said was taken out of the Temple at *Delphos* by the *Galls*. His command was continued to him for the following year, as *Proconsul*, in conjunction with *Manilius* (or *Mallius*) his Successor. These two could not agree, but divided the Army, and parted the Province betwixt them. At length they were overthrown in a bloody battel by the *Cimbri*, to whom the *Teutons*, *Tigurins*, and *Ambrones*, another People of *Gall* joyned themselves: 80000 men were slain, and 40000 lackies and drudges, as also both the Camps taken. *Capio* for this was cast into prison, where he died, these great defeats being charged upon his sacrilege, of which those *Galls* that were guilty, were still followed and consumed by one plague after another. After this, the *Cimbri* made another Expedition into *Spain*; but being thence repelled by the *Celtiberians*, returned into *Gall*, whence, with the *Teutons* and *Ambrones*, they resolved to passe over the *Alpes* into *Italy*.

Lege Florum l. 3. c. 3. Livii Epitom. lib. 63, 65, 67, & 68. Orosium l. 5. c. 16. Patrc. l. 2. c. 12.

The occasion of the War with the *Cimbri* by the *Greeks* called Κιμμέριοι.

32. *C. Marius* having vanquished *Jugurtha*, was in his absence made Consul the second time, to manage the War against the *Cimbri*. Whilst they continued in *Spain* he waged War against their friends the *Tolosans*, whose King *Copilus* was taken by *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being created Consul again the following year, he neglected to fight till their fury was abated. In his fourth Consulship they were ready in three bands to passe over the *Alpes*, which he considering, attended their motions. His Army was almost oppressed with thirst, the *Teutons* and *Ambrones* lying betwixt it and the water, which made him desirous to ingage with them, and coming to fight, in two dayes he utterly destroyed them, taking prisoner *Theutobocchus* their King. The *Cimbri* escaped him and got over into *Italy*, though it was Winter, and the *Alpes* were covered with Snow, being in vain opposed by *Catulus*, both at the *Alpes* and the River *Athesis* near *Verona*. To *Catulus* did *Marius* joyn himself now the fifth time Consul, for carying on the War, and being challenged to give battel slew 140000, and took 60000. Their wives resisted, fighting from the Chariots, and when they saw all desperate, killed first their children and then themselves. The third band of the *Tigurines* came to nothing; and so an end was put to this War, on the third of the moneth *Sextilis*, as *Plutarch* writeth, after it had continued twelve years, in the 653 year of the City, *C. Marius* the fifth time, and *M. Aquilius Nepos* being Consuls, the former whereof was counted the preserver of his Country, and contented himself with one Triumph. And his Collegue put an end to the second *Servile* War in *Sicily*, which now had lasted almost four years.

Which *Marius* dispatcheth.

A. M. 3904. *Ol.* 169. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 653.

In Mario.

33. These dangers abroad did not suppresse domestick troubles. There was one *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, who having been *Quæstor* at *Ostia* during a dearth, was put out of his place by the Senate, for which he conceived great displeasure against it, and to shew it, procured the *Tribuneship*. By his help especially *Marius* obtained the fourth Consulship. But after his year was out, *Metellus Numidicus* being *Censor* would have removed him from the Senate, but he was hindred by his Colleague; and to revenge this he stood to be *Tribune* the second time. Now was *Marius* Consul the fifth time, and there being nine of the ten *Tribunes* chosen, and *A. Nonius* standing in competition with him, by the assistance of *Marius* he murdred him, and got the place.

Vide Appian. de bello civili. l. 1. Flor. l. 3. c. 16. Livii Epitom. l. 69. Orosium l. 5. c. 17. Velleium Paterculum l. 2. c. 15.

The sedition of *Saturninus*.

place. Now being again in power, he preferred a Law for dividing of such Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gall*, and compelled the Senate to swear to it, which *Metellus* refusing to do, he set him a day to answer it before the people; but for fear of him and *Marius*, *Metellus* fled to *Smyrna*. *Saturninus* being *Tribune* the third time, and finding *C. Memmius* to stand for the *Consulship*; he also made him away to prefer *Glaucins* the *Prætor*, a man most addicted to his own party. At these things the Senate being startled took up resolution, and *Marius* now the sixth time Consul, seeing him in a falling condition, withdrew himself from his friendship. The Consuls were, as in dangerous times, impowered by the Senate to see that the Commonwealth received no damage. *Marius* therefore with his Collegue *L. Valerius Flaccus*, set upon *Saturninus* in the publick meeting place, and drove him and his followers into the *Capitol*, where for want of water (*Marius* having cut the pipes) they were forced to yield. This they did upon his faith given for their safety; for *Saturninus* and *Glaucius* much relied upon him, not sticking to give out that they were but the actors of his designs. Notwithstanding, they were killed in the Court-house by the *Equites*, which brake in amongst them; and *Metellus*, through the labour of his son especially, was recalled, with the general applause of the people.

Sect. 4.

He is slain with his complices.

A. M. 3905. *V. C.* 654.

24. For the space of about 8 years after, there was not any open Sedition; yet great dissatisfaction amongst those of the *Senatorian* order. For, it lay under great grievances by reason of the power of Judicature, which was by *Gracchus* his Law brought down to the *Equites*, by whom they were cruelly, and despightfully used, their lives, liberties, and estates being wholely in their power. The Commonwealth was even bought and sold, the *Publicans*, who farmed the customs, and publick revenues, being, as *Equites*, both Judges and parties. It hapned that thirty years after *Gracchus* his Law, *M. Livius Drusus* the *Tribune* cast in his mind how to restore the *Fathers* to their antient power, and yet not offend the *Equites*. He preferred therefore a Law, that because the *Senators* were reduced to a small number, as many *Equites* should be added to them, and the power of Judicature committed to this body. But herewith neither party was satisfied. Not the *Senators*, because they disdained that the other should be equal to them, and neither the *Equites*, for that they feared the power would at length be wholy removed from them. *Cæpio* also one of *Drusus* his Collegues (not that *Cæpio*, as some mistake, who having been formerly Consul had proposed such a Law, which took not, he himself being condemned, and dying in prison as was said) opposed him, and coming into the Senate, there accused some of the chief of unlawfull seeking for Offices. *Drusus* to withstand his indeavours, by the favour of the people proposed again the *Agrarian* Law, and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, now Possessors of the Lands, might not be aggrieved, he gave them hopes to make them free of the Citie. Great concourse there was, and as great contention. *Q. Marcius Philippus* the Consul opposed the Law for division of Lands, and for that was roundly buffetted by a Traveller. *Drusus* in this particular disappointed, still bent his mind how to make good what he had offered to the *Italians*; but going home accompanied with a great multitude, he was stabbed in the Court of his own house, its unknown by whom, the knife being left in his body, and died within a few hours. He was a man excellently accomplished, both with understanding and morals, whose good intentions had not the fortune to be rightly understood by the great ones, but to dissatisfie all parties. And still more unfortunate he was in that great and dangerous War, which by his means (though not intended) was kindled, and which being foreseen or feared, might perhaps have no small influence into his death.

Lege Appian. de bello civili lib. 1. Livii Epitom. lib. 71. Paterculum l. 2. cap. 13, 14.

Drusus the Tribune labouring to reconcile the Fathers, and *Equites*, inlargeth the breach,

And is stabbed.

A. M. 3914. *Ol.* 172. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 663.

25. This War is called by divers names. Sometimes *Bellum Sociale*, because of the *Associates* of the *People* of *Rome*, who managed it; sometimes *Bellum Marsicum*, from the *Marsi* who began it, and otherwhiles *Bellum Italicum*, from *Italy* the seat of it, *Corfinium* a Citie of the *Peligni*, being before

SECT. 4.

The occasion of the social War.

before all others chosen for the place of the conspiracy. The occasion of it was the disdain conceived by the *Italians*, because they were not admitted to the freedom of the Citie, which had been partly promised them 36 years before by *Flaccus* the Consul, who being earnest for it, was diverted into *Gall* by the Senate, and afterwards joyned himself in the Tribuneship with the younger *Gracchus*, to no purpose endeavouring with him the passing of it; with whom also as is formerly shewn he lost his life. Now again, their expectation was heightned by *Drusus*; but then was he murdered, and all the great ones banished who stood for them, by a Law which the *Equites* by force of Arms obtained, who hoped that having the power of Judicature in themselves, the profit would be great which would arise in ridding away their Enemies. They also thought they had reason enough to expect this privilege from that Citie, which was maintained both in its subsistence and Empire by their valour, they ever sending out forces double in number to those of the *Romans*. Upon these grounds they resolved to procure by force what could not be by fair means obtained, sending Messages to and fro, and for the performance of what was agreed on, receiving Hostages from one another.

Strabo lib.5. Velleius lib. 2. cap.15,16,17. Cicero pro Archia. Appian ut supra.

26. This being known late enough at *Rome*, so busied with its private seditious contests, Spies were sent out into the several quarters. One of them seeing a young man of *Asculum* carried into another Citie as an Hostage, therewith acquainted *Servilius* the *Proconsul*, who going to *Asculum* and chiding the Citizens, was set upon and slain, together with all the *Romans*. After this, the Conspiracy being quite discovered, all broke out into open Rebellion: the *Marsi*, *Peligni*, *Vestini*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentani*, *Hirpini*, *Picentes*, *Pompeiani*, *Venusini*, *Apuliani*, *Lucanians*, and the old Enemies of the *Romans*, the *Samnites*. They thought good first to send to *Rome* to complain; but the Messengers could not be admitted without repentance for what was already done. Hereupon the War was committed to both the Consuls, *L. Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, to whom were added *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (father to *Pompey* the Great) *C. Marius*, who had been six times Consul, *L. Sylla*, *Licinius Crassus*, *C. Perpenna*, *Q. Capio*, *Q. Metellus Pius* (son to the *Numidian*) *M. Marcellus*, *Val. Messala*, and *T. Didius*, who were all sent with *Proconsular* power. The forces on either side amounted to 100000 fighting men. *Rutilius* the Consul quickly lost his life, falling into an ambush laid for him by the *Marsi*, and many other blows did the *Romans* receive; so that they were forced to list such as once had been slaves. The bodies of the Consul, and those of several others being carried into the Citie, the sight of them so discouraged the people, that the Senate made a decree, that thenceforth the slain should be buried where they died, which as a prudent example was followed by the Enemy.

Preparations for it.

The *Romans* receive many blows.

27. None succeeded *Rutilius* all the year, for that *Cæsar* could not come to a new Election, but his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Q. Capio*. *Capio* was killed not long after, being intrapped by *Popedius* one of the *Italian* Generals. *Marius* now alone commanding the forces, did good service, as did also *Sylla*. For the following year, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, and *L. Porcius Cato* were made Consuls. Now the Senate thought fit to make such *Italians* free of the Citie as had not revolted, which thing established those, who something wavered in their minds, and took off the courage of the other already ingaged: Yet they chose them not into any of the 35 Tribes, but placed them by themselves behind all; so that as in voting they could not hinder the rest, so seldom were they called to vote at all, which afterwards considered, though not at present, wrought some disturbance. *Cato* the Consul did very good service, but thereof boasted so much, that he compared himself to *Marius*, for which, as he was fighting against the *Marsi*, he was killed in a croud by *Marius* his son. *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Asculani*. Having long besieged *Asculum*, he defeated the Enemy which sallied forth, killed 18000 of the *Marsi*, took 3000. and being got into *Asculum*, caused all the Officers and principal men

men to be beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. *Sylla* his Successor in the *Consulship* overthrew the *Samnites*, and stormed two of their Camps, by which successe elevated, he went, stood for, and carried that greatest Office.

SECT. 5.

A. M. 3917. Ol. 173. ann. 1. V. C. 666.

Sylla endeth the War.

This War was ended by him after it had endured above two years, in the 666 year of the Citie, he the said *L. Cornelius Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls.

28. What the *Italians* could not get with armed hand, was given them Conquered; at first to all, except the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, and shortly after to them also, but ranked by themselves in the same manner as the former. Not long after this, which was a kind of Civil War, there were stirs in the Citie about Usury, which being rigorously exacted by the Creditors, *Asellio* the *Prætor*, who withstood it, was murdered by them. Yet hitherto these Seditions in the Citie were managed but by private persons, or in a private manner, but now came it to that passe, that the heads of the factions got whole Armies to themselves, and carried on their interests in open War one against another, their own Countrey being as the prize and reward of the victory, such were the manners and behaviour of those who through the infirmity of the Government were not able to bear that greatnesse of fortune, which from the temperance and moderation of their fathers had descended upon them. But an occasion to the first *Civil War* was ministred by that with *Mithridates*, which begin ere the *Social* or *Italian* ended.

After which freedom of the Citie is given to the Conquered *Italians*, having been before this denied to them.

SECT. V.

From the War with Mithridates, *and first Civil War, to the combination of* Pompey, Crassus, *and* Cæsar, *termed by* Varro Tricipitina, *which proved the ruin of the Popular Government, for the space for* 28 *years.*

Mithridates King of *Pontus*.

1. *Mithridates* was King of *Pontus* (a Countrey of *Asia*, so called because it lieth upon the *Euxine* Sea) thought by some to have been descended from one of the seven *Persians*, who conspired against the *Magi* that had usurped after the death of *Cambyses*. He was surnamed *Eupator* and *Dionysus*, being a man of a vast mind and ambitious spirit. Succeeding his father, who was a friend of the people of *Rome*, at thirteen years of age, within two years he made away his mother, who was left partner with him in the Kingdom, and after her his brother also, and in his youth he subdued the Kings about *Phasis* beyond *Caucasus*. Thirty years after his coming to the Kingdom, he thought of no lesse than the Empire of *Asia*, the *Romans*, as he fancied, being now sufficiently imployed in the *Cimbrian* and *Italian* Wars. He began with *Paphlagonia*, parting it betwixt himself and *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*, and being checked for this by the *Romans*, and commanded to desist, he pretended it was his fathers inheritance, and to amend the matter he seized on *Galatia* too. Then casting his eye upon *Cappadocia*, he caused to be murthered *Ariarathes* King thereof, and his sisters husband, and when she married to *Nicomedes* he drove out his forces, and pretended to seize upon it for the use of her son, whom then he murdered also, and bestowed it on one of his own sons. The *Cappadocians* refused to obey him, and called out of *Asia Ariarathes* one of their former King's sons; but him did *Mithridates* drive away, and he shortly after died. *Nicomedes* afterwards procured one to counterfeit himself the brother of *Ariarathes*, and beg the Kingdom of the people of *Rome*; and he sent his wife thither to aver that she had three sons by *Ariarathes*. *Mithridates* hereupon sent one to the Senate to affirm, that he whom he had placed in *Cappadocia* was also the son of *Ariarathes*.

Justin lib.37. Strabo lib.10.

Memnon apud Photium.

His vast designs and great attempts.

Strabo lib.12. Justin lib.38.

The Senate interposeth.

2. The Senate knowing well the aim of both, took from *Mithridates* *Cappa-*

SECT. 5. *Cappadocia*; and *Paphlagonia* from *Nicomedes*, who had got it into his hands, and left these two Kingdoms to their own liberty. But the *Cappadocians* protested that they could not live without a King, and being therefore allowed to chuse one from amongst themselves, made choice of one *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* sorely repining to be thus overruled, procured *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia* and his son in Law to be an Enemy to the *Romans*, and perswaded him to expel *Ariobarzanes*, whilst he did as much by young *Nicomedes*, who now had succeeded his dead Father. Both of these Princes fled to *Rome* for relief, which was decreed them, and Commissioners were appointed to re-establish them, whereof *Manius Aquilius* was chief. This being performed, they perswaded both the Kings to invade *Mithridates*. *Nicomedes* did it, though unwillingly, whilst *Mithridates* opposed him not, that he might have an advantage against him; onely he sent *Pelopidas* to the Commissioners to complain of him. They considering that *Mithridates* was a powerful Prince returned this answer, that *they did neither like that he should molest* Nicomedes, *nor* Nicomedes *him*; for the former was not convenient for the *Roman* Commonwealth. He nothing moved with this answer, reinvaded *Cappadocia*, sending *Pelopidas* back with a bold expostulation. They hereupon raised a considerable Army against him on their own heads, without any decree of Senate or People. *Nicomedes* ingaging first of all with him was put to flight, though *Mithridates* his main body never ingaged, and next after him *Manius* was discomfited. Then seized *Mithridates* upon *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, and other Provinces, as far as *Ionia*. He took also *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the later whereof he killed by melted gold poured into his mouth, being ever wont to upbraid the *Romans* with avarice and corruption.

And restored the Kings he had cast out.

But he again recovereth many Countries.

3. The *Romans* hereupon decreed a War against him, though they were now imployed in the *Italian*; and *L. Cornelius Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls, it fell by lot unto the former. But whilst he was yet imployed in finishing the *Italian* War about *Nola*, *C. Marius*, who had been six times Consul, either moved by a desire of profit or of glory, perswaded *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the People to prefer a law for transferring the command against *Mithridates* to himself. He drew the People of *Italy* to his party, by promising them that had been of late made free of the City, equal privilege with the rest, which were distributed into 35 tribes; so that the thing was caried on by strong hand, and *Pompey*'s son, the son in law of *Sylla*, was killed in the heat of contention. *Sylla* hearing of this, hasted to the City, easily perswading his Army to any thing, for that his Soldiers were unwilling that any other should go that Expedition, from which they promised themselves so great matters. To him his Collegue *Pompey* joyned, and though *Marius* and the *Tribune* made all opposition possible, with some difficulty they entred the City, and *Marius* with his complices betook themselves to their heels. *Sylla* suffered no harm to be done to the Citizens, but reversed what *Sulpitius* had done, regulated the Senate, and procured *Marius*, with *Sulpitius*, and ten others, to be declared Enemies to their Country, whom it might be lawful for any to kill, and unlawful to harbour; their goods also being set to sale.

A. M. 3917. *Ol.* 173. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 666. Seleucid. 225.

Sylla hath the charge of the War decreed against him.

Consule Appianum de bello civili lib. 1. *Paterc. l.* 2. *cap.* 17. *&c. Plutarch in Mario & Sylla. Livii Epitom. l.* 77.

Which *Marius* seeking unjustly, is driven from the City and declared an Enemy.

4. *Sulpitius* was found and put to death. *Marius* hid himself in the fens of *Minturnum*, and being discovered, a *Gall* was sent to kill him, but could not do it, he was so dashed at his presence; so that being conveyed out of that place, he escaped into *Africk*. To him *Cethegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, joyned themselves, expecting an opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompey* the Consul, to secure *Italy*, was appointed to receive the Army of *Cn. Pompey*, who had done such good service in the *Marsian* War; but the Soldiers unwilling to leave their old General, who also took it heavily, made away the Consul. For the year following *L. Cornelius Cinna* and *C. Octavius* were Consuls, whereof *Cinna* as some think corrupted, was altogether for the new Denisons, and recalled *Marius* with the rest of the Exiles; but he was driven away by his Collegue, and *L. Merula* was put in

SECT. 5. in his place. He then going about to the *Italian* Cities, by giving them fresh hopes of equal privilege, and pretending that he suffered these things for their sakes, got much money. *Marius* also coming over to him, they raised a considerable Army, wherewith *Cinna* sate down before the City. *Marius* took *Hostia* by force, and *Cinna* being not able to do any thing at *Rome*, stormed *Ariminum*. The Consuls, for that they could not recall *Sylla*, sent for *Metellus* then lying in *Samnium*, but he differing with them about some conditions, had them granted by *Marius*, to whom then he joyned himself. In the mean while the City it self was near being betrayed to *Marius* by *Appius Claudius* a *Tribune* of the Army, who being intrusted with the *Janiculum*, thus requited him for former kindnesse.

Recalled by *Cinna*.

5. Though he and *Cinna* brake in, they were repelled by *Octavius*, and *C. Pompey* the *Proconsul*, who shortly after was killed with a Thunder-bolt. *Marius* after this took in several Towns about *Rome* where provisions lay, and *Cinna* by promise of liberty, drew many slaves out of the City, which the Senate understanding, lest the People should make disturbance within, sent to him about an agreement. He refused to admit of any addresse made to him as a private man, so that they were forced to treat with him as Consul, and desired he would swear to abstain from blood. This he flatly refused to do; but promised, that wittingly and willingly he would not be the cause of any mans death; so he was received, and the Law abrogated for banishing *Marius* and his associates. Upon their entrance began plundering and slaughters in all places. *Octavius*, though having the oath both of *Cinna* and *Marius*, refusing to flye from his charge, was killed, and his head set upon the *Rostra*, to which was afterwards added that of *Antonius* (Grand-father to the *Triumvir*) an excellent Orator, who for a good space defended himself by his eloquence from the Soldiers, and several others. None were spared, either for dignity, worth, or age. The dead bodies, being mangled and abused otherwise, were left to be torn in pieces by dogs and fowls, none daring to bury them. All *Sylla*'s friends were killed, his house defaced, and his goods put to sale, he being judged and declared an Enemy. *Merula*, though he never sought the Consulship, but had it put upon him, and *Catulus*, having their dayes set them to answer, destroyed themselves.

Getteth into *Rome* and there cruelly rageth with *Cinna* his Collegue.

6. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus satisfied their bloody minds, made themselves Consuls for the following year: But *Marius* died ere the moneths end, having born this Office now seven times; a man more profitable to his Country in the time of War than of Peace. To him succeeded *Valerius Flaccus*, whom *Cinna* sent into *Asia*, to supply the room of *Sylla* there. But he by this time had done the work, and was coming home to revenge the former injuries, having subdued *Mithridates* in lesse than three years, killed 160000 of his men, recovered *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Asia*, and other Countries, which he had got into his hands, taken his Navy from him, and forced him to be content with his own inheritance. These things are to be declared in order.

Dieth.

7. After *Mithridates* had taken *Aquilius* with the rest, and seized upon *Asia* and other Countries (whilst *Sylla* was at *Rome*, setling things there against *Marius* and his faction, as is before shewed) he sent his letters abroad into all the Cities of *Asia*, willing them at one day prefixed, to kill all *Italians* and *Romans*, with their wives and children, and cast them out unburied; then to seize on their estates, taking one part to themselves, and reserving the other for his use. This was accordingly done, and 80000 according to some; according to others 150000 perished in one day. Then went he into the Island *Cous*, where getting great treasure into his hands, there laid up by one of the *Cleopatraes*, he departed to *Rhodes*, and all manner of waies attempted to take the City, though without successe; such was the constancy and fidelity of the *Rhodians* towards the *Romans*, amongst other confederates which universally revolted. Then sent he *Archelaus* his General into *Greece*, leaving *Pelopidas* in *Lycia* to carry on the War there, he himself providing Forces, and punishing such as he found inclinable towards the *Romans*.

A. M. 3917.

Mithridates causeth 80000 *Italians* and *Romans* or more in one day to be killed.

Valer. Max. l. 9. *c.* 2. *Ext. exemp.* 3. *Plutarch in Sylla.*

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8. *Archelaus* firſt recovered *Delos*, which from the *Athenians* had revolted to the *Romans*, then joyned he to himſelf the *Achaians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Bœotians*. After this he was fought by *Britius*, who had put to flight *Metrophanes* ſent alſo into *Greece* from the King; but having freſh ſupplies, *Britius* withdrew himſelf to the *Piræus*, or Haven of *Athens*, which ſhortly after *Archelaus* took in with his Fleet. Now *Sylla* arrived in *Greece* with five Legions and ſome Companies of Horſe, and having furniſhed himſelf with money and proviſions in *Ætolia* and *Theſſaly*, marched into *Attica* againſt *Archelaus*, almoſt whole *Bœotia*, with *Thebes* the chief City, revolting to him in his paſſage. He beſieged *Archelaus* in the *Piræus* a very ſtrong place, as fenced with a wall almoſt 40 cubits high, conſiſting of ſquare ſtones, and built by *Pericles* during the firſt motions of the *Peloponneſian* War. Having alſo beſieged *Athens* it ſelf, he ſpent the whole Summer in the ſiege, and at length took it, the Inhabitants being unable to make any more reſiſtance through famine, which ſo far prevailed, as they made meat of ſodden lether, and fed upon the bodies of dead men. The *Piræus* was alſo ſhortly after taken, and the walls thereof demoliſhed, with the Arcenal, and all the rarities therein were deſtroyed. Then *Sylla* followed *Archelaus* through *Bœotia*, and fought with him near *Cheronea*, in a place ſo ſtraight, that no way being open for flight, he ſlew ſo many, that of 120000 not many more than 10000 remained, this being an Army ſent over by the King out of his new Provinces.

Vide Appian. in Mithridatic. & Plutarch in Sylla.

Sylla arriving in *Greece*,

Taketh *Athens* and the *Piræus* and overthrows *Archelaus* the Kings General once,

9. *Mithridates* put divers Princes of his newly conquered Provinces to death, for fear they ſhould kill or betray him, by which cruelty he loſt all *Gallogræcia*. *Epheſus* alſo, and other towns revolted from him, whereof ſuch as he recovered he uſed cruelly, and afterwards fearing a general defection, to purchaſe favour he ſet the *Greek* Cities at liberty. Some that conſpired his death were diſcovered, and upon ſuſpition were 1600 men made away. Then ſent he another ſupply to *Archelaus* of 80000 men, which with the other 10000 remaining of the former Army, were routed by *Sylla* near *Orchomenes*, and about 15000 being ſlain, the reſt betaking themſelves to their Camp were alſo killed or taken, a vaſt ſlaughter having been made. *Archelaus* having loſt his ſon *Diogenes* hid himſelf in a fen, and thence fled to *Chalcis* once more. After this *Sylla* chaſtized the *Bœotians* for their fickleneſſe (for they would ſtand to neither party long) and took up his Winter quarters in *Theſſaly*, providing himſelf of ſhipping, becauſe he heard nothing of *Lucullus*, whom he had ſent into *Ægypt* to procure a Navy. Now at this time was *Flaccus*, who had ſucceeded *Marius*, ſent into *Aſia* by *Cinna* to ſucceed *Sylla*. Him *Fimbria* his *Quæſtor* killed in a quarrel about lodging, being hated by his Soldiers, and he headed his Army, with which he ſeveral times fought, and that proſperouſly, againſt *Mithridates* his ſon, and drove the King himſelf into *Pergamus*, and thence to *Pitane*, where he took ſhip and fled to *Mitylene*, and might have been taken if *Lucullus* would. Then did *Fimbria* haraze *Cappadocia*, and burnt *Ilium* the daughter of *Troy*, for that the Inhabitants had given up themſelves to *Sylla*, and not to him; ſo that though a *Roman* and ſo akin to them, he is ſaid to have uſed them worſe than did *Agamemnon* himſelf. This hapned to *Ilium* in the later end of the 173 *Olympiad*, about 1050 years after the firſt taking it by the *Greeks*.

Appian ut ſupra. Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 2. Florus l. 3. c. 5.

And again

10. *Mithridates* receiving intelligence of the blow he had received at *Orchomenus*, wrote to *Archelaus*, to procure his peace on as good terms as he could. To a Peace *Sylla* was not now averſe, being in great want of mony, and receiving no recruits from the City, where he was declared an Enemy, and deſiring above all things to carry back a good Army into *Italy* to revenge himſelf. He offered Peace therefore on theſe conditions: *That he ſhould delivver up all his Navy, all fugitives and Captives, reſtore the Inhabitants of* Chios, *and others whom he had caried into* Pontus, *remove his garriſons from all places whither he had brought them ſince the breach of the Peace, pay all the charges of the War, and be content with his Father's Kingdom.* All theſe conditions were agreed to ſave parting with *Paphlagonia*, but the Ambaſſadors ſaying they could have had better terms of *Fimbria*, drove

Forceth *Mithridates* to beg Peace.

A. M. 3921. Ol. 174. an. 1. V. C. 670. Seleucid. 229. L. Cor. Cinna 4. Cn. Papirio Carbone 2 Coſſ.

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drove *Sylla* into a great diſpleaſure, with a compariſon ſo odious to him. Shortly after *Mithridates* himſelf met him, and found him ſo reſolute, as he gladly accepted all the terms. So ended the firſt War with *Mithridates*, being concluded by *Sylla* three years after his coming into *Greece*.

11. *Sylla* required of *Fimbria* the Army to be deliverd up to him, as held by no authority; but was anſwered, as having as little himſelf. Yet the Army denied to fight againſt that of *Sylla*, and forſook *Fimbria*, who thereupon ſent a Slave to murder *Sylla*, which was diſcovered. He begged pardon, and it was granted him, ſo he would take ſhip and depart out of *Aſia*; but he ſaid, he had a better way, and going to *Pergamus* there deſtroyed himſelf. *Sylla* gave him to be buried, ſaying, he would not imitate the barbariſm of *Marius* and *Cinna* towards his friends at *Rome*, whom they deprived both of life and burial; yet he kept in this mind but a while after his arival there, whither he now haſted, having fined *Aſia* grievouſly for it's revolt, and ſetled affaires according to preſent occaſions. He took *Athens* in his way, whence he caried with him the Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian* (in which were moſt of the Books of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, then not vulgarly known) bought by him of the poſterity of *Neleus*, to whom *Theophraſtus* had given it. He wrote to the Senate, to which he recounted all the great ſervices he had done, and then how he had been rewarded by the party of *Marius*, telling them plainly, he would come and revenge both himſelf and the Publick, by puniſhing the authors of the injuries, not medling with any other, either old or new Citizens. The Senate hereat affrighted ſent to treat with him, offering their indeavour for his ſatisfaction, if he would preſently make knovvn his mind. *Cinna* they ordered to ſtop his leavies; but he onely returned them a plauſible anſvver, and proceeded, deſigning himſelf and his Collegue *Carbo* Conſuls again for the follovving year, that there might be no need of going to *Rome* to a nevv creation. He paſſed over ſome of his forces into *Dalmatia*, there to fight *Sylla*; but the hindermoſt vvere driven back by a tempeſt, and they refuſed abſolutely to fight againſt their Country-men; ſo that thoſe, vvho as yet had not paſſed the Sea, refuſed to go aboard. Hereupon he going to ſpeak vvith them, an Officer vvho made vvay before him ſtruck one of them, vvho ſtruck him again, for vvhich offence he commanding him to be laid hold on, a tumult aroſe, vvherein he himſelf vvas ran through, and ſo periſhed in his fourth Conſulſhip, and the 670 year of the City, a man vvorthier to have died by command of the Conquereur than the fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* then continued Conſul alone all the remaining part of the year.

Appian. Plutarch in Sylla.

Fimbria's Army revolteth to him.

He marcheth for *Italy* againſt his Enemies there.

12. *Cinna* and *Carbo* had by a Lavv abrogared *Sylla's* command, and procured War to be decreed againſt him, before the Senate was affrighted into the offer of a mediation. He anſwered, that he would never be reconciled to ſuch wicked perſons, as they deſired he ſhould; but if the People of *Rome* would give them indemnity he ſhould not oppoſe it; yet he thought thoſe that would come to him might be more ſafe, ſeeing he had at his devotion ſuch an Army. Hereby declaring ſufficiently what his intentions were, he alſo demanded reſtitution of his eſtate, his antient dignity and honours; but the meſſengers coming to *Brundſium*, and there hearing of *Cinna's* death, and the diſturbance of the Commonwealth, returned back to him. Then croſſed he the Sea to *Brundſium* with a Fleet of 1600 ſhips, and 60000 men. Being landed, *Metellus Pius*, who had abſented himſelf from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, came to him, as alſo *Pompey*, afterwards ſirnamed the *Great*, who though his father was no friend to *Sylla*, yet coming now to him with ſome forces, became afterwards his greateſt favourite. Beſides theſe came *Cethegus*, who having joyned with *Cinna* now begged pardon. *C. Norbanus* and *L. Scipio* the Conſuls, with *Carbo*, made all preparation for reſiſtance. The firſt tryal at arms was at *Canuſium*, where *Norbanus* loſt 6000 men, and fled to *Capua*. *Scipio* through the treachery of his Army, came with his ſon into the power of *Sylla*, who diſmiſſed them both. After this *Sulla* ſent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but (perhaps) being not thought ſerious, had no anſwer returned back.

Landeth at *Brundſium*,

Defeateth *Norbanus*.

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13. He then passed on in *Italy*, making havock of all things, as *Carbo* did, who getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus* and the rest that joyned with *Sylla* to be declared Enemies to the State. Both parties sent up and down the *Italian* Cities, labouring both by fair means and fowl to procure forces; and so all this Summer was spent, wherein the Capitol was burnt none knoweth how. For the following year *Papirius Carbo* the third time, and *Marius*, son (but adoptive as most probable) to the old one, were Consuls; the later being but 27 years old. In the Spring was *Carinas* the Lieutenant of *Carbo* overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himself by *Sylla*, and beaten into *Præneste*, where being close besieged, and despairing of his own safety, he wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, that he should under some pretext call together the Senate, and kill those his Enemies: *P. Antisthius*, another *Carbo*, *L. Domitius*, and *Mucius Scævola* the High-Priest, which was with cruelty enough performed. *Metellus* by his time having overthrown another Army of *Carbo*'s, *Pompey* defeated *Marcius* another of that party, *Sulla* marched to *Rome*, which he easily entred, many of the opposite faction being fled. Their goods he set to sale, and willing the people to be of good chear, for that he was necessitated thus to act, he left a sufficient Garrison, and departed to *Clusium*, where he and his Officers several times overthrew *Carbo*'s Armies. *Carbo* sent to *Præneste* to relieve *Marius* his Collegue eight Legions, which *Pompey* meeting in a straight place slew many of them, and most of those that escaped departed to their own homes. After this, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in a fight with *Metellus* had 10000 of their men slain, and 6000 yielded, whereupon many fell off to *Sylla*'s party, as also all *Gall* within the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be given up he killed himself; *Carbo* into *Africk*, though he had 30000 men at *Clusium* and other forces, which were then broken in pieces by *Pompey*. *Carinas*, with other Commanders attempted to break through, by the help of the *Samnites*, and relieve *Marius*; but this being with no effect, they made then for *Rome* it self.

A. M. 3922.

A. M. 3923. Olymp. 174. ann. 3. V. C. 672.

Entreth *Rome.*

14. A bloody battel was fought at the Gates, where many thousands were slain on both sides. Yet *Sulla* had the better. *Carinas* and *Marcius* were taken, and their heads sent to *Præneste* to be shewed to the Inhabitants, at which sight understanding how things had passed, they yielded up the Town to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* killed himself, whose head was set up in the pleading place at *Rome*. All his faction in *Præneste* were put to death, and all the Natives with the *Samnites*; the *Romans* onely with the Women and Children were spared, who lost all they had, the Town (the richest at that time of all others) being plundred. *Norba* a little after was taken, and burnt to the ground by a fire which the Inhabitants kindled over their own heads, some one way, and some another destroying themselves. So came *Italy* into the power of *Sylla*, who in the improvement of his victory shewed what fury and revenge backed with power are able to do.

Getteth all *Italy* into his power.

15. Having sent *Pompey* into *Africk* against *Carbo*, and given him a charge thence to passe into *Sicily* against others of that party, he called the people together, and told them that he would put them into a better condition if they would obey his commands, but he was resolved to prosecute his Enemies with all sorts of calamities. So he did in a larger measure than any before him. He put to death 8000 together in the *Villa publica*, a large house in the *Campus Martius* made for the reception of the Ambassadors of Enemies; and liberty was given to his Soldiers to kill all they met, till *Furfidius* putting him in mind that he ought to leave some to reign over; he then first of any man published Tables of *proscription*, wherein were proscribed first of all 80 Senators, and 1600 Equites, to which he afterwards added more, promising two Talents to those that should discover them, and threatned such as by whom they were harboured or concealed. Of those outlawed persons some were slain in their houses, others killed in the streets, and others prostrate at his feet; those that fled their goods were seized on. *Marius* a man of *Consular* dignity, and brother to *Sylla*'s

Publisheth Tables of proscription.

Lege Appian de bello civili l. 1. Plutarch. in Sylla. Patercul. l. 2. Valerium Max. lib. 9. c. 2. Exemp. 1. Florum lib. 3. c. 21. Orosium lib. 5. cap. 20, 21. Livii Epitom. l. 89.

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Sylla's great Enemy, had at the Sepulcher of *Catulus* his eyes first pulled out of his head, and then his hands and legs cut off at several times, that he might die by degrees. But not onely against private persons, but Cities also did he rage, whereof some, after the Inhabitants were sold, he caused to be demolished. Many were turned out of their possessions which were given to his Creatures. *Pompey* drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcira*, where being taken and brought to him, after he had inveighed against him in an assembly, he caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to *Sylla*.

And rageth cruelly both against Persons and Cities.

16. Both the *Consuls* being now destroyed, *Sylla* withdrew himself out of the Citie, and willed the Senate to create an *Inter-rex*, which they willingly did, hoping they should have a new election of Consuls, and named *Valerius Flaccus*. He then wrote to him to ask the people, that seeing the necessity of affairs required so great an Officer, a *Dictator* might be created, and that not for any limited time, but till all evils should be redressed; and now he spared not to mention himself. This the people was forced to yield to, as being in his power, and so this Office which for the space of 120 years (ever since the years after *Hannibals* quitting of *Italy*) had been intermitted, was conferred on him without any limitation of time. A gilded Statue on horse-back was erected to his memory near the *Rostra*, with this inscription, *To L. Cornelius Sylla the happy General*: for he would be called *Fœlix*, and sometime *Aphroditus* or *beautifull*. This hapned in the third year of the 174 *Olympiad*, the 672 year of the Citie, 80 before the birth of *Christ*.

He maketh himself Dictator in perpetuum.

17. That a shew of the Commonwealth might remain, he permitted Consuls to be made, which were *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*; yet did he plainly reign alone, having 24 Axes carried before, as the Kings in old time, with a great Guard continually at his heels, abrogating old Laws, and enacting new at his pleasure. He regulated the *Consulship*, ordering that none should be capable of it without passing first through other Offices. He overthrew the *Tribuneship*, by making those that bore it incapable of any other trust. To the Senate he added 300 out of the Equites, to the people 10000 out of the slaves of the proscribed, making them free, and calling them after himself *Cornelii*; and to 23 Legions he assigned much Land in *Italy* to oblige them to him. For the following year he gave way to have Consuls also, but joyned himself with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, which course the *Emperours* afterwards imitated. The year after, when the people to please him designed him Consul again, he waved it, and created *Servilius Isauricus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*; and then, to the astonishment of all men, laid down his *Dictatorship*, and though he had done such and so many horrid things, yet offered to give an account of his actions.

His actions while such.

A. M. 3925. Ol. 175. ann. 1. V. C. 674. Seleucid. 233.

A. M. 3926. V. C. 675.

He layeth down his power.

18. None accused him except one young man, whose reviling language made him say, that this for the time to come would keep any one from laying down such Supream power; which *Cæsar* indeed seemeth to have been awar of. Not long after he went into the Countrey, where minding nothing but his pleasure, he not long after died at *Puteoli* of the Lowsie disease, his body being putrified, and all turned into Lice, as *Plutarch* writeth. And this was the end of *L. Cornelius Sylla*, a man born of the noble family of the *Cornelii* (which of late had been Eclypsed through the lazinesse of his Ancestors) being the sixth in descent from *Cornelius Rufinus*, one of the most eminent Captains in the War with *Pyrrhus*. As his life was pernitious to his Countrey; so his death also brought trouble to it, the two Consuls and their factions falling out about the honour which was to be given to him at his funeral. *Catulus* prevailed against *Lepidus*, and he was carried in great State through the Citie, and first of any of his family was burned, being fearfull, as *Cicero* thought, lest he himself should be dealt with as he had used *Marius*, whose bones he had caused to be digged up and thrown away. After the funeral, the Consuls fell into a greater dissention. *Lepidus* would restore the grounds

And dieth.

A. M. 3927. V. C. 676.

A difference betwixt the Consuls about his burial, and confirmation of his acts.

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grounds given away by *Sylla*, and aboliſh his Laws. The Senate was fearfull of another War, and cauſed them both to ſwear that they would not decide the controverſie by the ſword; but *Lepidus* was reſolved not to return out of his Province, till the new Creation vvas over, and vvhen he ſhould be out of his Office begin a War, as then diſcharged from his Oath. Hereupon the Senate ſent for him, and vvhen he came he vvould have brought his forces into the Citie, but being oppoſed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, a fight inſued, vvherein he had the worſt, and then fled into *Sardinia*, vvhere he died the ſame year vvith *Sylla*.

19. The Civil diſſentions died not with him: for, though *Pompey* had ſuppreſſed *Carbo* in *Sicily*, *M. Brutus* in *Gall*, *Cn. Domitius* and *Hierba* King of *Numidia* in *Africk*, who were preparing for War, (and for this triumphed, being neither Conſul nor *Prætor*, and ſcarcely 26 years of age;) yet a more dangerous War was now depending, raiſed in *Spain* by *Q. Sertorius*. This man being one of *Cinna*'s faction, joyned with *Carbo* againſt *Sylla*; and having taken *Sueſſa*, thence paſſed into *Spain*, which fell to him by lot as *Prætor*. Thence he drove out ſuch as were for *Sylla*, and joyning the *Celtiberians* to himſelf, ſtifly reſiſted *Metellus* who was ſent againſt him, whereby obtaining a great name, he choſe 300 of his friends, whom he called a Senate, in oppoſition, and deſpite to that at *Rome*. And now being made ſtronger by part of *Lepidus* his Army, which *Perpenna* had led thither, he deſigned no leſſe than the invaſion of *Italy*. The Senate afraid of this, ſent *Pompey* againſt him, a young man, but of great eſteem, who paſſing the *Alps* in imitation of *Annibal*, but another way, at firſt received ſome loſſe, & in the Spring following had no ſucceſſe, (though *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were ſeveral times beaten by *Metellus*) but was reduced into great ſtraights, and wrote to *Rome* for a ſupply. *Lucullus* Conſul for the following year procured it to be ſent him, leſt the War that was renewed with *Mithridates* ſhould be committed to him if he came back into *Italy*, which he affirmed elſe he would. Being now ſupplied with men and money, he, and his aſſiſtants, fell upon the places ſubject to *Sertorius*; yet did they this year no great matters. But many of *Sertorius* his Army came over to them, being aggrieved that he made the *Celtiberians* his Guard, as diſtruſting themſelves, and upon ſuſpition of the alienation of their minds, being cruelly uſed by him.

Livii Epitom. lib. 89.

Sertorius riſeth in *Spain*.

Appian. de bello civili lib. 1. Plutarch. in Pompeio & Sertorio. Florus lib. 3. cap. 22. Livii Epitom. lib. 90. Alii.

20. The year following *Pompey* and *Metellus* being more bold, made excurſions into ſeveral places, and with more ſucceſſe; yet no conſiderable battel was there fought. Indeed it needed not. For, *Sertorius* now grown lazie, ſpent his time with women, and falling into an humour of cruelty had put many to death, whereby he wrought his deſtruction from his own party. *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his lot to be made away amongſt the reſt, reſolved to prevent it, and ſo inviting him to a feaſt, murdred him after he had beſotted him and his attendants with Wine. This was the end of this great Captain, who for ſome ten years had ſtoutly reſiſted ſuch as had been ſent againſt him, being rather Superiour to them all, and admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much ado was owned as his Succeſſor, and not long after was overthrown, and taken in battel by *Pompey*. He offered, if his life might be ſpared, to diſcloſe certain things of conſequence in private unto *Pompey*; but he to his great commendation, commanded him to be killed, leſt accuſing any man he ſhould bring the State into further trouble. So ended this War in the 681 year of the Citie. M. *Terentius Varro* that vaſt * Scholar (being the moſt learned of any, either *Greeks* or *Romans*) and *Caius Caſſius Varus* being Conſuls. *Appius Claudius* in *Thrace*, and after him *Scribonius Curio* fought proſperouſly againſt the *Scordiſci* and *Dardanians* at this time: ſo did *Servillius* againſt the Pirates of *Cilicia* expelling them the Seas, and taking ſeveral of their Towns; as alſo *Coſconius* againſt the *Dalmatians*. But theſe were inconſiderable matters in compariſon of that War which now was renewed with *Mithridates*.

Is murdered by *Perpenna*.

A. M. 3932. *Ol. 176. ann. 4. V. C. 681.*

* *Vir doctiſſimus undecumque Varro.*

Livii Epitom. l. 90, 91. Oroſius lib. 5. cap. 23.

The War with *Mithridates* renewed.

21. *Sylla*, upon this departure for *Italy*, had left *Murena* behind him in *Aſia*, to ſettle ſuch things as were not yet compoſed, with the two Legions that

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Upon what occaſion.

that belonged to *Fimbria*. *Murena* being ambitious of a Triumph, had catched at all occaſions to renew the War, and had one preſented to him after this manner. *Mithridates* waging War with them of *Colchos* and *Boſphorus*, who had revolted from him; the former deſired and obtained his ſon for their King. This proved the deſtruction of the young man, for his father thinking it to have been procured by his ſeeking, put him to death, having ſent for and bound him with iron chains, though he had done him eſpecial ſervice againſt *Fimbria*. Againſt the *Boſphorians* he made then great preparations, inſomuch that every one thought he deſigned another Warre againſt the *Romans*. *Archelaus* was now at this time out of favour, for that he was thought to have granted too much unto *Sylla* in the Treaty of Peace, and therefore fled to *Murena*, and ſtirred him up to invade *Mithridates*, who neither had reſtored the intire poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*. *Murena* did ſo, ſligh ing the mention of Peace, which was objected to him. *Mithridates* ſent to *Rome*, to complain to *Sylla*, and expecting the return of his Ambaſſadors, ſtirred not, though the other paſſing over the River *Halys* fired 300 of his Villages. Afterwards came *Callidius* from *Rome*, who though he ſhewed no Decree of the Senate, yet ſaid, it was the pleaſure of the Fathers, that all acts of hoſtility ſhould be forborn, and afterwards he talked with *Murena* alone. Yet did not *Murena* forbear, ſo that the King judging that War indeed was intended, reſolved to look to himſelf, and paſſing over the River overthrew *Murena* in battel, who fled into *Phrygia*. This Victory brought many over to the King's party, and hereupon he drove all *Murena*'s Garriſons out of *Cappadocia*. *Sylla* now Dictator, was not well pleaſed he ſhould be thus diſturbed, and therefore ſent *A. Gabinius* to command *Murena* in good earneſt to forbear, and reconcile the King to *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* gave him his ſon of four years of age for an Hoſtage, and received part of *Cappadocia*. So things were ſetled again, and the ſecond War, as *Appian* ſaith, ended in the third year. But ſome ſeven years after another was begun.

Conſule Appiano in Mithridaticis.

The King overthroweth *Murena*,

And the ſecond Warre endeth.

22. Preſently after the laſt concluſion, he ſent to *Rome* to have the conditions of the League recorded, but the thing was neglected. *Ariobarzanes* ſent alſo to complain, that he kept the greater part of *Cappadocia* from him, whereupon *Sylla* commanded him to quit it, which accordingly he did. Afterward he ſent again to deſire that the League might be recorded; but *Sylla* being now dead, the matter was not as much as reported to the Senate. Hereupon he underhand procured *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* his ſon in Law to invade *Cappadocia*, whence he led away 300000 perſons, and there built a City, to be the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which from himſelf he named *Tigranocerta*, i. e. *the City of* Tigranes. *L. Magius*, and *L. Fannius*, who had fled to him from *Fimbria*'s Army, perſwaded him to ſend into *Spain*, and joyn in League with *Sertorius*, which he did, and had granted to him *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, receiving from him as a Captain *M. Varius* (or *Marius*) one of his Officers. Being now without hope of pardon, he made all preparations poſſible, and got together an Army out of divers Countries, conſiſting of 140000 Foot, and 16000 Horſe, wherewith the following Spring he invaded *Bithynia*, which Country, *Nicomedes* being dead without iſſue, had a little before given by teſtament to the People of *Rome*, which thing inraged him. *Cotta* the Governour, a man of little courage, fled to *Chalcedon*, and he got it all into his hands.

The Warre again breaketh out and why.

Mithridates recovereth *Bithynia*.

23. In the 680 year of the City, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being Conſuls, the former of them was ſent againſt *Mithridates* with one Legion out of the City, to which were joyned thoſe two that belonged to *Fimbria*, and two more, ſo that in all he had an Army of 30000 Foot, and 1600 Horſe. He found the King before *Cyzicus* a City of *Propontis*, and preſently beſieged the beſieger. Hee drove him to ſuch ſtraights by the help of *L. Manius* (who now again revolted) that though having a great deſire to the place, he laboured much to take it, yet through extreme famin he was forced firſt to ſend away the Horſe, and ſick Footmen, into *Bithynia*, whereof

Appian ut ſupra. Plut. in Lucullo.

Lucullus beſiegeth him beſieging *Cyzicus*.

SECT. 5. whereof 15000 were intercepted, and then to flye himself with the rest that could escape the great slaughter made of them in their flight. During this double siege, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates* his Captains made incursions into *Phrygia*, subdued the *Pisidæ*, and *Isauri*, and endeavoured to do the same by *Cilicia*, till he was repelled by *Deiotarus* one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Gallogrecia*. But *Lucullus* improved his successe on land by several Victories at sea, wherein he took divers of *Mithridates* his Commanders, and hasted into *Bithynia* to overtake him. He, flying with all speed for fear of this, suffered most grievous shipwrack, and had been cast away, but that he was received into a Pirate's Vessel, to which he was glad to commit himself in so great danger, and at length, after many difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither now *Lucullus* purtued him, having in his way taken in *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*. He made all possible preparations for resistance, sending for aid to *Tigranes* his son in Law, and to his own son reigning in *Bosphorus*; and hee sent *Diocles* with great gifts to the *Scythians*; but he ran away to *Lucullus*. In the space of a year hee got together 40000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, with which force he once or twice repelled the *Romans*, and struck some terror into them. But *Lucullus* sending out some Horse for provisions, he also sent a party to interrupt them, which fighting in a disadvantagious place was worsted. Being now destitute of Horse, he thought of removing from *Cabira*, where he had wintred; and communicated his intention to his friends. They not expecting the sign began to pack up, and send their baggage out of the Camp before day, which the Army taking notice of, thought much they should flye without any warning given, and in great fear and disorder breaking out of the trenches ran away. The King went about to hinder them, but none taking notice of him, he was born down in the crowd, and being got on horseback betook himself also to flight, and might have been taken, but that the *Romans* were too busie in plundering the Camp, though warned by their General to forbear.

And forcing him to flye, persueth him into his Kingdom,

A. M. 3932. *V. C.* 681.

And into *Armenia*.

24. *Mithridates* first fled to *Comana*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who admitted him not to his presence, but caused him to be entertained like a King, though in fenny and unwholesome places. All *Pontus*, except a few places, yielded to *Lucullus*, to whom also *Machares* King of *Bosphorus* sent a crown of gold, and purchased the title of his friend and allie. After this *Lucullus* pursued *Mithridates* into *Armenia*, intending to fall on *Tigranes* King thereof, if he gave him occasion by defending his Enemy. *Tigranes* at this time was a very potent Prince, having conquered several Nations. He wrested *Asia* from the *Parthians*, transported many thousands of *Greeks* out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, into a City built by him near *Euphrates*, and called *Tigranocerta*; be obtained *Syria* and *Palestine*, displacing the Kings thereof, as was acknowledged by *Lucullus*. This made him intollerably proud, so that when he rode, he would have four of those Kings he had subdued to run beside him like Lackies, and stand before him with their hands folded in token of subjection, when he sate on his throne. *Lucullus* sent to him *Appius Claudius* his wive's brother, to demand *Mithridates*; but he was then busied in *Phœnicia*, in reducing some places, which the Messenger made an opportunity in his absence, secretly to withdraw from him many, whom his intollerable pride had rendred impatient. At his return he gave a negative answer, and therefore *Lucullus* with two Legions and scarcely 3000 Horse, passed over *Euphrates*, being not acknowleged a General, because he had not given him the title of *King of Kings*.

25. *Tigranes* had no good intelligence of his coming, for he hanged him that first brought the news, as a disturber of the Peace; but when he perceived it was so indeed, he sent *Mithrobarzanes* with 2000 Horse to interrupt his passage, left *Mancæus* to guard *Tigranocerta*, and went himself up and down levying forces. Whilst he was bringing 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse, the former was beaten back, and the later could not defend the City. *Mithridates* advised him not to hazard all in a battel, but rather starve the *Romans*, as they had done him at *Cyzicus*, but he slighted the motion, and jeered

jeered at the smallnesse of their number, saying, that *if they were Ambassadors they were very many, and if Soldiers, very few.* But *Lucullus* pitching upon an hill, sent his Horse to provoke and draw out the Enemy; that he might break his ranks, and then setting upon the cariage beasts, caused them to drive the Foot amongst the Horse, whereby a great confusion was made, and great execution continued all the day. *Tigranocerta* was taken by the means of certain *Greeks*, who being out of jealousie disarmed by *Mancæus*, took clubs, and setting upon him and his men, got the better, and received the *Romans* within the walls. After this, another great Army was raised, and committed to the conduct of *Mithridates*. They then endeavoured to incompasse *Lucullus*, but were crossed in their expectation, and both parties continued without any great matter performed, till want of victuals forced them to depart. Then went *Tigranes* further into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* marched away into his own, being pursued by *Lucullus*.

Where he overthroweth in battel *Tigranes* the King, who protected him.

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A. M. 3936. *Ol.* 177. an. 4. *V. C.* 685. *Q. Horatio Nepote & Cæcilio Metello Coss.*

26. *Mithridates* overthrew *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, and after him *Triarius*, who being sent with a new supply, out of a desire of glory ventured to fight ere the General came. He lost in one ingagement 24 Tribunes, and 150 Centurions (which numbers were seldom heard of in an overthrow of the *Roman* Armies) and 7000 in all were slain near the Mountain *Scotius*, about three miles distant from *Zela* a City of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* having heard of the Kings intention to set upon *Triarius*, procured the Soldiers of *Fimbria* to march, who through the procurement of *P. Clodius* mutined against him, as formerly against *Flaccus* by the means of *Fimbria*. But *Mithridates* taking away all the necessaries he could carry, and destroying the rest, departed into *Armenia* the lesse. *Lucullus* would gladly have followed him, and might have put an end to the War, but that now by the procurement of *A. Gabinius* the Tribune, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* that years Consul, was appointed his successor, and an order made for disbanding of *Fimbria*'s Soldiers. This being known, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Army so much, that hardly could his men be drawn to stay, though they marched no further against *Mithridates*; so that the King began to recruit himself, and *Tigranes* wasted *Cappadocia*. Shortly after, *Glabrio* arrived in his Province, and sent about to give notice, that the Senate was displeased with *Lucullus* for prolonging the War, disbanded his Army, and would confiscate the estates of such as should disobey it's order. Hereupon all the Army forsook him, except some few poor men, who had no cause to regard the threatnings; and *Lucullus* being outed of his command, *Mithridates* recovered almost his whole Kingdom, and did much hurt to *Cappadocia*; *Glabrio* not as much as coming to the Army, but loitering in *Bithynia*. This happened in the eighth year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War, the 687 of the City, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and the said *M. Acilius Glabrio* being Consuls.

Dion Cassius. Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.

Dio. l. 35.

Lucullus being in a fair way to finish the War, is interrupted by the coming of *Glabrio*.

Plutarch in Lucullo.

The Warre committed afterwards to *Pompey*.

The year following the War was committed to *Cneius Pompey* (afterward sirnamed the Great) by the means of *C. Manilius* the Tribune, who having offended the Senate by a Law, which gave the same right of suffrages to *Liberti* or *Freemen* (once slaves) as to their Patrons, or such as manumitted them, procured this Law also to passe to curry favour with him, who now had a very great name and power, having scarcely finished the *Piratick* Warre, which for his famous and speedy Expedition, must be described, after we have first spoken something of the War with *Spartacus*, that was managed whilst *Lucullus* was busie in *Pontus*.

Dio. lib. 36. *Livii Epitom. l.* 100. *Plutarch in Pompeio.*

The war with *Spartacus*.

27. *Spartacus* a *Thracian* born, was a *Fencer* in the house of *Lentulus* at *Capua*, where perswading about 70 of his condition, rather to fight for their own liberty than the pleasure of spectators, they broke the house and fled to *Vesuvius* the hill in *Campania*, where receiving to them all fugitives, they fell down upon the parts adjacent, and robbed them. By making equal division of the booty, he got together a great power of men, over whom he set as Captains two Fencers that were *Galls* by birth, called *Oenomaus* and *Crixus*. *Clodius* the *Prætor*, who was sent against them from the City, they roured and put to flight, as also *P. Varinus*, whose Lictors and Horse they took

Consule Appian de bello civili l. 1. *Plut. in Crasso. Florum l.* 3. *c.* 20. *Eutrop. lib.* 6. *Orosium lib.* 5. *c.* 24.

SECT. 5. took. *Spartacus* now having got together 70000 men, and making great preparations, began to be formidable to the *Romans*, who therefore sent against him *L. Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* the Consuls with two Legions. *Crixus* was at the Hill *Garganus* defeated and slain. *Spartacus* making for *Gall*, was beset before and behind by the Consuls; but one after the other he overthrew, and putting them both to flight, killed 300 prisoners to appease the Ghost of *Crixus*. Marching then towards the *Alps* he was opposed by *Cassius* the *Prætor*, whom he also overthrew, and who hardly escaped from the engagement.

28. *Spartacus* puffed up by such successe, now consulted of no lesse than setting upon *Rome* it self. At the *Comitia* for *Prætors*, when the Candidate appeared, *M. Licinius Crassus*, a person of great Nobility, and exceeding rich, undertook the Office, and was sent against *Spartacus* with six Legions. He ordered *Mummius* his Lieutenant with two Legions to attend the Enemies motions, but not to fight, which doing, he was worsted, and many being taken, many also cast away their Arms and fled. *Crassus* to terrifie others, used great severity against such as forsook their Colours, decimating 500 who had first begun to fly; which antient kind of Discipline being of a long time disused, he hereby revived. *Spartacus* having by this time passed to the Sea, thought of going over into *Sicily*; but failing of his design upon some *Cilician* Rovers, he sate down in the *Peninsula* of *Rhegium*, where *Crassus* as it were besieged him, having drawn a line through the *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, to cut off all Provisions. *Spartacus* in a tempestuous night made a shift to fill up the Ditch, and get over the third part of his Army, then ingaging with *Crassus* lost 12000 men. After this defeat he went toward the *Penline* Mountains, and the Lieutenant and *Quæstor* of *Crassus* pursuing him, he faced about, and put them to flight, whereby his men being incouraged, refused not to give the *Romans* battel. *Crassus* now desired also to fight, because *Pompey*, who was lately returned out of *Spain* was reported as coming to end this War. Pitching then one against another, *Spartacus* engaged with all his forces, and made at *Crassus* through the midst of Weapons and Wounds, whom yet he missed, but killed two of his Centurions. At length such as stood near him running away, whilest he stood his ground manfully he was slain, and the rest were disordered and put to flight. Some that escaped from the battel, and made head again, *Pompey* suppressed, three years before he undertook the War against the Pirates.

He is defeated and slain by *Crassus*.

29. The Pirates who had been a little repressed by *Servilius Isauricus* (as we said before) were now grown so numerous and powerfull, that there was no passing of the Seas, nor any dwelling upon the Coasts; for they not onely took and robbed ships on the Sea, but also whole Provinces on the Land; the chief place of their Rendezvous being *Cilicia* the *Rough*. *Mithridates* first set them on work, which finding profitable they ceased not when he left off, but continued their Robberies; many thousands of several Nations, as *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphylians*, the Natives of *Pontus*, and almost all others of that part of the World joying together. For, seeing that the War continued, they thought it more wisdom to damnifie others, than lose their own Estates. Because they made choice of *Cilicia*, as most commodious in the Mountainy and Craggy places thereof to secure themselves, they all went under the name of *Cilices*. They had defeated several Roman *Prætors*. *Murena* did little good against them, and *Servilius* but a little repressed their violence; for so impudent were they now grown, that besides their incursions into *Sicily* and other places, which made the Inhabitants of the Coasts forsake their habitations, they landed in *Italy* near *Brundusium*, whence they took away several women of quality; and more than that, two Armies with their Ensigns.

The insolence of Pirates.

Appian in Mithridatico.

Dio lib. 36.

Plutarch. in Pompeio.

30. The People of *Rome* being very sensible of these disgracefull losses, a Law was preferred by *A. Gabinius* the *Tribune*, ('tis uncertain whether at the motion of *Pompey*, or from his own desire to ingratiate himself with him; for being none of the best men, he little valued the good of the Commonwealth)

Provoketh the people of *Rome*.

monwealth) that some one from amongst those of Consular Dignity should be Created General with full power for three years against the Pirates, to whom also should be granted large forces, and many Lieutenants for carrying on the War. This Law little pleased the Fathers, who now began to be jealous of *Pompey*'s power; but to him was the businesse committed, having equal authority with *Proconsuls* any where within fifty miles distance from the Sea, and full power over all persons within that compasse, whether Kings or others, that they might assist him in the work. The Senate permitted him to chuse out of their body fifteen Lieutenants, to whom he might commit several Provinces; to take up as much money out of the Treasury and from the Publicans as he pleased; to raise what force he would, and take 200 ships. But he obtained greater things of the people, and doubled his preparations, getting 500 ships, 120000 foot, and some 5000 horse. He had also out of the Senate about 25 *Vicegerents*, two *Quæstors*, and took up 6000 *Attick* Talents; so difficult a thing it seem'd to destroy so many Fleets as the Pirates had, in such a Sea, where there was so many places of retreat and refuge.

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Which sendeth *Pompey* against them.

31. He distributed to his Lieutenants the *Mediterranean* Sea, including all the Bays, Havens, Promontories, Straights, Peninsulaes, and windings whatsoever, furnishing them with convenient shipping, forces, and authority; so that the *Pirates* being rouzed out of their lurking holes by some, might be received by the next, and chased by others, and none might need to sayl too far. He himself like a King of so many Kings sayled up and down, and visiting, giving directions, and overseeing, took care that not one Pirate escaped. By this course prosecuted with singular industry, in 40 dayes he scoured all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and *Sicily*; and the Pirates that escaped flocked into *Cilicia*, as the common receptacle. He coming to *Rome* about some necessary occasions, quickly after followed them with 60 Gallies; but though they prepared to give him battel at Sea, yet when they saw his Fleet at hand, submitted to mercy. Then in the space of 40 dayes he reduced *Cilicia* unto *Roman* obedience; for though he had provided Engines of all sorts to batter their Walls, it needed not, the greatnesse of his name, and preparation for the War had so terrified them, that one after another they all yielded themselves with the furniture for their trade. Such as remained of them being above 20000 he was unwilling to kill, and to let them return to their old habitations was not safe: therefore he removed them into another place at a good distance from the Sea, where he gave them houses and Land; and furnished their seats with new Inhabitants. Thus having taken well nigh 400 ships, killed 10000 men, and taken 120 Forts, he finished this War in three moneths, using the Conquered with more clemency than did *Q. Metellus* in *Crete*, which being the other nest of these Pirates, and glorying that it never underwent the yoak of any, he subdued, and obtained with a Triumph the firname of *Creticus*. Having succeeded *Antonius* (who died in the action, and had as large authority there as *Pompey*) he used the Pirates very roughly, and so much the more, because hearing of *Pompey*'s mercy, they had by a Message given up themselves into his hands.

His Method.

Florus lib. 3. cap. 6.

Appian ut supra.

Plutarch. Dio. Cicero pro lege Manilia.

With wonderfull expedition in three moneths he finisheth the War.

A. M. 3938. *Ol. 178. ann. 2. V. C. 687.*

32. Whilest he was putting an end to this *Piratick* War, did *Manilius* prefer a Law as we said before, that *all the Armies the* Romans *had any where, with the Government of all* Asia, *and the War against* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *might be committed to him*. The Nobility conceived great indignation against this Law, as which did manifest injury to *Lucullus*, *Glabrio*, and *Marcius*; but especially out of an high jealousie of *Pompey*'s greatnesse, to whom now even all the *Roman* Empire was subject, having these Provinces laid to his former, with the same power of Peace and War, and making what friends and enemies he pleased, and chiefly for that he had Jurisdiction over all Armies whatsoever, which things had never before been conferred upon any single person. But the *Commons* with great alacrity imbraced the Law; *Cicero* the *Prætor* pressing it exceedingly, who having formerly set himself to defend the Nobility, now had betaken himself

The *Law Manilia*.

Whereby the War against *Mithridates* with vast power is committed to *Pompey*.

Dio lib. 36.

Sect. 5. to the vulgar ſort. And *C. Julius Cæſar* (who of late had been *Quæſtor*) is ſaid to have favoured it, that he might have the people more inclined afterwards to commit extraordinary commands to himſelf.

33. It being now the 688 year of the Citie, the 64th before the birth of Chriſt, the fourth of *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus* being Conſuls, *Pompey* undertook the expedition. He firſt ſent to *Mithridates*, offering him good terms; but he ſleighted them, becauſe he hoped to have *Phraates* the *Parthian* on his ſide; yet when he heard that he had firſt made a League with him, on the ſame conditions as were offered to *Sylla* and *Lucullus*, he himſelf then ſent and asked peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down Arms, and deliver up all Fugitives; who fearing they ſhould be given up, and the other Soldiers mutining for being about to be deprived of their help, a great trouble inſued, which he evaded, by ſaying that he onely ſent to make an eſpial, and by ſwearing, that he never would be reconciled to the *Romans*, becauſe of their inſatiable avarice. Then marched *Pompey* into *Galatia*, where meeting with *Lucullus*, much ado there was betwixt them. *Lucullus* ſaid the War was finiſhed, and that the Commiſſioners ſent from *Rome* were to decide the buſineſſe, and when *Pompey* would not hear of this, he reviled him with an immoderate thirſt after power; *Pompey* again objecting covetouſneſſe to him, ſo that the accuſations could on neither ſide be denied. *Lucullus* gave out commands as yet in power, but *Pompey* by his Edicts forbade them, nulled all his Acts, and at length drew away moſt of his men. But at his return he was received with great honour by the Senate, carrying with him amongſt his booty gotten in *Pontus*, many * books, wherewith he furniſhed his Library, which ever ſtood open to *Greeks* eſpecially. He alſo firſt brought * the Cherry-Tree out of of *Pontus* (from a Citie of which Region it was called *Ceraſus*) into *Italy*.

A. M. 3939. V. C. 688.

Idem ibid. Plutarch. in Pompeio & Lucul.

He offereth the King terms to no purpoſe.

Stirs betwixt *Lucullus* and him.

* Iſidorus Orig. l. 6. c. 3.

* Plin. l. 15. cap. 25.

34. *Mithridates* had now got together a conſiderable Army; but coming to ingage with *Pompey* was inferiour to him in all skirmiſhes. *Pompey* conſidering how the King had waſted all the Countrey on purpoſe to ſtraighten him for Proviſions, went into *Armenia* the leſſe, ſubject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might get that Countrey into his hands, followed him thither. Firſt here *Mithridates* had hopes to ſtarve him; but was diſappointed with conſiderable loſſe, and was himſelf encompaſſed with a Trench 150 furlongs about. Hearing that *Marcius* was joyned to *Pompey*, who had Proviſions at will, he fled away, having firſt killed all ſuch as were ſick, and uſeleſſe, about him. But *Pompey* purſued, and prevented him from paſſing over *Euphrates*; then forced him to fight in the night, being ſurprized, and at unawares. The Moon being low, and on the backs of the *Romans*, ſo lengthened their ſhadows, that his Soldiers thinking them nearer than they were, ſhot moſt of their Arrows without doing any execution. He loſt many thouſands; but he himſelf brake out with 800 horſe, whereof but 300 ſtayed with him. Then wandring through the Woods with his horſe in his hand, he light of ſome Mercenaries, and about 3000 foot, by which he was conveyed into a Caſtel where he had laid up much Treaſure. Hence he ſent to *Tigranes*, who refuſed to receive him, laying to his charge, that by his means *Tigranes* his ſon (by the daughter of *Mithridates*) had rebelled againſt him, and offering 100 Talents for his head. He fled therefore to *Cholcos*, which formerly he had ſubdued.

Dio. Appian. & Plutarch. ut ſupra.

He defeateth *Mithridates*,

Who flieth to *Cholcos*.

35. *Pompey* followed him to *Cholcos*, thinking he vvould not have ſtirred thence; but he paſſed into *Scythia*, vvhere partly by force, and partly by perſvvaſion, he made the Princes thereof of his party, beſtowing his daughters in marriage upon them. For he had now vaſt deſigns in his head, though outed of his Kingdom, even no leſſe than of paſſing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Pannonia*, and ſo over the *Alps* into *Italy*. *Pompey* departing from *Cholcos*, and eſcaping the ambuſhes laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, marched into *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*, vvho vvas reſolved novv not to fight, for that having had three ſons by *Mithridates* his daughter, tvvo of them upon provocation he had already killed, and he that remained rebelling alſo, vvas now

And thence into *Scythia*.

now after an overthrow received from his Father, fled to *Pompey*. This ſon prevailed that his Ambaſſadors were not heard, who came to ask Peace. But *Pompey* marching againſt the City *Artaxa*, *Tigranes* yielded it up to him, and afterwards, vvithout ſending any beforehand, came into his Camp, and giving up himſelf with all he had into his hands, made him umpire betwixt him and his ſon, who would not ſo much as riſe up to him, or give him any reſpect, though *Pompey* uſed him very civily. *Pompey* left him his inheritance of *Armenia*, with a great part alſo of *Meſopotamia* (allowing the ſon to reign in *Gordena* and *Sophena*, and expect the reſt after his father's death) but deprived him of all the Provinces he had ſubdued, and fined him 6000 Talents of Silver for the charge he had put the People of *Rome* to in the War. So, he not onely quitted part of *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, but alſo all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* from *Euphrates* to the Sea, which he had got into his hands, with part of *Cilicia*, after he had ejected *Antiochus Pius*, as is ſaid before in the reign of this unfortunate King. *Tigranes* the ſon was very refractory, unwilling his father ſhould have the treaſure adjudged to him by *Pompey*, that he might be able to pay his fine. Being minded to make away his father, and for that caſt into priſon; where therein alſo he ſollicited the *Parthians* againſt the *Romans*, he was reſerved for a Triumph, and after that killed in priſon. The old King payed more than his fine, and gave ſomething to every Officer and Soldier, after which he was accounted a Friend and Allie of the People of *Rome*.

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Tigranes ſubmitteth to *Pompey*.

Pat. vell. l. 2. c. 37.

The conditions ſet him.

Liv. Epitom. l. 101.

His rebellious ſon put to death.

36. *Pompey* reſtored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, gave him alſo *Sophene* and *Gordene*, with *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and others. After this with ſome adoe he forced the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace, and then paſſing over the mountain *Taurus*, made War upon *Antiochus Comagenus*, and alſo *Darius* the *Median*, either for that he had helped *Antiochus*, or made War againſt *Tigranes*, or *Aretas* King of the *Nabathæan Arabs*. Then *Phraates* the *Parthian* affrighted at his great atchievements begged Peace, which he granted not, but ſent *Afranius* into *Gordiene*, to drive out his forces, and reſtore it to *Tigranes*, who about it had warred with the *Perſian*. *Phraates* hereupon invaded *Armenia*, and *Tigranes* ſent to *Pompey* for aid; who being unwilling to begin a War with *Phrames* without an order from *Rome*, ſent three Commiſſioners to agree them. *Antiochus* ſon of *Antiochus Pius*, to whom *Lucullus* granted *Syria* his inheritance, thought firſt of betaking himſelf to the *Parthian*; yet upon ſecond thoughts, reſolved to caſt himſelf upon the good nature of *Pompey*. But he having obtained it without a ſtroak, put him beſide it, commanding him to content himſelf with *Comagena*, though he had never ill deſerved of the People of *Rome*: for knowing he was not able to right himſelf, he excuſed the matter, ſaying, it was not fit that *Syria*, whence *Tigranes* had baniſhed the poſterity of *Seleucus*, ſhould now rather fall to it being conquered, than to the *Romans*, who were *Conquerours*. He refuſed flatly to give *Antiochus* what before he could not keep (for he had layn in a corner of *Cilicia* fourteen years, all the time that *Tigranes* enjoyed it) leſt he ſhould again render it lyable to the incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians*. Therefore having overcome the *Ituræans* and *Arabians*, he reduced *Syria* into the form of a Province.

A. M. 3940. V. C. 689.

Appian ut ſupra. Dio l. 37. Plutarch in vit. prius.

Pompey reduceth *Syria* into a *Roman* Province.

Appian. Juſtin l. 40. A. M. 3942. Ol. 179. an. 2. V. C. 691. Seleucid. 250.

37. *Mithridates*, in the mean time had ſent to *Pompey* to ask Peace, offering to pay tribute; but being willed to come to him, he flatly refuſed, and made great preparations to renew the War. After this *Caſtor* his Governour of *Phanagoria* a Port Town of *Pontus* revolted, and calling the People to their liberty, took the Caſtle held by *Mithridates* his ſons, whereof four he ſent to *Roman* Garriſons. Hereupon ſeveral places fell off, which made him put many perſons to death, amongſt whom were divers of his own friends, and one of his ſons. Seing alſo that many revolted, and his new Army had no heart to the ſervice, he ſent to the Princes of *Scythia* to haſten their ſupplies, ſending his daughters to them with a convoy of 500 Horſe; but theſe men killing the Eunuchs who had moleſted them about the King, caried away the women unto *Pompey*. Yet ſuch a courage ſtill he had, as to think of paſſing

Appian.

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Mithridates designing in his mind great things,

fing through *Scythia* and *Istria*, and joyning with the *Galls* of *Europe* to invade *Italy*, hoping there to find many enemies of the *Romans*; though *Pompey* coming out of *Syria* had through ambition done what he condemned in *Lucullus*, having reduced his Kingdom into the form of a Province, whilst he was yet alive, and provided for new oppoſition. But his Army was ſtartled at the news of his intentions, hating the tedioufneſſe of the journy, and having ſmall hope to conquer thoſe in *Italy*, whom at their own doors they could not withſtand. Yet ſuch was his authority, as for a while they were quiet, till his own ſon whom he had moſt loved, and deſtined his ſucceſſor, became the procuror of their defection and his death.

38. This was *Pharnaces*, who either out of apprehenſion that this attempt upon *Italy* would cut off all pardon from his family, or upon other grounds, conſpired againſt him. The plot was diſcovered, and though his Complices were tortured and put to death, yet was he pardoned, and betook himſelf to the fugitive *Romans*, ſhewing them their danger in caſe *Italy* were invaded, and then to the Army, which with ſmall trouble he drew to his party. *Mithridates* coming to ſpeak to them, his own guard forſook him, his horſe as he fled was killed under him, and *Pharnaces* ſaluted King, having a piece of parchment put about his head in form of a diadem. *Mithridates* ſeeing this from a high room, ſent divers to ask leave to depart, who not returning, he himſelf often deſired it of his ſon, but in vain, who bidding him dye, he cried out, and prayed, that he might hear one day the ſame words from his own children. Then came he down to his wives, daughters, and concubines, to whom when he had given poyſon, fearing he ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, he took ſome himſelf; but having uſed much his body to antidotes (ſuch as yet are named from him) it would not work, though he walked much for that purpoſe, whereupon he wounded himſelf, but this not diſpatching him ſoon enough, he called one *Bicatus* (or *Bithocus*) a *Gall*, who, the wall being broken, had got in, by whoſe hand partly, and partly by his own, he diſpatched himſelf. A man, as one ſaith, neither, without good heed, to be omitted nor ſpoken of; in War moſt eager and fierce, and alwaies of notable valour. Sometimes in fortune, all times in courage of higheſt rank; in direction a good Captain, in execution a good Soldier, in hatred to the *Romans* another *Hannibal*; finally, the greateſt King after *Alexander* in the judgment of *Cicero*. This end came he to, after the War had firſt commenced juſt 20 years; for it began when *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, and *L. Porcius Cato*, and ended now when *M. Tullius Cicero* the Orator, and *C. Antonius Nepos* were Conſuls, in the 691 year of the City, the ſecond of the 179 *Olympiad*, and the firſt of the reign of *Hyrcanus*, 61 years before the birth of *Chriſt*. A. M. 3942.

Oroſius l. 6. c. 5. Dio lib. 37. Florus l. 3. c. 5. alii.

His ſon *Pharnaces* draweth the Army from him.

He killeth himſelf.

A. M. 3942. *Patercul. l. 2. c. 18.*

39. *Pompey*, when the firſt tidings of his death came to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judaea*, who had diſpleaſed his elder brother *Hyrcanus* and uſurped the Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complained of his brother to *Pompey* at *Damaſcus*, who came thither to anſwer for himſelf. *Pompey* uſed them both kindly, telling them, that as ſoon as he had diſpatched ſome affairs he would come into their Country, which after he had ſetled *Syria*, ſubdued the *Arabians* with the *Iturae-ans*, and reduced *Pontus* into a Province, (all in a ſhort time) he now performed, being much incenſed by *Hyrcanus* againſt the other. He ſent to *Ariſtobulus* to come to him, and deliver up all his holds, which he did with much regret, and afterwards withdrew himſelf to *Hieruſalem*, to prepare for War. *Pompey* ſuſpecting ſome ſuch matter, delayed not to follow him, who then came out to meet him; but though the City was entred without oppoſition, his Soldiers fortified the Temple and ſtood out, which made him be delivered into cuſtody. The Temple being very ſtrong by it's ſituation, was after much labour taken in the third moneth, *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla* having firſt mounted the walls. Twelve thouſand *Jews* were ſlain, of the *Romans* very few. *Pompey* entred the Holy of Holies, but medled with nothing, reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the Prieſthood and Government (yet with command not

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 9. & l. 14. c. 5, &c. & de bello l. 10. c. 5. Livius lib. 102. Plutarch in Pompeio. Tacitus Hiſtor. l. 5. c. 9. Florus l. 3. c. 5. Dio l. 37. p. 36. c.

Pompey invadeth *Judaea*, where he ſetleth matters betwixt *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* the two brothers.

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not to wear a diadem) and took *Ariſtobulus* along with him, making *Judaea* tributary to *Rome*, as is more largely related in it's proper place. After this, leaving *Syria* with two Legions to *Scaurus* his *Quaeſtor*, he fully ſubdued *Cilicia*, and thence returning into *Pontus*, ſetled things there, beſtowing the Kingdom of *Boſphorus* upon *Pharnaces*. At his return he wintred at *Epheſus*, whence having ſubdued many Princes, and joyned others as Allies to the State of *Rome*, having taken 1000 Caſtles, 900 Cities, and reſtored 39; having planted Colonies in eight Cities and Countries; and ordered the poſſeſſion of ſuch as through the continent of *Aſia* belonged to the *Romans*; and having magnificently rewarded his Soldiers, he returned into *Italy*, and at *Rome* triumphed two dayes together very gloriouſly, leading amongſt other captives *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judaea*, after he had ſpent five years in his Eaſtern Expedition.

A. M. 3944. *V. C. 693.*

40. The ſame year wherein *Mithridates* died, and the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was taken, happned a moſt dangerous conſpiracy at *Rome*, by the means of *L. Sergius Catalina*, a *Patrician* by degree, but one of a debaucht and infamous life. Some years before he had been accuſed of inceſt with *Fabia* a *Veſtal Nun*; but by the means of *Catulus* was acquitted; ſuſpected alſo to have murdered his ſon for the love of *Aurelia*, who would not marry one that had children. Having contracted by this looſeneſſe of life a vaſt debt, he grew deſperate, and ſought for power and command, that he might if poſſible obtain the ſoveraignty over all; but being alſo ſuſpected hereof, he twice received a repulſe in ſtanding for the *Conſulſhip*. The later time it was caried from him by *Cicero*, whom he would have killed in the *Comitia*, and railed at as a foreiner and upſtart, becauſe he was born but of an Equeſtrian family at *Arpinum* a Town in *Puglia*, a Province (now) of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Hereby driven into extream diſdain and rage, he fell into that courſe wherein formerly he had been ingaged with *Piſo* for the deſtruction of his Country, to whom alſo *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *L. Manlius Torquatus* (being denied the *Conſulſhip* which they had fought by indirect means two years before) joyned themſelves, and anew plotted the deſtruction of the *Conſuls* and *Senate*, the burning of the City, and overthrowing of the Commonwealth, with *Lentulus*, *C. Cethegus*, and others. This *Lentulus* had been *Conſul* ſeven years before, and now was *Prator* (as alſo *Cethegus*) being driven on by a vain confidence he had in the Books of *Sibylla*, which he would often ſay did portend that the ſoveraign power, ſhould be in the hands of three *Cornelii*, viz. *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and *himſelf*.

The conſpiracy of *Catalinae*

Lege Salluſt. de Conjuratione Cataline. Oroſium l. 6. c. 3. & 6. Appian de bello civili lib. 2. Dionem l. 37. p. 42. E.

Velleium Paterc. l. 2. c. 34, 35. Livii Epitom. lib. 103.

41. The plot was diſcovered through *Fulvia* a Courtiſan, to whom *Q. Curius* one of the Conſpirators (a man that for his debaucheries had by the *Cenſors* been removed out of the Senate) blabbed it out, while he boaſted to her, that ſhortly he ſhould be a very conſiderable man. She gave intelligence to *Cicero*, who out of them two got the whole matter, how, and where they had met, and what deſigns they had in hand; particularly for his own deſtruction to be brought about by *L. Vaſgunteius* a Senator, and *C. Cornelius* of Equeſtrian rank, under pretence of a kind viſit. He appointed guards to the ſeveral parts of the City, and on the eighth of *November* (as the year then went) called the Senate together, whither came *Cataline* amongſt the reſt; but none of the Senators would come near him, ſo as that part of the bench whereon he ſate, was wholly void. *Cicero*, whether feaing him, or angry to ſee him there, made his firſt Oration againſt him, wherein he commanded him to depart the City. He went away late in the night with 300 armed men, and Lictors carying Axes and Rods before him as a Magiſtrate, into *Etruria*, gathering Soldiers all along, intending to return and make prey of the City, which upon his departure he had given order to burn, as alſo to kill *Cicero*, which *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* took upon them to do, as ſoon as he ſhould come to *Faſula*. In the mean time the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges*, who were come to Town to accuſe their Magiſtrates, were alſo drawn in, to ſtir up the *Galls* againſt the Commonwealth; but declaring it to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron (it was the cuſtome for each Nation

Diſcovered by the means of *Fulvia*.

Cicero maketh his firſt Oration againſt him.

of

Sect. 5. or State to have one in the Citie) it came to *Tullie's* ear, and so was prevented.

His second.

42. The day after *Cataline's* departure, the Consul made his second Oration, wherein he Gongratulates the People, and Commonwealth, concerning his absence. The Senate judged *Cataline* an Enemy, and *Manlius*, with whom in *Etruria* he had joyned; they deprived *Lentulus* of his Office, by whom the Ambassadors had been drawn in, who confessed they had often heard from him what he idlely conjectured out of *Sibylla's* books.

Third.

Cicero's third Oration declareth what was done in the Senate. The times being very dangerous, he propounded to the *Fathers* to consider what course was to be taken with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statius*, and *Cassius*; all whom he having secured, this bred a great disturbance; for the Slaves and Dependents of the two former got together a great company of Artificers, and indeavoured to break in upon the back-side of the *Prætor's* house, and rescue their Lords. This being known, the Consul hasted out of the Senate-house, and appointed a watch to be set, then returning, asked the opinions of the Senators. *Silanus* designed Consul for the ensuing year, being first asked his opinion, according to the custom, was for putting them to death, and so were divers others, till *Nero* dissuaded it, judging it better to secure them till *Cataline* were suppressed, and the thing better sifted out. Of this opinion was C. *Julius Cæsar*, something suspected to be privy to the design. He would have them dispersed in several Towns in *Italy* by the Consul's appointment, afterwards to be tried, and not put to death altogether unheard. This seemed very plausible, till *Cato* (great Grand-son to *M. Porcius Cato* the *Censor*) very earnestly pressed the contrary, falling foul upon *Cæsar* as a suspicious person. Then the Consul made his fourth Oration, wherein he so disputeth of the two contrary opinions, as he evidently inclineth to severity, as fearing what the guilty party might do the night following out of necessity and desperation. Hereby the Senate was induced to put them to death as surprized in the fact, which *Cicero* saw done accordingly ere the house arose. After this *Cataline* was overtaken by C. *Antonius*, the other Consul, near the *Alps*, as he was going into *Gall* to perfect his Levies, and there fighting most valiantly was slain. His men also fought it out to the last, scarcely one of them being taken. So was quasht this most dangerous conspiracy, by the vigilancy especially of *Cicero* the Consul, who wrote an History thereof which is lost. Publick thanks for his great care and pains were given to him, and, at the instance of *Cato*, with divers acclamations of the People, he was first of all others stiled *Father of his Countrey*.

Fourth.

Catalines complices put to death,

And he himself slain.

C. Julius Cæsar beginneth to be eminent.

43. Now began *C. Julius Cæsar* to be very eminent, two years after these stirs being sent as *Prætor* into the further *Spain*. He was born in the 654 year of the Citie, *C. Marius* the sixth time, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* being Consuls, the same that the Sedition about *Saturninus* hapned, on the 12th day of the moneth *Quintilis*, afterward from him named *July* by *Antonius* his Law. His father was *C. Julius Cæsar*, who never arose higher than the *Prætorship*, and died suddenly at *Pisa*, as his shooes were drawing on in the morning: his mother was *Aurelia*, the daughter of *C. Cotta*; and *Julia* the wife of *Marius* was his Aunt. In his youth having married *Cinna's* daughter (by which he had *Julia*) refusing to put her away, he was in great danger, being with much ado spared by *Sylla*, who as it were foretelling what trouble he would bring to the State, said, that in *Cæsar* were many *Marii*. The foundation of his Military skill he laid in *Asia*, under *M. Thermus* the *Prætor*, by whom being sent into *Bithynia* to fetch away the Navy, he stayed with *Nicomedes* the King, to whom it was suspected that he prostituted himself. Afterwards in the taking of *Mitylene* he had deserved well, and served under *Servilius Isauricus* in *Cilicia*; but not long. For, hearing of *Sylla's* death, and hoping to make his fortune out of the dissentions raised by *Lepidus*, home he came; but not finding a convenient oppportunity, and having to no purpose accused *Dolobella*, to shun the Envy thereby contracted

Lege Suttorium in Julio.

His birth.

The foundation of his Military skill.

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ted, he went to *Rhodes* to hear *Apollonius*, whence sayling in Winter, he fell into the hands of the Pirates, and was forced to purchase his freedom with fifty Talents; to revenge which, he procured some ships, & took some of them, whom he nailed to Crosses, though without leave from the *Prætor*, who would have sold them. After this he gave a stop to *Mithridates* his Lieutenant, and saved divers Cities in *Asia*. He assisted *Pompey* the Consul, and others, in restoring the *Tribuneship* which *Sylla* had broken. Shortly after he was made *Quæstor*, and sent into further *Spain*, where going about to administer Justice, he came to *Gades*, and saw *Alexanders* image in the Temple of *Hercules*. It troubled him exceedingly, to consider that he himself had done no memorable thing at that age wherein *Alexander* had Conquered the World, and thereupon he earnestly desired to be recalled, that being in the Citie, he might catch at some opportunity for his own advancement.

Made Quæstor.

Joyneth with factious persons.

44. Having got leave to return ere his time was out, he joyned presently with the *Latine* Colonies in demanding the freedom of the Citie, and had incited them to some desperate design, but that the Senate for fear of the worst, retained the Legions some time, which were raised for *Cilicia*. He was suspected to have been of the party of *M. Crassus*, of *P. Sulla* also, and *Antronius*, (who having been designed Consuls, were found to have indirectly sought for the Office, and so according to Law forfeited their places to the discoverers) in the beginning of the year to set upon the Senate, and kill whom they pleased. *Crassus* being made *Dictator*, he was to have been Master of the horse-men under him, and all things being ordered according to their pleasure, the Consulship was to have been restored to the other two. Some have affirmed (whom *Suetonius* citeth) that he also conspired with *Cn. Piso*, that the one in the Citie, and the other abroad, should rise, which was prevented by *Piso's* death. Being after this *Ædilis*, he so managed the businesse of publick buildings, and shews, that all was ascribed to him, and nothing to his Collegue; by which means, and others, he procured the favour of the People, and envyed by the Tribunes to get *Egypt* assigned to him, which, now having expelled the King, he thought would afford him an opportunity of an extraordinary command. But he was crossed by the great ones, whom that he might vex, he restored the Trophies erected by *Marius* over the *Cimbri*, which *Sulla* had caused to be pulled down, and suborned those who accused *Rabirius*. By his means especially the Senate had suppressed *Saturninus* the seditious Tribune, and now being brought before *Cæsar* as his Judge, he was so severe against him, that nothing so much helped the man in his appeal from him to the People.

Made *Ædilis.*

45. After his repulse as to *Egypt* he stood for the *High-Priesthood*, and by large sums (such corruption were those times arrived at) bought so many voices as he carried it from two most powerfull men and his Seniors, having more suffrages out of their two Tribes, than they had out of all the rest besides. Then being *Prætor*, he stood for the complices of *Cataline* so earnestly, as he drew to his party the brother of *Cicero* the Consul, and diverse others. After this he assisted *Cæcilius Metellus* the *Tribune* in preferring turbulent Laws, till both of them by a decree of the Senate were displaced, and yet then would he sit, and execute his Office still, till forced to withdraw: then, out of policy he restrained the multitude which flocked to him, and offered to restore him by strong hand, of which the Senate taking notice, gave him thanks with great commendations, and re-invested him in his Office. After this, he fell into another danger, being accused by *Vettius* and *Curius*, as a partner of *Cataline*; yet, appealing to *Cicero* that he had discovered some things to him, he came off, and revenged himself upon his accusers. Then obtained he by lot, as we said, the Government of *Spain*, and having contracted a vast debt, put off his Creditors for that time, by the interposition of sureties. Coming into his Province he spent not his time in administring Justice, but pierced farther into the Countrey, and subdued certain people before this untouched, seeking matter for a Triumph, which then to obtain he hasted to *Rome*.

Getteth by bribery the High Priesthood.

Joyneth again with seditious men.

Goeth *Prætor* into *Spain.*

A. M. 3944. *V. C.* 693.

Sect. 5. *Rome*. But it being now the time for the *Consular Comitia*, he had an extraordinary desire to that Office, and begged of the Senate, that he might stand for it by proxy, for that he could not himself be present, it being against the custom for any that was to Triumph to enter the Citie ere that day came; for which as yet he was not provided. This, though against the Laws, was not without president, but could not now be granted. Therefore he resolved rather to lose his Triumph than misse of the *Consulship*, and coming to Town, stood for it himself.

Obtaineth the Consulship by the means of *Pompey*.

46. Great contests hapned about this Office, and he had not carried it, but that *Pompey* at this time stood in need of it. For, the great ones envying his fame, refused to confirm those conditions which he had granted to the Kings, Governours, and Cities of *Asia*. *Lucullus* his Predecessor in the War with *Mithridates*, who since his return had given up himself wholy to idleness and luxury (for he first brought into *Rome* the extravagancy of buildings and feasting) they stirred up, by his authority to promote their opposition, and he presently fell upon him, together with *Metellus Creticus*, who bore him malice also ever since the *Piratick* War. *Lucullus* bade him report his matters singly, and not as a Soveraign Lord expect they should all be confirmed without any consideration: and whereas he had rescinded several of his acts, he desired of the Senate that this might be considered of, whether justly done or otherwise. *Cato*, *Metellus Celer*, the Consul, and *Crassus*, defended *Lucullus*, who boasted that the victory over *Mithridates* was his own; and he obtained that his decrees which *Pompey* had repealed might be in force, and those that *Pompey* made in reference to the Conquered Kings should be null: and he hindred, by the help of *Cato*, a Law which he would have preferred about dividing grounds to his Soldiers. *Pompey* being thus used in the Senate, betook himself to the *Tribunes*, one whereof (*L. Flavius*) that the Law for the grounds might more easily passe, would have given the suffrage to all Citizens, but *Metellus* the Consul so earnestly opposed it, that though the *Tribune* cast him in prison, yet would he not depart from his former sence, which pertinaciousness of him and others, when *Pompey* saw, he desisted, repenting too late that he had disbanded his Armies, and exposed himself thus to the malice of his Enemies.

Idem ibid. Plutarch in Pompeio, Cæsare, & Lucullo Velleius Paterc. l. 2. c. 20. Appian de bello civili lib. 2. Dio lib. 37. pag. 55. A. Livii Epitom. lib. 103.

47. At this time came *C. Julius Cæsar* to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *Pompey* joyned with him, upon condition that he procuring the Consulship for him, he would confirm his acts. And whereas *Pompey* and *M. Crassus* had formerly been at odds ever since their joynt Consulship which they executed with great discord; *Cæsar* now made them friends, and not onely so, but they all three conspired together, that nothing should be done in the Commonwealth which displeased any one of them; which conspiracy, say Writers, was pernicious to the Citie, the World, and at length to themselves. This conspiracy of these three principal persons, *Varro* (who wrote 490 books) described in one book, & called it Τριμόρφον, *Tricipitinus*, or *Three headed*. *Diodorus Siculus* fetcheth the Original of *Cæsarean* matters from this year, wherein he travelled into *Egypt*, when young *Ptolomy Dionysius* was King. With this conspiracy also *Asinius Pollio* begun his History of the Civil War. For the falling out of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, did not, as most have thought, procure the Civil Wars; but rather their Conjunction, which was designed to break in pieces the power of the Nobility, as *Plutarch* observeth in the life of *Cæsar*. This was the 694th year of the Citie, the first of the 180th *Olympiad*, *Herodes* being *Archon* at *Athens*, the 58th year before the birth of *Christ*, A. M. 3945. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Afranius* being Consuls.

Pompey and *Crassius* made friends, and they three make the conspiracy, called the *Tricipitina*.

A. M. 3946. *Ol.* 180. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 695. *Hyrcani* 5.

CHAP.

Sect. 6.

SECT. VI.

From the beginning of the Tricipitina or first Triumvirate, to the absoluteness of Julius Cæsar, *containing the space of sixteen years.*

Cæsar and also his adversaries purchase the Consulship.

1. CÆSAR by the help of *Pompey* obtained the Consulship; but not without the assistance of money also. There were two other Competitors, *L. Lucerius* and *M. Bibulus*, whereof he was much for the former, having agreed with him, that because he was lesse in favour, but very rich, he should give money for them both through the Centuries. But the Grandees understanding this, and fearing if he had him for his Collegue he might do what he listed, they caused *Bibulus* to offer more, they themselves contributing to the expence, which corruption *Cato* denied not to be for the good of the Commonwealth, now brought by the means of such evil members into absolute danger and necessity. *Cæsar* confirmed *Pompey*'s acts according to agreement, neither *Lucullus* nor any other opposing it, and *Pompey* procured, that what honour *Lucullus* had promised to certain men of *Pontus*, should not be confirmed by the Senate, filling the City with Soldiers, and by force casting him and *Cato* out of the Forum. In this his first Consulship he sold alliances with *Rome*, and also Kingdoms; and, to procure the favour of the Commons, preferred a Law for dividing certain grounds in *Campania* (which had been preserved to defray publick charges) to such Citizens as had three children or more. This he caused to passe by force, and compelled all *Plebeians* to swear to observe the Law, and the Senators also, though *Cato* urged them to refuse; for they did it to save their lives, he having caused the People to decree, that it should be capital for any to deny it. He had recourse to the People in all cases, making little use of the Senate, which he seldom called together. *Bibulus* his Collegue having opposed his actions for some time to no purpose, kept himself at home, and stirred not for the remaining part of the year. *Cæsar* then governed alone, and was much courted by the *Equites* or *Knights*, who having farmed the custome, desired an abatement of the rent. The Senate refused to remit any thing, but he did their business for them, procuring the People to abate a third part.

Velleius l. 2. c. 33. Appian belli civilis l. 2. p. 435. Strabo lib. 12. p. 558. Plutarch in Cæsare, Lucullo, & Pompeio. Livii Epitom. l. 10.

His acts therein.

By inveigling the People he procureth *Gall* for five years.

By this and other wayes of shews and largesses, he so inveigled the multitude, that he got *Gall* to be decreed to him for five years, with four Legions, and for the remaining part of the year, spent it in seeking how to establish himself for the time to come.

He marieth his daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, and otherwise provideth for his own interest.

2. Knowing how considerable a man *Pompey* was, to bind him faster to him, he gave him in mariage his daughter *Julia*. He procured two of his own creatures, *A. Gabinius* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* (whose daughter he had maried after *Cornelia*'s death) to be designed Consuls for the following year, as also *Vatinius* and *Clodius* Tribunes, though the later had abused his wife (for he was a person exceedingly loose that way) having in womens clothes crept into the meetings proper onely to that Sex, for which he was accused as a breaker of the sacred customes by *Cicero*. He appeared not against him though he put away his wife, nay he helped him to his place, as it's thought, out of opposition to the Orator (who was wont to declame against the combination of the three great ones, as pernicious to the Commonwealth) and in way of requital for the help hee had afforded him in the procurement of *Gall*, whither, when the time of his Consulship was expired, he departed. This year was *Titus Livius* the Historiographer born at *Padua*.

Eusseb.

Clodius the Tribune

3. *Clodius* out of malice to *Cicero* seeking for the *Tribuneship*, whereas he was a *Patrician*, thereby uncapable of the place, he procured himself to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, and so with the losse of his former dignity obtained it. Then did he prefer a Law, that *whosoever had put to death any* Roman *Citizen unheard, water and fire should be forbidden him*, which amounted

SECT. 6. to as much as banishment; and set *Cicero* his day of appearance, for putting to death *Cethegus*, *Lentulus* and others of *Catalines* conspiracy unheard. *Pompey* at first stood stifly for the accused, saying, he would rather dye himself than *Tully* should be hurt; but *Cæsar* took him off, because *Cicero* having desired to go his Lieutenant into *Gall*, upon *Clodius* his seeming willing to be reconciled, had changed his resolution, and hereby displeased him. This is certain, that he who was wont to defend others so earnestly, was very timorous in his own cause (which hapned also to *Demosthenes*) and chose rather to depart the City, and fare at ease, than undergo his trial, after that *Pompey* had forsaken him, and the Consuls would give him little hopes. After his departure *Clodius* banished him by decree of the People 400 miles from *Italy*, demolished his Villages and his house, on the plot whereof he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his goods to sale. He went to *Thessalonica* a City of *Macedonia*, being by letters of the Senate commended to such Kings, or Governours, as into the Dominions of whom he might have occasion to come. A. M. 3947. V. C. 696.

Banisheth *Cicero.*

4. *Clodius* having thus rid himself of *Cicero*, for that *Cato*'s presence was very troublesom to him, sent him also out of the way, under colour of doing him honour. He preferred a Law against *Ptolomy* King of *Cyprus* (brother to *Auletes* of *Ægypt*) for the spoiling him of all his estate, and reducing that Island into the form of a Province, though this man had nothing ill deserved. He was indeed very vicious, if that could have given them any right to what he had; but the truth was, *Clodius* had been taken by the *Pirates*, and sending to him for money to redeem him, he would part but with two talents, and therefore he took this occasion to be revenged on him and *Cato* both together. The King hearing of *Cato*'s coming, killed himself, and some said that he cast his treasures into the Sea. *Cato* sold his goods, and brought a great sum of money into the treasury. But, by this time *Pompey* repented that he had forsaken *Cicero*; for, *Clodius* wanting other matter now to work on, vexed all the great ones, and repealed some things which he had done, so that now he set himself to have him recalled. *Clodius* withstood it, but thereupon the Senate passed a Decree, that nothing should be heard before his restitution was propounded. *Lentulus* the Consul propounded it on the *Calends* of *January*; but the matter being hindred, several wayes, was brought down to the People on the eighth before the *Calends* of *February*, where was great endeavour used by *T. Annius Milo* and *P. Sextius* two other Tribunes for his restitution. *Clodius* their Collegue taking some Fencers belonging to his brother *Appius*, fell upon the multitude and killed many: The Tribunes were wounded, and *Q. Cicero* brother of the banished (newly returned from *Asia*, which he had governed three years) lay for dead amongst the slain. Now the People began seriously to bethink themselves. *Milo* ventured to draw *Clodius* by force to judgement, and *Pompey* possessing himself of the Forum, put the People to their suffrages, who with universal consent voted his restitution. The Senate decreed honour to such Cities as had entertained him, and that his house and Villages should be re-edified at the publick charge. So *Cicero* who had been banished the year before about the Calends of *April*, returned this year in the moneth *Sextilis*, or, the day before the Nones of *September*, and therefore was absent about sixteen moneths. As *Plutarch* more rightly computeth than * *Simpson*, who strangely forgetting himself, blaming him, for saying he returned in the sixteenth moneth, contenderh that from the first of *April* to the moneth *Sextilis* or *Augnst* of the following year, intervene but fourteen moneths. Now *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls. * A. M. 3948.

Sendeth *Cato* to spoil the King of *Cyprus* most unjustly of his estate.

Lege Plutarchum in Catone Minore.

Cicero recalled.

5. *Cæsar* having obtained of the People *Gall* within the *Alpes*, and *Illyricum*, with three Legions, the Senate added, that beyond the *Alpes* (which in part we now call *Fraunce*) with another Legion. His first work was to repel the *Helvetians* (now called *Switzers*) who having burnt their houses and resolved to seek out more convenient habitations, intended to passe over the *Rhoane*, and so through his Province. He having intelligence thereof, hasted

Vide Cæsaris comment. de bello Gallico l. 1. Plutarch in Cæsare. Dionem l. 38. p. 78. c.

fled to *Geneva*, and pulled down the bridge there. They then sent to him to desire that they might passe through his Province without offence, to consider whereof he took time till the *Ides* of *April*, and in the mean time raised a wall twenty miles in length, from the Lake *Lemanus* to the Hill *Jura* (which divideth *Burgoin* from *Sequan-land*) and thereby hindred their passage. They then bent their course to *Arare* (a River in *France* now called *Saon*) where in their passage he overthrew and dispersed them. They sent him another message to no purpose, and repelled 4000 of his Horse which too greedily chased them; but he continually followed, and hindring them from watting the Country, at length quite routed and put them to flight; of 348000, 130000 only remaining, who also shortly after were forced for want of provisions to yield, and giving Hostages, and delivering up their arms, to return from whence they came, and rebuild their Towns and Villages. After this was done, the *Galls* complained to him of *Ariovistus* King of the *Germans*, who had seized on a third part of the Countrey belonging to the *Sequani* (now *Burgundians*) and intended to take the rest also. He first sent to him, but this being in vain, he led his Army against him, and they came to an encounter, which succeeding not, he overthrew him also, and he fled into *Germany* in a little boat, two of his wives and as many daughters being taken. These things *Cæsar* accomplished in the first Summer, in the Consulship of his two creatures, *Piso* and *Gabinius*. *Cæsar*'s acts in *Gall* the first year. SECT. 6. *Flaccus l. 3. c. 10. Livii epitom. l. 103. Orosium l. 6. c. 7.*

6. The following year all the *Belgæ* (now inhabitants of the *Low-countries* for the most part) except those about *Rheimes*, conspired together against the *Romans*, and besieged *Bibrax* (now *Bearne*) and another fort kept by *Q. Titurnius*. *Cæsar* hereupon marched to the River *Axona* (now *Le Disne*) and those overthrew them, after which divers yielded themselves; but the *Nervii* (a People about *Tournay* in *Flanders*) a warlike and severe Nation, stood out, with whom joyned the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui* (now Inhabitants of *Artois*, and of part of *Picardie*) but these he utterly overthrew, scarcely any escaping out of the field. This was done that year wherein *Cicero* was recalled. In the third year, purposing for *Italy* himself, he sent *Servius Galba* with the twelfth Legion and part of the Horse against the *Antuates*, *Veragri*, and *Sedani*, Nations inhabiting from the River *Rhone* as high as the *Alpes*, because he would have the passage thereabout cleared for traffick. *Galba* defeated a great multitude of them, which set upon him in his Camp. *Cæsar* not long after returning, found the *Venesi* and other Nations of *Gall a Celtica* in rebellion, who gave him trouble enough, but at length he overthrew the *Veneti* at Sea, *Crassus* subdued the *Sontiates*, and the greatest part of *Aquitaine*, and *Sabinus* the *Unelli* and maritime Cities. Then fell he upon the *Morini* (a People near *Calais* in *Picardy*) and the *Menapii* also, these two Nations still being in Arms. But, Winter growing on, foul weather secured them in the marishes, and caused him to remove his men to their winter-quarters. The acts of his second year. *Cæsar Comment. l. 2.* The third. *Lib. 3. Dio lib. 39.*

7. Now by this time he had got great store of of wealth, wherewith he not onely paid his debts, but made him great store of friends by gifts and contributions. Herewith he corrupted the *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, *Consuls* and their wives. Passing over the *Alpes* this Winter into *Luca*, where he took up his head quarters, so great concourse was made to him, that there were present 200 Senators, amongst whom were *Crassus* and *Pompey*, and so many *Proconsuls* and *Prætors*, that 120 bundles of rods have been seen together at his gates. He fearing he might be recalled, procured *Pompey* and *Crassus* to obtain the Consulship for the following year, and continue him his imployment in *Gall* for other five years. *Cato* perswaded *L. Domitius* to stand for the Consulship, telling him he should contend not for Magistracy but for liberty against the Tyrants. But *Pompey* fearing *Cato*'s vehemency, lest, having the whole Senate in his power, he should perswade the People to what was best, sent some armed men upon *Domitius* as he went down to the Forum, who killed the slave that caried the light before them, dispersed them all, *Cato* being the last that fled, who received a wound on his arm whilst he fought Great confluence to him at *Luca*. *Sueton in Julio. Appian belli civilis lib. 2. Plutarch in Pompeio, & in Crasso. Dio lib. 39. p. 108. Patercul. l. 2. c. 46.*

SECT. 5.

Pompey and Craſſus according to agreement obtained the Conſulſhips by force, and continue to Ceſar his Command for other five years.

fought for *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* having thus by force obtained the Conſulſhip, bore themſelves nothing more moderately afterwards. The people being about to give *Cato* the *Praetorſhip*, *Pompey* pretended a ſtrange fight from Heaven, and diſmiſſed the Aſſembly: then corrupting the Tribes with money, he procured *Antius* and *Vatinius* to be choſen *Praetors*. Then by the help of *Trebonius* the Tribune they procured Laws, which continued to *Ceſar* (as they had agreed) his Government in *Gall* for other five years, aſſigned *Syria* to *Craſſus* with the *Parthian* War; and to *Pompey* all *Africk*, and the *Spains* with four Legions, whereof two he lent to *Ceſar* for the *Gallick* Wars. *Pompey* being permitted to Govern his Provinces by Deputies ſtayed at *Rome*, where he ſpent his time in ſhews and paſtimes. *Craſſus* much rejoyced in his part, ſcarcely being able to contain himſelf abroad and at home, contrary to his wonted gravity, breaking forth into Childiſh expreſſions of joy. For, he ſleighted the thoughts of *Syria* and *Parthia*, as one who would ſo order his affairs, that the exploits of *Lucullus* againſt *Tigranes*, and of *Pompey* in the War with *Mithridates*, ſhould ſeem but toys, extending his hopes as far as *Bactria*, the *Indians*, and the utmoſt *Ocean*.

A. M. 3950. *Ol.* 181. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 699. *Hyrcani* 9.

Craſſus againſt the minds of all men reſolving to go againſt the *Parthians*,

8. The *Tribunes* hindred all they could, the Conſuls from raiſing men, and laboured to repeal the Laws made for their expeditions. *Pompey* was herewith well enough contented, having ſent his Lieutenants into his Provinces, and being unwilling to leave the Citie, as he pretended, becauſe of the charge of Proviſions committed to him, which *Cicero*, in way of recompence for his labour in his reſtitution, had procured him from the Senate, that ſo he might have authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Craſſus* betook himſelf to force, which when the *Tribunes* ſaw themſelves unable to withſtand, they deſiſted, but loaded him with curſes, and when he made the accuſtomed prayers in the Capitol for proſperous ſucceſſe, they ſpoke of unluck *auſpicia* and prodigies which had hapned. *Atteius* the *Tribune* laboured to hinder him from going, many exclaiming againſt it as an unworthy thing that he ſhould fall with War upon thoſe, who had nothing ill deſerved of the *Romans*, but were at peace with them. This made him fly to *Pompey* to conduct him forth, at the ſight of whom thoſe who came to ſtop him gave way. But *Atteius* meeting him, earneſtly exhorted him to deſiſt, and when that would not do, ſent a *Viator* to lay hold of him; but the reſt of the *Tribunes* not permitting this, and the *Viator* not quite diſmiſſing him, *Atteius* got before to the Gate where he had ſome fire ready, and as *Craſſus* came by, throwing his Odours upon the Coals, devoted him with horrible and bitter curſes, invocating certain terrible and unheard of gods. Theſe ſecret, and antient execrations the *Romans*, thought to be of that force as no man ever eſcaped deſtruction to whom they were denounced, and alſo proved unfortunate to the denouncer, and therefore they were ſeldom uſed, and *Craſſus* was blamed on the behalf of the Citie. * *Florus* calleth this Tribune *Metellus*, and others write that the *Tribunes* generally thus devoted him, but it appeareth, * from *Cicero*, that P. *Atteius* was principal in this action.

Plutarch. & *Dio ut prius.*

* *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 11.
* *Lib.* 1. *de Divinat.*

Rifleth the Temple of *Jeruſalem.*

9. *Craſſus* in his march rifled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and took away the Treaſures which *Pompey* touched not. He ſpent many dayes in weighing the Treaſure of the Idol, called *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, and by the Greeks *Derceto*, the Goddeſſe of *Hierapolis*, otherwiſe called *Edeſſa*, and *Bambyce*, and *Magog* by the *Syrians*. In his whole paſſage he ſhewed more covetouſneſſe than valour, liſting men, and then for money diſcharging them again. He neglected his opportunities of falling on the *Parthians* unprovided, and the friendſhip of the *Armenian* King, who offered him to invade *Parthia* through his Kingdom, as alſo of refreſhing his Army in ſome Citie, (as *Caſſius* adviſed him) till he had certain news of the *Parthians*, or elſe paſſing down the River to *Seleucia*, where he might have Proviſions by water, and could not be compaſſed in by the *Parthians*. This later Counſel he rejected by the cunning inſinuations of *Abgarus* the *Oſroënian* (otherwiſe called *Angarus*, *Mazates*, *Mazarus*, *Mavarchus*, *Masorus*, *Arlamnes*, and * *Acha-*

Lege Plutarch. in Craſſo. *Dionem lib.* 40. *Florum l.* 3. *c.* 11. *Oroſium lib.* 6. *cap.* 13. *Velleium lib.* 2. *cap.* 40. *Strab. lib.* 16.

SECT. 6.

* *Acharus* by ſeveral). the *Regulus*, or *Petty Prince* of the *Arabians*, who having formerly been a friend and Ally of the *Romans*, had now applied his mind to the *Parthian*, and feeding *Craſſus* with money, to conceal his Treachery, gave him notice of whatſoever was done. He perſwaded him to leave off thoughts of *Seleucia* and *Teſiphon*, and go ſtraight againſt *Surena* and *Sillax*, the Kings Captains. This he did, and thereby firſt loſing his ſon, a choice young man, he himſelf was by *Surena* circumvented under preſence of a Treaty, and either ſlain by his Enemies, or killed by ſome of his own men, to prevent his falling into their hands. This hapned at *Sinnaca*, a Citie of *Meſopotamia*, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *June*, as *Ovid* informeth us; 20000 men were ſlain, and 10000 taken, according to *Plutarch* (not to name other accounts) ſo that the *Eaſt* being almoſt deſtitute of forces, many Provinces thereof revolted; but by the care, induſtry, and valour of *C. Caſſius* the *Quaſtor* of *Craſſus* (the ſame who afterwards with *Brutus*, killed *Julius Ceſar*) *Syria* was appeaſed. This King of *Parthia* againſt whom *Craſſus* miſcarried (called *Orodes*, *Herodes*, and *Hyrodes*) was ſomething skilled in the *Greek* tongue, and other learning. *Artabazes*, or *Artavaſdes* the *Armenian* (that firſt offered kindneſſe to *Craſſus*) had reconciled himſelf to the *Parthian*, who was now with him. He being alſo learned, (for he wrote Tragedies, Orations, and Hiſtories) ſome of *Euripides* his *Bacchæ* was repeated, and the head of *Craſſus* was brought in as it were by chance, and thrown at their feet. But *Surena* was afterwards puniſhed for his treachery, being killed by his Maſter who envied him his glory. And *Orodes* himſelf having loſt his ſon *Pacorus* in a battel againſt the *Romans*, and falln into that kind of Dropſie, called *Anaſarca*, *Phraates* (or *Phrarates*) his other ſon gave him *Aconitum*, or *Wolfs bane*, which working ſo upon him, as with it ſelf it brought out the humour, and give him eaſe, he made ſhort work of it, and ſtrangled him.

And is ſlain.

A. M. 3952. *V. C.* 701.

10. Thus periſhed *Craſſus* (*a*) (who was ſo rich that he would have none ſo accounted, but he that could by his own Revenues maintain an Army) and one of the heads of the *Tricipitina* was hereby cut off. This laid the foundation of the Civil War betwixt the other two, for he, whileſt he lived, balancing them, when he was gone, *Ceſar* muſt bring under *Pompey* before he could be Chief. Whileſt *Craſſus* warred againſt the *Parthians*, *Gabinius*, who had been Conſul when *Cicero* was baniſhed, reduced (*b*) into his Kingdom *Ptolomy Auletes*, whom his ſubjects had expelled. Then was he *Proconſul* of *Syria*; but at his return being accuſed, eſpecially for making War upon *Egypt* (which was ſuppoſed to be forbidden by the Verſes of *Sibylla*) and ready to be torn in pieces by the people, he was yet acquitted by corrupted Judges (or *Lælius* the Tribune) of treaſon, but baniſhed, as upon other accounts, ſo chiefly for that he had ſerved out of his Province 100000 *Drachmas*, or *Denarii*, and was afterwards recalled by *Ceſar*. In the mean time ſeveral Nations of *Germany*, driven out by the *Suevi* (not *Swedes* (in Latine *Sueci*) but *Griſons* now for the moſt part) came into *Gall* to ſeek new ſeats, and there outed the *Menapii* of their dwellings. *Ceſar* defeated them, killing many thouſands, and purſued them over the *Rhine*, on which he laid a wooden bridge, into the Countrey of the *Sigambri* (now *Guelderland*) and freed the *Ubii* (now Inhabitants of *Cullen*) from the Dominion of the *Suevi*, to whom they had been Tributaries. Then returned he to the *Morini*, or into *Picardy*, and thence came over into *Britain*.

(*a*) *Cicero Offic. lib.* 1.

Whereby one head of the *Tricipitina* is cut off.

(*b*) *Idem Epiſtolis ad Quintum fratrem & ad Atticum* *Dio lib.* 39. *Valer. Maxim. lib.* 8. *cap.* 1. *Exemp.* 3.

Gabinius baniſhed.

Ceſar defeateth the *Germans.*

(*c*) *Ceſar. Comment. l.* 4.

Britain.

11. *Britain*, or *Britany*, which alſo is *Albion*, being in *Greek* ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΗ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΣ, ΑΛΒΙΩΝ, and ΑΛΟΥΩΝ, was by the *Romans* called *Britania* and *Romania*. It is moſt probable, ſaith *Cambden*, the Inhabitants were called *Britans* from their painted bodies, for whatſoever is thus painted and coloured, in their antient Countrey ſpeech they call *Brith*, having been of old much given to paint themſelves, as many Writers do teſtifie. Now the antient *Greeks* who ſayled by the Coaſts, underſtanding that the Nation was called *Brith*, might unto

The name, whence derived

Conſul. Cambdenum in Britania.

SECT. 6. unto it add *Tania* (which word in *Greek*, as the *Glossaries* shew, betokeneth a Region) and thereof made the compound name Βρεττανία, that is *Britons-Land*; which is corrupted into Βρεττανία, but by *Lucretius* and *Cæsar* the two first *Romans* that make mention thereof is truely called *Britania*. In confirmation of this opinion *Cambden* observeth, that in the names of well-nigh all the antient *Britains*, there appeareth some signification of a colour, which no doubt (he saith) arose from this kind of painting. The *Red* colour is of the *Britans* called *Coch* and *Goch*, which in his judgement lieth Couched in these names, *Cogidunus*, *Argentocoxus*, and *Segonax*. The *Black* colour called *Du*, sheweth it self in *Mandubratius*, *Cartimandua*, *Togodumnus*, *Bunduica*, *Cogidunus*. The *White* colour called *Gwin*, in *Venutius* and *Immanuentius*. The *Waterish* called *Gwellwe* in *Vellocatus*, *Carvilius* and *Sualla*. The *Blew*, which they call *Glas* in *Cuningdasus*, and he proceedeth further. But this Learned man coming to speak of the time wherein *Britain* came to be known abroad, denieth that *Britains* were with *Hercules* at the rape of *Hesione*, that *Ulysses* was ever in *Britain*, that the *Britans* bestowed any Presents upon *Cato*, that King *Alexander* the Great, or *Hannibal*, was ever in the Island; he doubteth whether ever the ship of *Hiero* mentioned by *Athenæus* came hither; yet thinketh that the *Britans* were mingled with the *Cimbri* and *Galls*, in their expeditions into *Italy* and *Greece*.

Cambdens arguments that *Britain* was but known lately.

12. But as the *Romans*, *Galls*, and *Spaniards* were unknown to *Herodotus*, and the antient *Greek* Geographers, so of this mind he ever was, that it was late ere the *Greeks* and *Romans* heard of the *Britans* name. For he judgeth that little book of the World, which goeth abroad under the name of *Aristotle*, and maketh mention of the *Britans*, of *Albion* and *Hierne*, to be of later dayes by far than that Philosopher, as the best learned men (saith he) have judged. He accounteth *Polybius* the antienteſt *Greek* writer that mentioneth the *British* Isles; who yet knew nothing of them: then doth he, in reference to other Nations, count it but a fable that *Himilco* the *Carthaginian*, being commanded by his Superious to discover the Western Sea-Coasts of *Europe*, entred into this Isle many years before that time. And the first *Latin* Author to his knowledge that made mention of *Britain* was *Lucretius*, in his Verses concerning the difference of aire. Now that *Lucretius* lived but a little before *Cæsar* no man denieth: at what time we are taught out of *Cæsar* himself, that *Divitiacus* King of the *Soissons*, and the most mighty Prince of all *Gall*, Governed *Britain*, which, as also appeareth from *Cæsar*, is onely to be understood of the Maritime Coasts. Howbeit, *Diodorus Siculus* writeth that *Britain* had experience of no foreiners rule; for neither *Dionysus* (or *Bacchus*) nor *Hercules*, nor any other worthy, or *Demigod* have we heard (saith he) to have attempted War upon that people. *Now* Cæsar, *who for his noble acts is called* Divus, *was the first that subdued the* Britans, *and forced them to pay a certain Tribute*. From his time (saith *Cambden*) and no further off must the Writer of our History fetch the beginning of his work, if he throughly weigh with judgement what the Learned *Varro* hath in time past written (*viz.* of the three distinctions of times which we have formerly mentioned, *uncertain* before the Flood, *Fabulous* before the *Olympiads*, and *Historical* since the beginning of them) and my self already heretofore signified. This most learned man mentions this division of *Varro*, because that the *British* History of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* taketh its beginning 333 years before the first *Olympiad*. This History we must absolutely disclaim as utterly Fabulous in reference to King *Brutus*, and other fictions depending on his story. But whether or no *Britain* was not known abroad till so late time as our *Anquary* judgeth, must be examined for the honour of our Countrey, saving ever that respect which is due (and that justly) unto his name, and will not be at all dimished, seeing the contest is betwixt him also, and *Bocharius* himself.

13. The controversie is decided clearly against *Cambden* if two things can

can but be made out. 1. That the *Cassiterides* or *Islands of tinne* were known very anciently, and 2. That the *Cassiterides* are no other than the *British Isles*. The first is proved from the testimony of many, that the *Phœnicians* were wont to trade to the *Cassiterides*, and thence to fetch plenty of Tinne. *Strabo* affirmeth it, and that they first traded thither alone from *Gades*, hiding from others this course of traffick, insomuch that a certain *Phœnician* Sailor being chased by a *Roman* Vessel, chose rather to run his ship aground and suffer shipwrack, to cause his pursuers to miscary, than to reveal the matter, for which fidelity, having escaped himself, he had his losse made up out of the publick Treasury at his return to *Carthage*. *Pliny* also writeth, (*b*) in the Chapter of the first inventors, that Midacritus *first caried Lead from the Island* Cassiteris. For *Midacritus* is to be read *Melcarthus* or *Melicartus* the *Phœnician Hercules*, according to *Sanchoniathon*, whom the *Phœnicians* make Author of the Western voyages. (*c*) *Herodotus* acknowledgeth he knew not where the *Cassiterides* were; but that there were some then he acknowlegeth also, *whence Tinne came to them* the *Greeks*, and from him it appeareth, that they were situate in the utmost limits of *Europe*. The *Phœnicians* being unwilling that any should know them but themselves, the *Greeks* bought Tin and Lead, either of them, or the *Venets* or *Narbonenses*, to whom it was wont to be caried by Land in a journy of thirty dayes, as *Diodorus* telleth us. (*d*) *Dionysius Periegetes* mentioneth them under the name of *Hesperides*, and so doth *Tzetzes*. *Festus Avienus* speaketh of them under the name of *Oestrymnedes*, expresly of the sailing of the *Phœnicians* to them, and that *Hamilco*, who was sent from the Senate of *Carthage* to discover the West, came thither, as he himself recorded, whom *Festus* professeth to follow in the description of the West, having made his collections out of the depth of the *Punick Annals*. These things considered, prove sufficiently, that the *Cassiterides* were known in very antient times.

SECT. 6. The contrary asserted.

(*b*) *Lib. 7. c. 56.*

(*c*) *Lib. 3. c. 115.*

(*d*) *Videsis apud Bochart. Canaan l. 1. c. 39.*

14. For the second, that the *British Isles* are *those* Cassiterides *or* Stannaries, there needs no proof, *Cambden* himself confessing, nay proving by many arguments, that the *Islands* of *Silly* lying off from the Promontory of *Cornwal* eight leagues, and in number 145, are the very same that from the plenty of Tin were called *Cassiterides*, from their site *Hesperides*, and *Oestrymnides* from *Oestrymnis* the Promontory of the *Artabri*, now *Gallitia* in *Spain*, over against which they lye. Now for the consequence of the thing, can any imagine that these Islands should be so long known, and not *Britain* it self to which they lye so close, and from which they are deservedly called *British* Isles? And what reason is there to think (as *Camden* doth) that such dream as believe that *Hamilco* came hither? It's a wonder he should say, that there's nothing for it but a Verse or two of *Festus Avienus*; when *Festus* saith, that he read the story of the whole Navigation, described by *Hamilco* himself in the *Punick Annals*, *Cambden* himself contendeth, that from the *Cassiterides was Lead first of all caried into Greece*; whence it followeth, that they were known before the time of *Homer*, who maketh mention of that metal. As for what he urgeth concerning *Polybius*, that he was utterly ignorant of these parts, if it were granted that he was, yet the *Phœnicians*, who in the *Heroick* times sent out Colonies into the Ocean beyond *Gades*, knew these Coasts sufficiently. But *Cambden* mistook the Historian, as may appear from all that passage read together, which onely importeth, that as *it was not known whether* Asia *and* Affick *on the South side were terminated by the Sea, so neither whether the Sea flowed about the Northern parts of* Europe *that lye above* Narbon, which truly at this day we know not certainly, though in so much light. That this interpretation is to be, made, and that *Polybius* did not mean, that *in his age whatever lay above* Narbon *was unknown, and that they dreamed who spoke or wrote any thing of it, hence appeareth*. For he himself accurately described the Fountains of *Rhodanus*, with *Corbilon* upon *Ligeris*, and many other places of *Gall* above *Narbon*. And in his third book he promiseth he would write of what lay *beyond the Sea, and what was there remarkable*, nay (which is especially to

His arguments refuted.

Lib. 3. p. 175.

SECT. 6.

be noted) of *the Britiſh Iſles* and *making of Tin*. That he performed his promiſe in the Books that are loſt, appeareth from * *Strabo*, who telleth us, that Polybius *deſcribing the regions of* Europe, *ſaid, he would let paſſe the ancients, and inquire into ſuch as reprehended them, as* Dicæarchus, *and* Eratoſthenes, *who laſt of all had handled Geography, and* Pytheas *who had impoſed upon many. For, he* (Pytheas) *ſaid he had not viewed all the ſoil of* Britain; *but the Iſland was above* 40000 (ſtadia or furlongs I ſuppoſe) *in compaſſe.*

* Lib. 2. p. 104.

15. From this place it appeareth, that ſeveral whom *Polybius* calleth τὸς ἀρχαίους or ancients wrote of theſe parts, before either *Dicæarchus* or *Eratoſthenes*, *Pytheas*, or himſelf. Now *Eratoſthenes*, who, as he ſaith, was the laſt that handled Geography, *Suidas* writeth to have been born in the 126 *Olympiad*, which was celebrated in the 37 year of the *Seleucida*, the ſeventh of *Antiochus Soter*, the ninth of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and the 478 year of the City, when *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *C. Genutius Clepſina* were Conſuls, *Pyrrhus* then warring in *Sicily*, 274 years before the birth of Chriſt. But *Dicæarchus* boſteth in *Athenæus*, that he had *Ariſtotle* for his Maſter; and then *Pytheas* who was cited by both, muſt needs have preceded them. Yet theſe Writers were but of late in compariſon of *Orpheus* the moſt antient Poet, one of the *Argonautæ*, by whom *Cambden* himſelf affirmeth *Britain* to have been deſcribed. Although in truth *Orpheus* was not Author of thoſe Poems fathered on him, but *Onomacritus* an *Athenian* Poet, who lived under the *Piſiſtratidæ*, as both (*a*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* and (*b*) *Tatianus* inform us; yet two advantages we have hereby. For firſt, *Cambden* is inconſtant, denying that *Britain* was known to the ancient *Greeks*; and ſecondly, this Iſland muſt have been known then long before the former Geographers; for the *Piſiſtratidæ* were baniſhed *Athens* in the third year of the 67 *Olympiad*, the twelfth of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, the 244 of the City (at the ſame time that *Tarquinius* was baniſhed) 508 years before the birth of Chriſt, though they write that he flouriſhed in the 50 *Olympiad*, in the firſt year whereof *Piſiſtratus* indeed got the Soveraignty over that City. Theſe things ſufficiently prove, that *Britain* was known of old to ſeveral Nations, though we mentioned not what *Bochartus* probably conjecturech concerning the Etymology of the name. The *Phœnicians* trading hither for Lead or Tin, might juſtly call it *Barat-Anac*, that is, *The Land of Lead or Tin*, as the *Greeks* *Caſſiteris*; and this might eaſily be changed into *Bretanica*. *Anac* ſignifieth both Lead and Tin, no places in the World are ſo fruitful of either as the *Britiſh Iſles*. And it may ſeem no wonder that the Word ſhould be ſo altered, ſeeing that from *Phœnice* are derived *Panicus*, *Punicus*, *Puniceus*, and *Punus*. He alſo giveth other marks of the *Phœnicians* their planting in thoſe Iſlands, in the 39 Chapter of the firſt Book of that excellent Work entituled *Canaan*, concerning the Colonies and Language of that People, to which wee refer the ſtudious in Antiquity, having thus farre in ſome ſort ſeemed to vindicate the honour of our Country, yet with ſubmiſſion to the impartially Learned Reader. Now to return to the courſe of our Hiſtory.

(*a*) *Stromat. l. i.* (*b*) *Orat. contra Græcos pag.* 173. *Edit. una cum Athenagora & Theophylo.*

16. The occaſion of this Expedition was given by the *Britains*. They had ſent a continual ſupply to the *Galls*, almoſt in all their Wars againſt the *Romans*, and therefore he reſolved to uſe this advantage, and paſſe over this Summer, though it was well ſpent, judging it would be worth his labour, though he but viewed the country, and took notice of the Havens and Natives, of any whereof the *Galls* could give him but very ſmall intelligence. He ſent *Voluſenus* beforehand to make what diſcovery he could, after whoſe return, having received the *Morini* into friendſhip, that he might have no Enemies at his back, about two of the clock at night he put forth to Sea, and at ten in the morning got to the Coaſts of *Britain*, where he might ſee all the ſhoar full of men to oppoſe him, for they had received intelligence of his coming. He perceived there was no good landing place where he ſwas, and therefore ſtaying for the Fleet till three of the clock, he ſailed eight miles further.

Cæſar Comment. lib. 4.

Cæſar paſſeth over into *Britain.*

A. M. 3950. *V. C.* 699 *Ante Chriſtum* 53. *Cn. Pompeio M. & M. Licinio Craſſo 2 Coſſ.*

Here,

SECT. 6.

Here, though on an even ſhoar, was he ſo oppoſed, that his Soldiers fought not with their wonted alacrity, becauſe their ſhips being great and deep, could not come near the Land, untill he got more ſhallow Veſſels, and the Enſign-bearer of the tenth Legion leaping out, drew others moved with ſhame after him. No order was kept in the fight, but every one as he leaped forth into the water, joyned himſelf to the next Enſign. *Cæſar* ſending out continually freſh ſupplies of men, at length landed all his Army, and the *Britains* fled.

17. His horſe being not come over, he could not purſue them, but they preſently ſent to treat, promiſing to give Hoſtages, and do further what he ſhould enjoyn them. He accepted of their offer, and ſome Hoſtages they delivered, promiſing to give up the reſt with conveniency. But it hapned that the horſe being come within kenning, was driven by the tide (the Moon now being at full) to the Weſtward, and forced back to the Continent; the ſhips which brought over the Legions, lying at Anchor, by tempeſt were miſerably ſhattered, and no Proviſions had *Cæſar* brought over, as not intending to Winter here. The *Britains*, having knowledge of theſe things, agreed amongſt themſelves to break their promiſe, concluding, that if they could but intercept or deſtroy his Army, beſides getting much plunder, they ſhould not be invaded for the time to come. They then ſet upon the ſeventh Legion as it was reaping Corn, but *Cæſar* being informed by the Watch of a greater duſt than ordinary that way, ſuſpected what the matter was, and going to the reſcue killed many, and burnt their houſes for a good compaſſe. Hereupon they ſent to him again for peace. He required a double number of Hoſtages, whom he commanded them to ſend over into the Continent; for the Æquinoctial being near, he would not in Winter truſt himſelf, and the Army, in ſuch weak Veſſels. Going on board about midnight he came ſafe to Land; but 41 Veſſels being driven, the men were forced to Land at another place, whereof 300 were preſently beſieged by the *Morini*, (who before had been reconciled to *Cæſar*) out of hope of ſome booty. They were preſently reſcued, and *T. Labienus* was ſent to chaſtize the Rebels, who being reduced to obedience, he, and *L. Cotta* harrazed the Countrey of the *Menapii*, who hid themſelves in the thick Woods. Then was the Army led into its Winter quarters, in *Belgia*. The firſt expedition of *Cæſar* into *Britain* fell out in the ſecond year of the 181 *Olympiad*, the 699th of the Citie, 53 years before the birth of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3950. *Cn. Pompeius* the *Great*, and *M. Licinius Craſſus* (both of them the ſecond time) being Conſuls.

His ſucceſſe.

His retreat.

18. *Cæſar* going into *Italy* according to his cuſtom, ordered a great Navy to be provided. Having diſpatch'd his buſineſſe within the *Alps*, he went into *Illyricum* againſt the *Piruſtæ*, who had invaded his Province. After this having ſetled things amongſt the *Treviri* (or them of *Triers*) who neither came to Councils, nor were otherwiſe obedient, he took ſhip at the Haven *Itcius* (now *Calis*) with five Legions, and 2000 horſe, at Sun-ſet, and being for ſome time carried down by the Tide towards the right hand, arrived again in *Britain* the next day by noon. The Natives ſeeing a great number of ſhips (for in all there were 800 Veſſels) for that they had falſified their word (all but two ſorts of people, who ſent their Hoſtages over into *Belgia*) for fear withdrew themſelves into the Woods. *Cæſar* purſuing them took one of their Fortreſſes, which they made onely with great Trees laid together, and when he was buſied in skirmiſhing, word came that his Navy was ſhattered by another Tempeſt, whereupon he retreated, and took care for the repairing of ſuch ſhips as were fit to be mended (four being utterly loſt) in which work ten dayes were ſpent with the great labour of the Soldiers. Drawing then up ſuch as were repaired, and fortifying the Camp, he returned. In the mean time the *Britains* had made *Caſſivellaun* (whoſe Dominions lay North the River of *Thames*, and with whom before *Cæſar*'s coming they had waged War) their General againſt the *Romans*. At firſt the *Britains* fighting from their Waggons put their Enemies to it, and killed *Q. Laberius Durus* a

Idem lib. 5.

He returneth.

A. M. 3951. *V. C.* 700.

Caſſivellaun General of the *Britans.*

Sect. 6. Tribune; but the day following, the *Romans* recovered their credit, putting the other to flight who had fallen upon them as they were gathering forrage, so as they durst not after this time meddle any more with them when in any considerable body.

Cæsar passeth over the *Tham.s.*

19. Then did *Cæsar* passe the *Thames* (the Soldiers wading over with their heads onely above water) though the *Britains* had fastned sharp stakes under the bank, and there made all opposition they could, which was inconsiderable. Passing on in *Cassivellaun*'s Countrey he wasted it, *Cassivellaun* (or *Cassibellin*) having dismissed all his Army except 4000 Waggons, wherewith he much endamaged the *Romans* by making sallies upon advantage out of the Woods. But the *Trinobantes* (inhabiting those parts long after by the *Saxons* called *Essex* and *Middlesex*) having had their King *Imanuentius* killed by *Cassivellaun*, for that *Mandubratius* his son had escaped to *Cæsar*, yielded themselves, and desired that the young man being restored first to his Father's Kingdom might be protected against *Cassivellaun*. This *Cæsar* granted, receiving 40 Hostages and Corn for his Army; and these having protection given them, others near adjoyning yielded themselves. Then did *Cæsar* take *Cassivellaun*'s Town not far distant, being onely a fortified place in the Woods. He sent into *Kent*, where four petty Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carmilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax* reigned, ordering them if possible to seize on *Cæsar*'s ships; but *Cæsar* having left to guard the Camp ten Companies of foot and 300 horse, these repulsed them with great losse, killing many of their men, and amongst the rest *Lugatorix*, a Captain of great account. *Cassibellaun* hearing this, and knowing the defection of the *Trinobantes* and the rest, sent, and begged peace of *Cæsar*, who being resolved, for fear of insurrections in *Gall*, there to winter, for that Summer was now almost spent, commanded him to deliver in Hostages, ordered what Tribute *Britain* should pay yearly to the People of *Rome*, commanded him not to offend *Mandubratius* nor the *Trinobants*, and then drew down his Army to the Sea, which he wasted over at twice, for that he had many Prisoners, and many ships had perished by Tempest. The season being very good they came all safe to land, and he quartered them about in several places, because Provisions were very scarce in *Gall*. This second expedition of *Cæsar* into *Britain* happened the next year after the former; *L. Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* being Consuls.

Cassivellaun beggeth peace and *Cæsar* returneth into *Gall.*

The *Galls* revolt.

20. This Winter did most of the *Galls* revolt. First, the *Eburones* (now inhabiting the Bishoprick of *Liege*) by the instigation of *Ambiorix* their Prince, who by treachery circumvented two of *Cæsar's* Officers, *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, and *L. Arunculeius Cotta*, with a whole Legion. He also besieged *Q. Cicero*, who commanded the Legion that quartered amongst the *Nervii*, who had their seats about *Tournay* in *Flanders*. But *Cæsar* came in to the rescue, and overthrew the *Galls*. *Labienus* lying with another Legion about *Rheimes*, the *Treviri* and *Indutiomarus* came to his Camp, intending to destroy him; but he took his opportunity, and powred out his men upon them, willing his Soldiers to be sure that they killed *Indutiomarus*, which being done, things again were a little setled. Whilest *Cæsar* was thus imployed abroad, in the Citie, this year died his daughter *Julia*, *Pompey*'s Wife, in Childbed, and the Infant (whether Son or Daughter, 'tis as uncertain, so immaterial) with her. Hereby was the bond of friendship betwixt them two broken, and their mutual envy, which thereby onely was restrained, now wanted but an occasion to vent it self. But *Cæsar* foreseeing great stirs in *Gall*, increased his forces, subdued the *Nervii*, brought under the *Senones* and *Carnutes* (now changed into *Chartres*) the *Menapii* also; whilest *Labienus* reduced such as inhabited about *Triers*. Then did he again crosse the *Rhine*, because of the Conjunction of the *Germans* with the *Galls*, and attempting something upon the *Suevi* to no purpose, turned against the *Eburones*. Whilest he harrazed their Territories, the *Sigambri* set upon the Camp of *Cicero* then absent, which they could not storm, though they caused great consternation amongst his men, and killed many. After this he wasted again the

Idem ibid.

Dio lib. 40.

Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 10.

Julia dieth.

Cæsar comment. lib. 6.

Cæsar reduceth Revolters.

the grounds of the Enemy, then called a Council in *Gall* for the punishment of Revolters, and Providing the Army of necessaries drew it into its Winter quarters. Sect. 6.

Stirs in the Citie.

21. The following year produced great stirs in the Citie, and those no lesse in *Gall*. For now were the times so altered, as that *Rome* could not be found in *Rome*. Nothing was managed by ancient equity and moderation, all Offices were purchased by Money, or else by Stones, Clubs, or Swords, and the inconveniences of popular Government now grew ripe, the name of a free State, or Commonwealth, covering the greatest injustice, disorder, and oppression of the peoples liberty. The Consuls being debarred by the power of the *Tricipitina* from leading out Armies, or waging Wars according to the antient right and custom, made up their markets out of the publick Revenue, or their Offices by indirect practices, and therefore none of honour would seek after the Consulship. *Pompey* connived at this, hoping that a necessity of affairs would draw upon him the *Dictatorship*, as some of his Creatures, though not in his name, did not stick to hint. This year especially was there such an horrid contention amongst the Canditates (all or most men of large consciences) as for a long time no Consul could be elected; and this heightned the matter, that *T. Annius Milo*, one of them, being at great enmity with *Clodius*, killed him as they met in the way not far from the Citie. This fact the people ill resented, and naughty, and dissolute persons, under pretence of searching for *Milo*'s friends, committed many outrages in *Rome*. This turned indeed all men's eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fittest person to redresse those evils, and whilest they thought of making him *Dictator*, *Cato* drew the Senate to this resolution, that he should be made Consul alone, that he might be called to an account for his male-administration if need were, and so he was made *sole Consul*, without any President at all.

Lege Appian. de bello civil. l. 2.

Milo killeth *Clodius.*

Pompey made Consul alone.

A. M. 3953. *Ol.* 182. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 702. *Ante Christ.* 50.

His Acts.

22. First, he sate in judgement alone, and examined *Milo*'s case; he also made inquisition after such as had by indirect means procured Offices. *Milo* was defended by *Cicero*, or rather should have been; for the Orator was so terrified with *Pompey*'s Soldiers, and *Clodius* his friends, that he could not proceed, and is therefore said to have written that Oration afterwards, which is now extant. *Milo* then was banished, with several others for other Crimes. *Pompey* having hitherto as it were executed the Office of *Dictator*, took to him a Colleague, *Q. Scipio Metellus*, whose daughter *Cornelia* he had married. These things being heard in the further *Gall*, and a rumour spred that *Cæsar* who now was in *Italy*, would be there retained by the motions in the Citie, many of the Natives conspired for the recovery of their liberty, and chose *Vercingerotix* for their Captain.

Idem ibid. *Plutarch in Pompeio.* *Livii epitom. lib. 107.*

The *Galls* hearing of these stirs rebel.

23. *Cæsar*, though in the midst of Winter, and forced to make his way through depths of Snow, returned, and came upon the *Arverni* at unawares. He took several of their Towns, but besieging one that was situated upon an high Hill, he fought with disadvantage, and was driven off with the losse of 46 Centurions. From this siege he was called by the revolt of the *Hedui*, and an insurrection of the *Bellovaci*; and *Labienus*, who had prosperously managed his affairs about *Paris*, joyned with him. Now, most of the *Galls* being revolted, he first overthrew *Vercingetorix*, then pursued, and besieged him in *Alesia*, a Town of the *Mandubii*, which, when the *Galls* were not able to relieve, *Vercingetorix*, according to his own offer, was delivered up, with *Alesia*, and all their Arms. Then reduced he the *Hedui*, the *Arverni* also yielded, with divers others, which being done, he sent the Army away into its Winter quarters. In winter the *Galls* hatched a new conspiracy. *Cæsar* therefore departing from *Bibracte*, wasted the Territories of the *Biturriges* (about *Bourdeaux*) and of the *Carnutes*; subdued also the *Bellovaci* with others. C. *Fabius* also reduced some in the mean time, and *Caninius* having routed several parties, with him *Cæsar* joyned, and besieged *Uxellodunum*, a Town of the *Caduci*, very strongly fortified by its' situation. He obtained this Town without striking one stroak, by cutting the veins of a

Cæsar comment. lib. 7.

Cæsar reduceth them.

A new conspiracy

Hirtius lib. 8.

Foun-

Sect. 6. Fountain which ſerved them with water. After this the Cities of *Aquitaine* yielded, and going to *Narbon* he diſpoſed of his Army into their Winter quarters. Theſe things hapned in the eighth year after his coming into *Gall*, in which alſo were began thoſe contentions betwixt him and his adverſaries at *Rome*, that ſhortly after brake into Civil wars, which proved deadly in the end to the heads of both the factions, and fatal to that form of Government which (though labouring under mortal diſtempers) was yet on foot.

Diſappointed. *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* being Conſuls, where-

24. *Cæſar*'s carriage, eſpecially in his *Conſulſhip*, had rendred him very diſtaſtefull to the Senate. *Pompey* on the other ſide, by his fair demeanour had of late gained much upon it, which *Cæſar* being aware of, deſired leave to ſtand for a ſecond *Conſulſhip* in his abſence. This was granted him; but he fearing the malice of his adverſaries in caſe he were reduced to a private condition, further importuned the *Fathers* that he might have his Government of *Gall* prorogued, caſting about all manner of wayes to keep his Ar-

The grounds and occaſions of the Civil Wars betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. my till he ſhould be Conſul. This was hindred by *Marcellus* the Conſul, who had ſucceeded *Pompey*; whereupon *Cæſar* laying his hand upon his Sword, ſaid, that *that* ſhould obtain it for him. This *Marcellus* was very bitter againſt him, preſſing hard that a Succeſſor ſhould be ſent to him; but this was croſſed by *Pompey*, either out of good nature, or policy. Such were deſigned Conſuls for the enſuing year, as were moſt oppoſite to *Cæſar*, viz. *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and C. *Claudius Marcellus* Nephew to the former Conſul by his brother: *Curio* alſo, an inveterate Enemy of *Cæſar*, was made *Tribune*. Yet all theſe, except *Claudius*, were drawn aſide by money; *Paulus* by 1500 Talents, and *Curio*, who was much indebted, by 100000 *Seſterces*. *Marcellus* then urging that a Succeſſor was to be ſent to *Cæſar*, *Curio* ſtiſly withſtood it, alleging that then ought *Pompey* alſo to diſmiſſe his Army; for that his power was equally dangerous to the publick liberty. *Pompey* outwardly ſeemed willing, and ſaid he would disband his men; but *Curio* fell foul upon him, telling him, that promiſe without performance was nothing; and, that he might ſeem to ſtand for the good of the Commonwealth, and not carry favour with *Cæſar*, he deſired, that if they both refuſed to disband, they ſhould, the one as well as the other, be declared Enemies to the State.

Appian. de bello civili lib. 2. *Velleius Paterc. l. 2. c. 48.*

25. *Pompey* exceedingly nettled hereat threatned him; but he ceaſed not to urge the thing. The Senate could have wiſhed them both reduced, but feared to disband *Pompey*'s Army, looking upon *Cæſar* as the more dangerous perſon. *Pompey* ſent now to him for the Legion he had lent him, both of them being ordered into *Syria* to defend the *Eaſtern* parts now in danger by the overthrow of *Craſſus*: he ſent him this Legion, and another of his own; but there being no need of them in *Syria*, they wintred at *Capua*. Thoſe that brought them into *Italy* did ill Offices for *Cæſar*, and gave out, as if his Army at his return would all revolt, which though very falſe was believed by *Pompey*, who thereupon neglected to provide for ſo dangerous a War as followed. The next year C. *Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Corn. Lentulus* were Conſuls, and it was propounded to the Senate, whether *both* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould lay down all power*. Though once it was carried that *Cæſar* onely ſhould, when the Conſul propounded it ſeverally, yet

Curio labour-eth hard for *Cæſar*. * *Curio* again putting it to the queſtion, it was carried againſt both by 348 voices. Hereat the Conſuls inraged, left the Citie, and gave *Pompey* power as from themſelves to fight for his Countrey againſt *Cæſar*, which he ſeemed not altogether to approve. Now *Curio* perceiving himſelf in danger, and that he could do no more ſervice for *Cæſar*, fled unto him.

* *Conſule Appianum de bello civili lib. 2. pag. 446.*

26. *Curio* being called to a Conſultation, would have had him preſently to invade *Italy*; but he choſe rather firſt to make an overture of Peace, as 'tis ſaid, writing to his friends to procure, though it were but two Legions with *Gall* within the *Alps* and *Illyricum*, untill he ſhould be Conſul, which though

Sect. 6. though it ſeemed ſomething reaſonable to *Pompey*, the Conſuls would not admit of it. Then wrote he to the Senate a menacing and bitter letter, as it's ſtiled by * *Cicero*, (who now was returned from *Cilicia* his Province, which he governed a year, and for his good ſervice in the field was ſalured *Imperator*, and had a triumph decreed him by the Senate, which theſe diſturbances quite put off, he ſaying, that ſo an agreement were made, he had rather follow the chariot of *Cæſar*) wherein after an honourable mention made of his own exploits, he ſignified, that he was willing to reſign his power, in caſe *Pompey* did the like; otherwiſe he ſhould retain his Forces, and preſently come to revenge thoſe injuries which had as well been offered to himſelf as his Country. As the reading of theſe laſt words all cryed out, that War was denounced, and they ſent *L. Domitius* to ſucceed him in his Government, with four newly raiſed Legions. For that *Antonius* and *Ceſſius* the *Tribunes* were of *Curio*'s judgement, the *Conſuls* bade them depart out of the Senate, leſt their perſons *Sacroſanct* (as the term was) by their Office, ſhould be violated; who in a great rage departing that night, fled towards *Cæſar*. So now began this famous Civil War, in the fourth year of the 182 *Olympiad*, the 705 of the City, 47 before the birth of Chriſt, A. M. 3956, the aforeſaid *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *L. Corn. Lentulus* being Conſuls.

* *Epiſtol. ad familiar. l. 16. Epiſt. 11.*

Dio l. 40. initio.

L. Domitius ſent by the Senate to ſucceed *Cæſar*.

27. The Senate did not think that *Cæſar* would return preſently out of *Gall*, as being unprepared for ſuch an undertaking; and therefore were more ſlow in their Levies; but he ever judging expedition to be the greateſt help in his undertakings, reſolved with five Legions to begin the work, and take in the commodious places in *Italy*, and ſo did he with admirable ſpeed *Ariminum* and others. This unexpected thing terrified the Senate, and the Peo-

Lege Appian. ubi ſupra. Cæſar de bello Civil. l. 1. Dio l. 40.

Cæſar invadeth *Italy*. ple, which called to mind the ſad effects of the Civil Wars betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*. *Cicero* would have had them ſent to *Cæſar*, but the Conſuls withſtood it. Then departed *Pompey* to the Army at *Capua*, whom the Conſuls preſently followed. The Senators being at their wits end, ſpent all that night in their houſe, and at length followed *Pompey* to *Brundiſium*. *Cæſar* at *Corfinium* met *Domitius* who was ſent to ſucceed him, whom he diſmiſſed, after he had received his Soldiers, that now revolted to him. Then follow-

A. M. 3956. *Ol.* 182. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 705. *Hyrcani* 15.

Followeth *Pompey* to *Brundiſium*, ed he *Pompey* to *Brundiſium*, who had ſent over the Conſuls with part of the Legions into *Epirus*, which he intended to make the ſeat of the Warre, ſtaying in the Town till the return of the ſhips, to tranſport the reſt of the Army. *Cæſar* attempted to ſtorm the place, but he withſtood him, till ſuch time as he had ſhipped his men, and ſo paſſed over to *Dirrhachium*.

28. *Cæſar* knew not well now what to do. For hearing ſuch concourſe to be made to *Pompey* (who drew to his party all the forces of the *Eaſt*) and knowing his old Army to be in *Spain* his Province, he feared to follow him over, leſt he ſhould expoſe *Italy* to it, and have an enemy at his back. He therefore returned to *Rome*, having in the ſpace of 60 dayes got all *Italy* into his hands without blood, and breaking open the Treaſury took out the money wich had layn there ever ſince the taking of the City by the *Galls*, being reſerved for ſuch another caſe of extremity. For the *Ærarium* or Treaſury in the Temple of *Saturn* was three-fold. One wherein the *tributes or cuſtoms gathered from Citizens and aſſociates was kept*, as alſo *booty got by Generals*; which was reſerved for the ordinary expenſes of Warre. Another more private, wherein the *Viceſſima*, or twentieth parts gathered from them that were manumized, were laid up for extraordinary cauſes. And there was a third yet more private and ſacred, wherein money was treaſured up for any extremity that might happen from the *Galls*, and upon no other occaſion might it be touched, bitter curſes being laid upon him or them that ſhould do or ſuffer it. But *Cæſar* did it (though *L. Metellus* the *Tribune* did all he could to hinder it) pretending that the People was diſcharged of the curſe, for that nothing more was to be feared from the *Galls*, whom he had throughly ſubdued.

Appian ut prius. Cæſaris de bello civili l. 2. Plutarch in Cæſare & Pompeio. Sueton in Julio.

Returneth to *Rome*.

Riſeth the Treaſury.

A. M. 3957. *V. C.* 706.

29. Then went he into *Spain*, where in a ſhort time he brought all under, though

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though *Pompey* had there a ſtrong Army under three Captains, *Petreius*, *Afranius*, and *Varro*, whom yielding, he permitted to depart with all their Forces. At this time he loſt two legions in *Africk* under *Curio*, and *Antonius* was overthrown in *Illyricum* by *Dolobella* one of *Pompey*'s Officers. But now *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor* of the City pronounced him *Dictator*, and therefore he returned to *Rome*, where the People being ſtruck with fear, he took upon him the Office, and held the *Comitia*. But finding it to be odious, he laid it down again after eleven dayes, and procured himſelf to be choſen Conſul, with *Servilius Iſauricus*. Then about the midle of Winter did he order all his forces to meet him at *Brunduſium*, expecting in the City the beginning of *January* for his entring into the *Conſulſhip*. When he came to *Brundiſium*, though his forces were not all come together, deſiring to ſet upon *Pompey* at unawares, he paſſed over with all he had, *viz.* five Legions, and 600 Horſe, although in the depth of Winter, and without proviſions; *Pompey* now having eleven *Italian* Legions, and 7000 Horſe, beſides other ſupplies out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. But, thoſe five Legions and two that followed being landed, he took *Oricum* and *Appollonia* without fighting one ſtroak, and then matched ſtreight to *Dyrrhachium*, the magazin and granary of *Pompey*. Both of them ſate down by the River *Apſi*, *Cæſar* expecting his other forces, which at length *Antony* brought over, though the Seas were watched by the other party, and *Pompey* exerciſing his men who were raw and unexperienced. *Pompey* hearing of *Antonie*'s coming, departed with his whole Army to the River *Aſparagus*. *Cæſar* followed him, and would have fought; but he not ſtirring out of his trenches, he marched back to *Dyrrhachium*, which having on one ſide and *Pompey* on the other, he was grievouſly ſtraitned for proviſions, and above all things deſired to fight. In ſeveral skirmiſhes he had the better; but in another conſiderable ingagement was ſhrewdly beaten, and chaſed to his Camp, which might have been taken, and a period put to the Warre, as he himſelf confeſſed, had the Enemy known how to improve the Victory; *Pompey* neglecting the advantage, either through the advice of *Labienus*, or his own inadvertency, for that providence had otherwiſe determined. Though ſome now adviſed *Cæſar* to make uſe of the ſhame and anger of his Army, which deſired again to be led out to battel, to redeem it's credit, yet he thought it moſt convenient to depart thence, and ſo went into *Theſſaly*, whither *Pompey* followed him, and pitcht his Camp on the fatal plains of *Pharſalum*, not of *Philippi*, as * *Florus* falſly relateth, and with him *Manilius* and *Virgil*.

Goeth into *Spain*.

Dictator for eleven dayes, and then *Conſul*.

Cæſar de bello Civili l. 2. Appian.

Paſſeth over into *Epirus*.

Cometh to the plains of *Pharſalum*.

* *L. 4. c. 2. & 7.*

30. Betwixt that Town and the River *Enipeus*, was fought that great and famous battel betwixt theſe two great Captains, who both of them are ſaid to have wept in the heads of their Armies, conſidering that ſo many of the ſame Country and Nation ſhould be ſlain, brother fighting againſt brother, to ſatisfie the ambition of two men. The Armies ſtood for ſome time gazing on each other, both being unwilling to begin, till *Pompey*'s Auxiliaries, whom he had commanded to ſtand aloof off, till ſuch time as the Enemy ſhould be broken, and then give the chaſe (as unwilling to have them ingage in the battel) being wearied with expectation, began to break their ranks. Fearing they might cauſe his main body to do ſo too, though he was unwilling at this time to fight, and managed not his command with wonted alacrity, he cauſed a charge to be ſounded, his word being *Unconquered Hercules*, and *Cæſar's Victorious Venus*. The battel was fought with great courage and admirable ſilence on both ſides; but *Pompey*'s Army, though greater by far, being leſſe experienced, was at length broken and put to flight, at the beginning of which fight all his Auxiliaries, though great multitudes, ran away as faſt as might be, whom *Cæſar* onely ſuffered in the purſute to be ſlain, commanding that all *Italians* ſhould be ſpared. *Pompey* betook himſelf to his tent, and ſate ſilent, thinking of *Ajax*, who was thus ſerved in the ſiege of *Troy*, till *Cæſar* bringing his Legions to ſtorm his Camp, he took Horſe, and with four in his company rode as far as *Lariſſa*, ere he ſtopped. On *Cæſar*'s part were ſaid to be ſlain 30 Centurions, and 200 common ſoldiers; but as others affirmed, 1200.

Vide Plutarch in Cæſare, & Pompeio, & Appian ut ſupra.

Where he overthroweth *Pompey*.

On

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On *Pompey*'s ſell ten *Senators* (amongſt whom that *Domitius* who had been ſent to ſucceed *Cæſar*) with about 40 *Equites* or *Knights*, and of the common ſort, they that ſay moſt, 25000; but *Aſinius Pollio* who was in the Fight, and one of *Cæſar*'s Captains, in his Commentaries wrote but of 6000.

31. *Pompey* thought firſt of flying to the *Parthian*, then to *Juba* into *Numidia*; but being diſſwaded by thoſe about him, he reſolved upon *Egypt*, as a Country at hand, powerful, and the King whereof was ingaged to him in way of friendſhip as his Guardian. Thither when he came and ſent to be received, the King being a boy, *Achillas*, *Pothinus* the Eunuch, and *Theodotus* his Schoolmaſter conſulting about the matter, one would have him received, and another not, but the laſt, to ſhew his eloquence, declared both their wayes to be bad, and that he was to be received, and then ſlain, ſubjoyning, *Mortuum non mordere*, that *the dead bites not*, which ſaying long after *Patrick Grey* traiterouſly ſuggeſted to *Queen Elizabeth*, perſwading her to put to death the *Queen of Scots*, though he was ſent from King *James* this *Queen*'s ſon to work her deliverance. This was reſolved, either out of fear, as they pretended, that he ſhould get *Ægypt* into his power, or becauſe they contemned ſo great a perſon now unfortunate, or rather to curry favour with *Cæſar*. *Pompey* then being received into a little boat, as though to come to the King, who ſtood on the other ſide of one of the mouths of *Nile* with his Army, was treacherouſly ſlain, when he could neither flye nor defend himſelf. He covered his face with his gown, and neither ſpeaking nor doing any thing unbecoming him, with a groan patiently received the ſtroaks. So fell this great man, being in War a moſt able Captain, and in Peace (except when he ſtood in fear of a concurrent equal) full of modeſty, in the 58 year of his age, and the very day preceding his birth-day, and the third year of theſe unhappy differences. His head was cut off, and reſerved as a preſent for *Cæſar*; his body was caſt upon the ſhoar for every one to gaze at, and afterwards being waſhed with Sea-water by *Philip* his *Libertus* or *Freed-man*, (who ſtood by it till all had looked their full) he wrapped it in his own coat, and burnt it with the rotten pieces of a Fiſher's boat which he there found.

Pompey flying into *Ægypt*.

Plutarch in Pompeio. Appian ubi ſupra. Livii Epitom. l. 112. Paterculus l. 2. c. 53.

Is treacherouſly ſlain.

32. *Cæſar* having ſtaid two dayes at *Pharſalum*, on the third purſued *Pompey*, leſt he ſhould renew the War, and ſo came to *Alexandria*, where his head and ring were preſented to him. He took the ring, but was grievouſly offended at the ſight of the head, and weeping (which *Lucan* accounteth but feigned) commanded it to be buried. The news of *Cæſar*'s ſucceſſe was not believed at *Rome* till he ſent *Pompey*'s ring thither. Then was power given him by them there, to determin of his Enemies as he pleaſed, and to make War where he would without asking leave of the People. They voted him Conſul for five years, and *Dictator*, not for half an one (as was the cuſtom) but a whole year, with the power of a *Tribune* for his life, which thing was never granted to any before him. He accepted theſe honours, and entred upon his ſecond *Dictatorſhip*. But ere his departure out of *Ægypt* he was put to much trouble and danger. For, there being at that time a difference betwixt young *Ptolomy* and his ſiſter about the Government, he ſtood much her friend, which favour ſhe is ſaid to have purchaſed with the loſſe of her chaſtity. His endeavours for her *Poithinus* the Eunuch, who now feared to be puniſhed for the ſedition he had raiſed about *Pompey*, interpreted as ſiniſterly meant towards the King, and thereby raiſed a dangerous War, which yet though in Winter, was proſperouſly ended by *Cæſar*, and the young King flying from his Camp was drowned, too many of his followers preſſing into and ſinking the boat. *Cæſar* then gave the Kingdom to *Cleopatra*, and to colour the matter, cauſed her to take as an husband her younger brother but eleven years of age. But ſhe brought the *Dictator* himſelf a ſon not long after, who by his permiſſion ſhe named *Cæſario*; and had kept him longer with her than nine moneths, or elſe had followed him to *Rome*, but that he was neceſſarily drawn another way by the means of *Pharnaces*, who now had in-

Cæſar thereupon honoured at *Rome*.

Dio lib. 42.

The *Alexandrian* War.

Cæſar de bello civili l. 3. Dio l. 42. Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Sueton. in Julio.

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vaded *Pontus* his father's Kingdom. Yet this woman after his departure is said to have been as familiar with his Enemy *Cn. Pompey* the eldest son of *Pompey* the Great. *Plutarch. in Antonio.*

33. *Cæsar* then went against *Pharnaces*, and taking *Syria* in his way, visited the Cities. He restored *Hyrcanus* to the *Priesthood* in *Judæa*, though *Antigonus* the son of *Aristobulus* (who being let out of Prison by him, and sent home, had been poysoned by *Pompey's* party) sued to him for the Government. He made also *Antipater* (whom *Hyrcanus* had sent to joyn with *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* with 3000 horse, and who did good service in the *Alexandrian* War) Governour of *Judæa*. He promored his own Kinsman *Sextius Cæsar* from a *Quæstorship* to the Government of *Syria*, which *Scipio* father-in-law to *Pompey* had enjoyed the year before. From *Syria* he sayled into *Cilicia*, and thence marched with all speed against *Pharnaces*, who out of fear sent several times to him about a Peace, but he returned him onely good words, that he might surprize him. At length he gave him conditions, which he neglected to perform, hoping *Cæsar* would be called away, and therefore he fell on, and overthrew him at the Hill *Scotius* (where formerly *Mithridates* defeated *Triarius*) within five dayes after his arrival, and four hours after he had got a sight of his Army, so that writing to a friend at *Rome*, to note the celerity of this Enterprize he expressed it in three words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. Then receiving such places as *Pharnaces* had seized on, and settling things in *Asia*, as he passed, exacting much money of the people, he was called home into *Italy* by stirs which hapned in the Citie. *Josephi Antiquit. lib. 14. cap. 15.* *Hirtius.* A. M. 3958. *V. C.* 707. *Cæsar* overthroweth *Pharnaces.* *Plutarch. in Cæsare.* *Appian belli civil. lib. 2.*

Returneth to *Rome.*

34. He quieted the Seditions, and the mutiny of his own Soldiers, who flew high in their demands for a dismission, and a payment of what he had promised them. Then being declared Consul for the following year, for that the year of his *Dictatorship* was out, he passed over into *Africk*, where *Scipio*, *Cato*, *Labienus*, *Petreius*, and others of *Pompey's* Captains were with *Juba*. He got the better in several battels. *Juba* caused his slave to kill him, and his young Son *Cæsar* led in Triumph, who being brought up in *Italy* proved an excellent Historian. *Cato* at *Utica* stabbed himself, having read over *Plato* his *Phædo* of the Souls immortality. The wound not being deep enough he died not presently, but strugling betwixt life and death, cast himself off from his bed, and threw down a Geomerrical Table, which making a noise, his son and servants rushed in, and finding him in that condition, his Freed-man, who was a Physician, began to put in the bowels which were untouched, and sow up his belly. But he coming to himself pushed him from him, and tearing out his bowels, inlarged the wound and died, being a man of wonderfull Justice, Severity, and Magnanimity. *Cæsar* hearing of his death let fall some expressions, which signified a great desire to have got him into his hands, and hinted (as was thought) an intention of dealing mildly with him. *Petreius* and *Scipio* also perished in *Africk*. After these things returning to *Rome* he Triumphed four times, over *Gall*, *Pontus*, *Alexandria*, and *Africk*, it being unlawfull to do it over any *Roman*; although he carried in Tables, a representation of what he had done in the Civil Wars. Then went he once more into *Spain* against *Pompey's* sons, to whom several had fled out of *Africk*, where coming to fight near *Munda*, his Army was struck with such fear, as it was never nearer running. It had fled, but that he snatching a Target out of a Soldier's hand, went, and ingaged the Enemy himself, & had 200 Darts thrown at him, whereat his Officers being ashamed, came on, and he got the day, 30000 of his Enemies being slain, with two of their Captains, *Labienus* and *Varus*. *Cn. Pompey* also, though he fled, was taken, and his head sent to *Cæsar*. *Plutarch. in Cæsare.* *Dio lib. 42.* *Appian ut supra.* Suppresseth *Pompey's* friends in *Africk.* *Lege Plutarch. in Catone minore.* *Pompey's* sons in *Spain.* A. M. 3960. *Ol.* 183. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 709. *Hyrcan* 20.

35. This year being that of his third *Consulship* (which he exercised with *M. Æmilius Lepidus*) being *Pontifex Maximus*, or *High-Priest*, he amended (*a*) the *Roman* year, which reformed by him, is yet after him called *Julian*. Herein he used the skill of *Sosigenes* an excellent *Mathematician* of *Alexandria* (where he learned this account, though the *Alexandrian* Moneths consisted of 30 dayes apiece, and five dayes were added at the end of

(*a*) *Suetan. in Julio. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dio l.* 43. *p.* 226. E. *Censorinus de die natali c.* 20. *Macrobius Saturnal. l.* 1. *c.* 14. *Plin. l.* 18. *c.* 25.

The *Julian* year.

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of every year) in Astronomical Calculations, and of *Flavius* the Scribe in rectifying the *Calendar*. Whereas now in the Moneth of *February* were intercalated 23 dayes, he intercalated betwixt *November* and *December* two other Moneths containing 67 dayes: so that this present year had fifteen Moneths and 445 dayes. But this work seemeth to have been done before his last expedition into *Spain*. After his return he (*b*) laid down the Consulship, and bringing in a new mode of creating *honorary Consuls* for three moneths, made *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *C. Trebonius*, whereof the former dying in the last day of the year, *Caninius Rebilus* obtained to succeed him for the few hours that remained, whereupon *Tully* (*c*) calls him the most vigilant Consul, for that he never slept during his Office. Now were vast honours decreed him by the Senate, (*d*) as *that he should be Dictator in perpetuum, and have the stile of Imperator, not in that sense as Generals were wont to have it given by their Soldiers after some worthy exploit, but whereby the greatest Authority in the Commonwealth was signified.* For, the Militia was to be wholely and solely at his disposal, as also raising of money: and all sorts of Magistrates, even *Plebeian*, were to be subject to him, and swear to contradict none of his decrees.

(*b*) *Dio ut supra p.* 236. *c.*
(*c*) *Famil. Epist. l.* 7. *epist.* 30. *caninio consule scito neminem prandisse, nihil tamen eo consule malí factum est fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit.*
(*d*) *Dio ut supra.* *Livius lib.* 116. *Appian belli civil. lib.* 2.

Vast honours decreed to *Cæsar.*

SECT. VII.

From the absoluteness of Julius Cæsar, *to the end of the second* Triumvirate, *and the absoluteness of* Octavius Cæsar, *or* Cæsar Octavianus, *the space of* 15 *years.*

1. CÆSAR being now Consul the fifth time, with *M. Antonius* (whom he much favoured, and promored, for that in his Tribuneship he so much stood for him) to shun (*a*) envy in the Citie, thought upon making War upon the *Getæ* and *Dacæ*, which had made inroads into *Pontus* and *Thrace*. About this time young *Castor*, the son of *Castor* (by (*b*) *Strabo* called *Saocondarius*) by the daughter of *Deiotarus* the King or Tetrarch of *Galatia* (to whom *Pompey* gave *Armenia* the Lesse, which gift the Senate having confirmed was taken away by *Cæsar*, because he took part with *Pompey*) came to *Rome* to accuse his Grand-father. He was sent by his father and mother, together with *Philippus* a Physician & *Deiotarus* his slave, who was corrupted by their promises to feign an accusation against his Lord, that he would have killed *Cæsar* when he entertained him in his Tetrarchy. *Deiotarus*, father, and son, who reigned together, had at that time four Ambassadors in the Citie, who offered their own bodies to *Cæsar* for the safety of their Masters. But *Cicero* being mindfull of the friendship and familiarity he had had with the old man, made an Oration for him in *Cæsars* house, wherein he premiseth, that it was so unusual a thing for a King (a real King; for as for the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, who were called to account by the impudent *Ephori*, they were indeed no Kings, having nothing but the title, and therefore this can make nothing against this truth) to be questioned for his life, that before that time it was never heard of. *Deiotarus* being acquitted by *Cæsar*, put to death his daughter as she had deserved, together with her husband *Castor Saocondarius* that noble Chronographer, concerning whom *Gerard John Vossius* is to be consulted, in his Treatise of *Greek* Historians.

(*a*) *Sueton in Julio. Appian belli civil. lib.* 2.
(*b*) *Lib.* 12. *pag.* 568. *Suidas in voce Κάτωπ. Vide Gerard. Vossium de Historicis Græcis lib.* 1. *cap. ult.*

King *Deiotarus* defended by *Cicero.*

2. *Cæsar* in his last Consulship, to (*a*) gratifie *Hyrcanus* the *High-Priest* and *Ethnarcha* of the *Jews*, as also the Nation, granted to him to enjoy, and Govern the Citie of *Jerusalem* as he pleased, which he might also fortifie with Walls. To the *Jews* he granted also a freedom from the charge of Portage and Toll, with an abatement of the publick Revenue in the second year of letting it out to farm. In this second *Julian* year his Collegue

(*a*) *Joseph. Antiquit. lib.* 14. *cap.* 17.

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The moneth *Quintilis* called *July*.

(b) *M. Antonius* procured by a Law that the Moneth *Quintilis* should in honour of his name be after it called *July*. He now restored (c) *Carthage* and *Corinth* (which two Cities had both in one year been destroyed) by *Roman* Colonies sent thither. Now (d) the people had a great desire to be revenged on the *Parthian*, for the losse of *Crassus* and his Army, and to him unanimously the War was decreed, and lest any stirs should be in his absence, he was permitted to name all Officers that should be in the Citie for three years. 'Tis thought he would gladly have had the title of King, though the people being against it, he declined it. For, as he came into the Citie from the Hill *Albanus* where he had sacrifized, some saluted him by the name of *King*, which the people took ill, whereupon he said, he was not *King* but *Cæsar*; and all holding their peace, he passed on sad and grieving. And when one of the multitude put upon a statue a Lawrel Crown, tied with a white Ribband (which was a royal Ensign) the Tribunes commanded it to be taken away, and the man carried to Prison: but *Cæsar* being vexed, either for that the motion of the Kingdom succeeded not, or, as he pretended, that the glory of refusing it was taken from him, grievously rated the Tribunes, and put them out of their Office. At the solemnity of the *Lupercalia* (which were celebrated on the fifteenth of *February*) as *Cæsar* sate in the *Rostra*, Crowned, in a purple Gown, and in a gilded Chair, *Antony* his Collegue running naked, as the custom was, amongst the *Luperci*, came to him as a suppliant, and in the name of the *People of Rome* offered him a Diadem, which being twice set upon his head, *Cæsar* took off, and laid in the Chair.

Cæsar seeming to affect the title of *King*.

He answered, that *Jupiter* alone was *King of the Romans*, and sending the Diadem into the *Capitol* unto *Jupiter*, commanded it to be registred, how in the name of the people the Kingdom had been offered him, and he would not take it. This gave suspition that the thing was done by agreement, and that he desired the title of *King*; but would be as it were compelled to accept of it.

2. A rumour was also at this time spred abroad, that the *Quindecimviri* had found in *Sibyll*'s books, *that the* Parthians *could onely be overcome by the* Romans *under conduct of a King*; and that at the next sitting of the Senate, *L. Cotta*, one of the *Quindecimviri*, would move that *Cæsar* might have the title. 'ome gave out, that he was indeed to be called *Dictator*, or *Imperator*, of the *Romans*, but plainly King of the other Nations subject to their Empire. These things drew envy upon him, and the indignation of the great ones, even of such as he had (as to their particular) well deserved of. And that saying undid him, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*, utterly thereby cutting off all hope that he would give over the *Dictatorship*. Being sensible of the envy he had contracted, he desired to haste out of the Citie, but four dayes before the time appointed, he was slain in the Senate-house by a conspiracy of above 60 Senators and Equites. Though his death was portended several wayes, yet he neglected it. 'Tis said, that as he went down to the house that very morning, that the names of the Conspirators were put into his hands, but he folded them up amongst other papers and never read them. The chief of them were *M. Brutus*, C. *Trebonius*, C. *Cassius*, and of his own party *Decimus Brutus*. Coming into the Senate-house, which then was *Pompey*'s Court, thinking of the *Parthian* expedition, as he sate in his *Curule Chair*, they fell upon him, and killed him with 23 wounds. So he who had * fought fifty battels, and killed 1192000 men, in that Senate, which he himself for the most part had chosen, in the Court of *Pompey*, and before *Pompey*'s Statue, so many of his Centurions looking on, fell by the hands of most Noble Citizens, many of whom he had to his utmost gratified, and so lay he, that not so much as a friend nor slave came near his body.

A. M. 3961. V. C. 710.

Is slain in the Senate-house.

* *Plinius lib. 7. cap. 15.*

* *Cicero lib. 2. de Divinat.*

4. So great a man he was that *Plutarch* * being judge, there was none of the greatest, and most admired Captains, to whom the *Gallick* War alone did not demonstrate him equal in commendations, both as a General, and as a Soldier. For, whether we consider the *Fabii*, *Scipios*, *Metelli*, his Contemporaries, or those that went before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, and both the

* *In Cæsar.*

(b) *Appian bell. civil. lib. 2. Dio lib. 44. Censorin. de die Natali cap. 9.*
(c) *Dio lib. 43. Strabo lib. 8. & 17.*
(d) *Dio lib. 43. Appian bell. civil. lib. 2. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Suetonius Julio. Livii Epitom. lib. 116.*

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the *Lentuli*, and even him whose glory for all warlike abilities reacheth to the skies, *Pompey* himself, the actions of *Cæsar* excel all their exploits. For, sometimes he obtained greater glory, for the inconvenience of the places wherein he made War, sometimes for the greatnesse of the Countries which he subdued, sometimes for the multitude and strength of his Enemies overthrown, sometimes for the perfidiousnesse and barbarism of the Nations subdued, sometimes for clemency shewed to the conquered, or otherwhiles for his liberality towards his fellow-soldiers; but alwaies in respect of the number of battels, and of those that were slain. For having carried on the War in *Gall* not fully ten years, he took above 800 Cities, subdued 300 several sorts of People, and having ingaged at several times with three millions of men, killed the third part, and took the other alive. So great was the affection of his Soldiers to him, and their care to please him, that where-

His character.

as otherwise they were nothing better than others, yet being invincible for his credit, they would not refuse any danger. This disposition in them he first bred and then maintained by conferring honours and rewards upon them, wherein he spared nothing; then by undertaking all dangers with them, and refusing no labour. His boldnesse indeed and courage, considering that it proceeded from incredible desire of glory, they admired not so much; but his labour and toil which he indured above his strength did astonish them. For, he was of a thin habit of body, pale and tender, had a sickly head, and was subject to the falling sickneſse or *Epilepsie*, which first took him at *Corduba*. But he took not an occasion of lazinesse from his want of health, but by Expeditions, most difficult journeys, slenderneſse of diet, and by continuing abroad in the open air, fought to drive away his disease, and keep his body healthful. Most commonly he slept as he was caried in his chariot or litter, so that his sleep was not idle. On the day time he was caried about the Forts, Cities and Camps, with a boy sitting by him, who wrote down what he dictated, and a Soldier with a sword standing at his back. He made so great journeys, that in his first Expedition from *Rome*, in eight incampings he came to the River *Rhodanus*. From his childhood he had learnt and practised riding, so that putting his hands behind him upon his back, he would sit an horse in his full speed, which was very much for one that had his disease. Moreover in that Expedition he exercised himself so, that riding, he would dictate several letters to two Secretaries or more. He was a man ambitious of power, and unsatisfied with any thing on this side Soveraignty, but Victory pleased him, not revenge nor cruelty, in which respect *Cicero*, to note his ambition, and yet acknowledge his goodneſse of nature, compared him to *Pisistratus*.

5. The conspirators conscious of the greatneſse of the fact, fearing the worst, secured themselves in the Capitol, it being in the Senate strongly debated how it should look upon the thing, and consequently upon them. But for *Antonius* the Consul (who also resolved when he should be able, to punish it, though now he betrayed no such intention) the fact had been approved of, as done upon an Usurper and a Tyrant, though they had not long before taken a solemn oath for his preservation, and decreed such vast honours to him. *Antonius* by putting them in mind, that if he were judged deservedly slain, all his acts were to be nulled, and consequently the assignment of several Offices, which he had of late made to several of them, effected that no more was done than to decree an *Amneſtie* or oblivion for all that was past, for which *Cicero* much laboured. The offices were confirmed with this reason entered, *because it was requisite for the good of the Commonwealth*, and the day following the Senate meering again, decreed Provinces to the murderers, *viz.* to *M. Brutus Crete*, *Asiniok* to *Cassius*, to *Trebonius Asia*, to *Cimber Bithynia*, and *Gall about Padus* to *Decimus Brutus*. After this, *Cæsar*'s testament was opened, wherein he made heirs three Nephews of his Sisters, *C. Octavius* of three parts in four of his estate (not of half onely, as it's found in *Livy*'s Epitome) and *L. Pinarius* and *Q. Pedius* of the other fourth part. *C. Octavius* he adopted into his name and family, and most of those

Vide Appian. ut supra. Patercul. l. 2. c. 58. Dionem l. 44.

An *Amneſtie* voted by the Senate.

Cæsar's Testament.

Sueton in Julio. Flor. l. 4. c. 4.

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Octavius his heir.

6. Now the series of affaires bringeth us to *Cæsar Octavianus* the adopted son of *Julius*. He was grand-son to his sister *Julia*, which woman was wife to *M. Attilius Balbus*, and by him had a daughter that was maried to *C. Octavius*. He was born in the Consulship of *Cicero*, and lost his father (who governing *Macedonia*, died sodainly before he could stand for the Consulship) when but four years old. He accompanied this his great Uncle in the last *Spanish* War, who ever kept him close to him in their travail, and was now sent by him to *Apollonia* to study, intending to take him along with him in the *Parthian* War. There he heard of his death, and the inheritance left to him. His Mother and Father-in-Law *Marcius Philippus*, were unwilling he should take the name of *Cæsar*, as subject to much envy; but after some pause he resolved to the contrary, and assuming the name of *Cæsar Octavianus*, made use of the good affections of his Uncles friends in *Greece*, who accompanying him to the City, he was met by a vast number of others from *Rome*. Here, after he had accepted of the adoption, and confirmed it by the authority of the *Prætor* as the custom was, he went to *Antony*, whom he expected to have his friend and assistant in prosecuting his Uncle's Enemies. But after some waiting, he entertained him with great contempt, and though he had got a great quantity of *Cæsar's* money, yet he denied to let him have any, fearing he should grow into too much esteem. *Cæsar* hereupon sold his own inheritance to pay the legacy given to the People, which procured him much love, his Uncle's (or Father's, as now he must be called) old Soldiers flocked to him, whom he accepted of out of fear of *Antony*, who now became every day more odious, both to him, to People and Senate.

Appian de bello civili l. 3. Suetan in Augusto. Dio l. 45.

Purchaseth the Love of the People.

7. The Senate suspected *Antony* as intending to set up himself, and he intended nothing more, for which cause he resolved to have some Province assigned him, wherein he might get power. To curry favour then he propounded to be considered *Sextus Pompey*, who yet remained of the sons of *Pompey* the Great (that beloved man) that in requital for his fathers estate confiscated, he might have an allowance out of the publick, and command of the Seas, with that Navy he formerly had. This being received with great applause was enacted; and so *Pompey* was called back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards waged a great War against *Cæsar*. *Antony* perswaded *Dolobella* his Collegue (a young man whom *Cæsar* having ordained to be Consul after his departure out of the City, when he was dead, took the Office, and inveighing against his benefactor, would have had the day of his death stiled the birth-day of the City) though he loved him not, to ask *Syria*, not of the Senate, but the People, hoping that after him he should not be denied such a requeſt. The difference increasing betwixt him and *Cæsar*, he desired to have the six Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtained them, deceiving the Senate by a false rumour, that the *Getes* hearing of *Cæsar's* death, had invaded that Province. He baited them, by preferring a Law against any one's being *Dictator*. It was his design to bring these Legions over into *Italy* to awe and command all, and that he might effect this, he preferred by force a Law for changing of Provinces, and thereby procured to his brother *C. Antonius Macedonia*, which formerly had been assigned to *M. Brutus*, and to himself the nearer *Gall* (or *Gallia Cisalpina*) which before was given to *Decimus Brutus*.

Appian. Livii Epitom. lib. 117. Dio l. 45.

Antony practizeth for his own advancement.

8. The Senate would in no wise grant this, whereupon he betook himself to

SECT. 7. to the People. When he had brought over his Legions, part of them revolted to *Cæsar*, who now out of fear went up and down *Italy*, gathering Soldiers out of the Colonies his father had planted. With a considerable Army at length *Antony* marched into *Gall*, whence he commanded *Brutus* to be gone, who gave way to him then, but departed to *Mutina*, resolving there to stay and endure a siege, for that he had some considerable strength, and expected assistance. Here *Antony* straightly besieged him, which the Senate hearing of, by *Cicero's* working especially (who now began to speak and write his fourteen Orations, in imitation of those of *Demosthenes*, called *Philipicks*) declared him an Enemy to the State, which proved a means for the bringing in and preferring of *Cæsar Octavianus*. For though the Senate cared not at all for him, as being generally of *Pompey's* faction, yet they resolved to make use of him for his Armies sake, and therefore erected him a statue, made him a Senator, though but nineteen years old, decreed, that he should be considered towards preferment as ten years older, and gave him equal power with *Hirtius* and *Pansa* the Consuls, whom now they sent to relieve *Brutus*. They took *Bononia*; but *Antony* being bold, for that he had got the better in some skirmikes, went and met *Pansa*, whom he overthrew, but returning carelesly into his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. A little after, a great battel was fought near *Mutina*, wherein *Antony* was quite defeated, and fled to *Lepidus* then *Proconsul* in the further *Gall*. Both the Consuls died of wounds; *Hirtius* in *Antonie's* Camp, and *Pansa* at *Bononia*. *Brutus* being at this time spared by *Cæsar*, thought of departing with his ten Legions to *M. Brutus* and *Cassius*, now in *Greece*, but his Soldiers moved by the difficulty of the journy revolted, the six new raised Legions to *Cæsar*, and the four of old Soldiers to *Antony*. He then purposing with a small attendance to passe through *Gall*, was taken at *Aquilea*, and betraied by *Capenus Sequanus* Governour of the Countrey, who sent his head to *Antony*. Before this, *Trebonius* another of his Complices in *Cæsar's* death, excluding *Dolabella* (whom the Senate had judged an Enemy) from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, was taken by him in the later place, and after grievous torments, had his head cut off, which the Soldiers kicking about as a foot-ball, did so abuse, as no face was to be seen on it. Not long after the death of *Decimus Brutus*, *Minutius Basilius* another of the Conspiratours was slain by his slaves, whom he had gelded in a great rage.

The hatred of him procureth young *Cæsar's* preferment.

Appian ut supra. Dio l. 46. Plutarch in Antonio. Cicero Philip. 5. Suetan in Octavio.

A. M. 3962. V. C. 712.

Appian. Livius lib. 120. Cicero. Philip. 11.

Yet having no need of *Cæsar*, the Senate again slighted him,

9. Now the Senate having no need of young *Cæsar*, slighted him exceedingly, decreeing the honour due to him unto *Brutus*, whom he had relieved, giving him very bitter taunts, and denying him a Triumph. Being sensible hereof, and how most of them were of *Compey's* Faction, he began to ramper with *Antony* by Letters, as also with *Lepidus*, for a conjunction, and sent 400 Soldiers into the City, in the name of the Army, to demand the Consulship for him. Hereat the Senat straining hard, one *Cornelius* a Centurion laying his hand on his Sword, said, *This shall do it, if you will not.* Then called he *Antony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*, whereat the Senate much startled, and too late blaming their own rigidity, decreed him Consul, and whomsoever he would take to himself. So he invaded the Consulship, a moneth and five dayes before he was twenty years old, and took *Q. Pedius* for his Collegue. Then by a Law was fire and water forbidden to all that had an hand in the death of *Cæsar*, and their goods were sold. The Senate was now so changed, either through good advice or fear, that in stead of slighting they advanced him above all example. They resolved that after his Consulship he should take place of all Consuls, and though formerly they were displeased with his levying forces being a private man; now they desired him to add to his Army, and decreed to him the Legions of *Decimus Brutus*. The City was committed to his care, and power given him to act what he pleased, though without the prescripe of the Laws, which he retained fifty six years till his death. Not long after came *Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Antonius* into *Italy*, whom he met about *Bononia*, and after

Appian ut supra. Livius l. 119. Suetan. in Augusto. Paterc. l. 2. c. 62. Livii Epitom. lib. 120.

Vide Dionem lib. 46.

Which procureth the Triumvirate.

Livii Epit. l. 120. Appian bell. civil. l. 4.

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after a three dayes conference entred into confederacy with them, which is famous by the name of the *Triumvirate*.

The Terms of the Combination.

10. The terms of this Combination were, *That* Cæsar *for the remainder of the year should leave the Consulship to* Ventidius, who formerly in the Social War when a Boy was led in Triumph, and after that rubbed the heels of Mules for his living. *That a new authority of three men should be erected to take away civil dissentions; which they three should execute for five years with Consular power* (for, the Dictatorship was waved, because of a Law lately preferred against it by *Antony*) *with authority to dispose of all Offices for that Term. That* Antony *should have as a Province all* Gall, *except that of* Narbon, *which* Lepidus *was to have with* Spain; *and to* Cæsar *was* Africk, *with* Sardinia *and* Sicily *assigned; other places beyond the Seas being left to another time.* They agreed further, *that their Enemies should be destroyed,* wherein the case of *Cicero* moved the greatest controversie. For *Antony* would not meddle except he in the first place should be slain, *Lepidus* was content, but *Cæsar* stood much against it, yet on the third day he assented an exchange being made; for he yielding up *Cicero*, *Lepidus* permitted his brother *Paulus*, and *Antony L. Cæsar* his Uncle by the Mother's side to be proscribed. Lastly, it was agreed *that* Lepidus *should be Consul the following year, instead of* Decimus Brutus, *designed formerly by* Julius Cæsar. *He guarding* Rome *and* Italy, *the other two were to make War upon* Brutus *and Cassius*, who now (though at first without any decree of the Senate) had seized on *Macedonia* and *Syria*. *Cassius* in *Laodicea* besieged *Dolabella*, who being judged an Enemy by the Senate for the death of *Trebonius*, when the Citie was taken caused his Page to cut off his head, and so ended his life, being a man of no great solidity. He was son-in-law to *Cicero*: but after the divorcing of *Tullia* they fell into great enmity, whereupon the Orator proved a back friend to him in the Senate, reigning amongst the Fathers and the People with his Eloquence.

* *Concurrite omnes Augures, Auspices, Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens, Nam mulos qui fricabat Consul factus est.*

Idem ibid. *Dio lib.46.*

These Verses were scattered up and down the Citie.

Gellius lib.9. cap.4.

The effects of it.

11. The first effect of the *Triumvirate* was a *Proscription* of some 300 persons of *Equestrian* and *Senatorian* ranks. Though the pretence was to revenge *Cæsar*'s death, yet many were murdered for their rich Estates, others out of malice, and some for their convenient Houses and Gardens. Amongst those of greatest note was *Varro*, who now living to see and feel a second *Tricipitina*, yet escaped with his life. *Cicero* the man most aimed at by *Antony* for opposing him so vehemently in the Senate, upon the *Triumvirs* their coming went to Sea; but the winds being contrary, and because he could not endure the shaking of the ship, he returned, saying, *he would die in his Countrey often preserved by him.* Being weary both of his flight and life, he came to a Village a little more than a mile distant from the Sea. Here his servants terrified by several prodigies, partly by perswasion, and partly by force put him again in his litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea, when hearing of those that came to seek for him, he caused the Litter to be set down, and quietly stretched out his neck to *Popilius Lænas*, whom formerly by his Oratory he had saved from condemnation. He ill favouredly enough cut off his head and hands, which he presented to *Antony*, and for so doing received a great reward. After the head had been sufficiently gazed on by him and his wife *Fulvia* (who set on her knees, pulled out the Tongue, and pricking it with Needles, otherwise shamefully shewed her spite) it was to the grief of all men set up in the pleading place, or *Rostra*. To such an end came this most famous man, the father of *Roman* eloquence. He was born at *Arpinum*, on the third of the *Nones* of *January*, in the 648 year of the Citie; *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Capio* being Consuls, the same wherein *Pompey* the Great was born, on the *Calends* of *October*. His father was of *Equestrian* rank, and issued, as some said, from *Tullus Attius*, a Noble King of the *Volsci*. He first deserved the Triumph of the Gown, and the Laurel of the Tongue. And as *Cæsar* the *Dictator* wrote of him, he obtained a Laurel greater than all Triumphs (though he had one decreed to him for his good service in the field) by how much the more 'tis a greater,

Appian.

Plutarch. in Ciceone.

Cicero slain.

Paterculus l. 2. cap.66. *Plinius lib. 7. cap.30.*

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greater and more excellent thing to inlarge the bounds of *Roman* wit, than of Empire. He died on the seventh of *December*, when he had lived 63 years eleven moneths and five dayes. His brother *Quintus* and his sons were slain, but his own escaped; for that he had sent him beforehand unto *Athens*.

And many others.

12. All places in the Citie were full of slaughters. The ordinary rate of one head brought to the *Triumvirs*, if by a free-man, was 100000 *Sesterces*; if by a slave, half so much, with the liberty of the Citie. This corrupted many, so as forgetting both duty and natural affection, they betrayed those for whose preservation they ought to have laboured. Yet now many rare, and admirable examples, of the love of wives to their husbands, and of slaves to their Masters, appeared; fewest of Children towards their Parents. Yet *Opius* his Act seemeth to stand for many, who *Æneas* like carried out his old and decrepit father, and conveyed him to the Sea, sometimes leading, and sometimes carrying him on his back, till they both escaped into *Sicily*, whence afterwards returning, the people out of a sense of his piety made him *Ædile*, and for that he wanted money to set out the usual Games, the Artificers willingly wrought for him without wages, and the Spectators by a contribution made him rich. Of such proscribed persons as escaped, some fled to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who received them kindly; but most unto *Sextus Pompey* now in *Sicily*, who sent out Vessels to hover upon the Coasts for them, and furnished them when came over with necessaries. But the *Triumvirs* wanting great sums for carrying on the War against *Cassius* and *Brutus*, by reason that few would buy Confiscated Estates, condemned also, though not the persons, yet the goods of many rich women, as well as men.

Idem.

The *Triumvirs* condemn the estates of women to get money.

13. *Cassius*, after he had got *Syria* into his power, thought of making an expedition into *Egypt* against *Cleopatra* (who now was going with a great power to the aid of *Cæsar* and his followers) but was recalled by *Brutus*; for that *Antony* and *Cæsar* (who having attempted something against *Ptolomy* in *Sicily*, put it now off till another time) were coming against them with fourty Legions, whereof eight had already passed the *Ionian* Sea. Therefore leaving *Syria* to his brother's son with one Legion, he sent some into *Cappadocia*; who killed *Ariobarzanes* as one that had conspired against him, and brought him a masse of money. Exacting money with much rigour he came into *Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they consulted about the Warre. *Brutus* moved that they should passe over into *Macedonia*, and there encounter their Enemies; but *Cassius* prevailed that the *Rhodians* and *Lycians* should first be reduced, who refused to Contribute any thing, and were powerfull at Sea. It seeming good not to leave any Enemy at their back, this was performed, and vast sums of money by that, and other means raised. The *Xanthians* standing out, as they had done in former times against *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, were scarce any of them left alive; and the *Rhodians* had little besides their lives left unto them.

Idem.

Plutarch. in M. Bruto.

And *Cassius* and *Brutus* take extravagant courses for Treasure.

Orosius lib.6. cap.18.

14. After this, both the Armies met at *Philippi*, that Citie of *Macedonia*, to which, being built by *Philip* to restrain the *Thracians*, as we have formerly shewn, St. *Paul* wrote his Epistle. Here appeared on either side 19 Legions. *Antony* and *Cæsar* brought into the field 13000 horse; but *Brutus* and *Cassius* 20000. who coming thither first, incamped on an high and convenient ground near the Sea, whence they could have Provisions in abundance. The other party was exceedingly straightned for necessaries, having onely *Macedonia* and *Thessaly* open to it, for that *Pompey* cut off all entercourse from *Africk*, as *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus* from *Italy*, by their Navies. This made *Antony* desirous to fight above measure, which the Enemy knowing well enough, refused to ingage, till *Antony* making a way through a Fen to intercept his Provisions, and a work being raised by *Cassius* against him, this procured a fight, wherein *Cassius* had the worst on his part, and his Camp was taken by *Antony*. On the other side *Cæsar*'s Wing was worsted, and his Camp also taken by *Brutus*. *Cassius* departing to an Hill not far off, expected the event of the fight on his partner's side, and because for the dust he could not discern what horse it was that made towards him, sent *Titinius* to discover.

The two parties meet at *Philippi*.

Appian belli civil. lib.4. *Plutarch. in Antonio.* *Florus l.4. c.7.* *Paterculus lib.2. cap.70.* *Livii Epitom. lib.124.*

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cover. He being received with joy by thoſe that were bringing tidings of victory, ſtayed ſo long, till *Caſſius*, fearing the worſt, and that the Meſſenger was intercepted, killed himſelf, or cauſed his *Libertus*, or *Freedman*, to cut off his head. Scarcely was it falln, when *Titinius* coming, followed him by his own hands, whom as he ſaid, he had killed by loitering.

Caſſius killeth himſelf out of miſapprehenſion.

15. *Brutus* preſently cauſed his Collegues body to be buried out of ſight, leſt the Army ſhould be dejected; and then had no mind to fight, deſiring rather to ſtarve the Enemy, who now was in deſperate condition by want of neceſſaries, till fearing a defection, for that ſome had revolted already, or till being forced by the earneſtneſſe of his Soldiers he led them out to battel. Both parties, though Countrey-men, were ſo greedy of ingaging, that they neglected to uſe any miſſive weapons, and betook themſelves to their Swords, fighting with great animoſity, till at length *Brutus* his ſide was born down, and put to the rout. He eſcaped to an Hill, where remaining all night, when in the morning he ſaw no way of eſcaping (*Antony* having made him ſure, leſt he ſhould renew the War) he ſet his ſwords point to his left pap, where the motion of the heart is felt, and forcing it into his breaſt, expired. This was the end of theſe two men, by the ſame weapons as ſome write wherewith they killed *Caeſar*, who had given them their lives, and received them into favour after the battel of *Pharſalum*. While they fought liberty by his death, by that very means they loſt that which they accounted ſuch, being indeed no other than a liberty for the common ſort to run into extravagancies, and for particular men to abuſe their credulity, and by flattery to procure power, which they then would improve (even *Pompey* himſelf, as well as *Sylla*, *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Caeſar*) further than their Commiſſions extended. With them periſhed the hopes of that called a Commonwealth, which thenceforth never was more ſeen. As for the ſucceeding bickerings which the *Triumviri* had with young *Pompey*, they were but inconſiderable in compariſon of this War with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, who having under their power all the *Roman* Empire from *Macedonia* to the River *Euphrates*, with above 20 Legions, 20000 horſe, 200 long ſhips, and infinite ſums of money, ſo long as they remained, the Commonwealth ſeemed (though not at *Rome*) as yet to be ſurviving.

Appian ut ſupra. *Dio lib. 47.* *Plutarch. in M. Brato.* *Patercul. ut priùs.* *Livius lib. 124.*

And *Brutus* after a defeat.

A. M. 3963. *Ol.185. ann.3.* *V. C. 712.* *Hyrcani 22.* *Ante Chriſt. 40.*

16. *Caeſar* being indiſpoſed (for he had not his health this expedition, and therefore was not in the firſt fight) returned into *Italy*. *Antony* went into *Aſia* to gather up money for the paiment of largeſſes promiſed to the Soldiers. Here he ſqueezed out of the poor Inhabitants that little which was left them by *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the followers of whom he alſo reſtored as he met with them, except ſuch as had an hand in *Caeſar*'s death. In *Cilicia* he met with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, on whom he preſently doated, having formerly had much affection for her when yet a Girle, at ſuch time as he accompanied *Gabinius* into that Kingdom. Thither he now followed her, having firſt ſent a party of horſe to plunder *Palmyra*, a Town ſituate near *Euphrates*, and laid moſt heavy Tributes and Impoſitions upon the Provinces.

Caeſar returneth to *Rome*.

Appian.

Appian belli civil. lib. 5. *Plutarch. in Antonio.* *Dio lib. 48.*

Antony followeth *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*.

After *Caeſar* had recovered, according to their agreement at parting he ſet himſelf to divide Lands to the Army in *Italy*, which hereby was put into a great combuſtion, the number of Soldiers being ſo great, that multitudes of Inhabitants were turned out, and many Towns emptied to give place to thoſe new comers, who committed many outrages, and had not purchaſed thoſe Lands by any ſervice to the State (as was complained) but by ſerving to inthrall it to the Dominion of three men. *Fulvia* the wife of *Antony*, and *Lucius* his brother now Conſul, envied *Caeſar* this popularity with the Soldiers, and contended earneſtly that they ought to ſettle the Soldiers of *Antony*, which was granted. But herewith not contented, they reſolved to proſecute him with War. She, for that ſhe deſired her husband might be recalled thereby from *Cleopatra*, concerning whom ſhe had too much cauſe to be jealous of him: and he out of deſire to innovate, pretending an indeavour to ſuppreſſe the *Triumvirate*, and to reduce the antient form of Government, and truſting much to the ſtrength of his brother.

A. M. 3964. *V. C. 713.*

17. Much

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The *Peruſian* War betwixt *Caeſar*, and the brother and wife of *Antony*.

17. Much ado was made to reconcile them, but to no purpoſe. The antient Poſſeſſors of the grounds flocked to *Lucius*, and the new ones to *Caeſar*, to whom *Salvidienus* coming out of *Gall* with great ſtrength, *Lucius* went to oppoſe him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, and reduced to ſuch ſtraights betwixt them two, (though *Ventidius* and *Aſinius*, two of *Antonie*'s Captains were not far off) that glad he was to betake himſelf for ſecurity to *Peruſia* a ſtrong Town, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Caeſar* and his party. He ſtood out very couragiouſly, till forced by famine to yield to mercy; then coming out firſt, and caſting himſelf into *Caeſar*'s hands, he interceded for his Soldiers, and deſired all the blame might be upon himſelf: he was received honourably, and his Soldiers were pardoned at the deſire of their Enemies. The Town was to be plundred, but by a mad-man, who ſet his own houſe on fire and therein periſhed, it was burnt down to the ground. About this time was the firſt Ecloge of *Virgil* written (who now was ſome 28 years old) during the diviſion of thoſe Lands, as clearly appeareth from it: the above mentioned *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Iſauricus* being Conſuls, in the 713th year of the Citie, and the third of the *Triumvirate*.

Appian.

A M 3965. *V. C. 714.*

Vide Servium in locum.

Caeſar provideth for the worſt.

18. After the *Peruſian* War (for ſo 'tis called) *Caeſar* ſuſpecting *Antonie*'s affection towards him; to ſtrengthen himſelf ſeized on *Spain* and *Gall*, though his Provinces, taking occaſion at the death of his Lieutenant, whereby being 40 Legions ſtrong, he was able to graple with him if need ſhould require. But having no ſhipping he was at a loſſe as to Sea matters, and therefore married *Scribonia* the ſiſter of *Libo*, father-in-law to *Sextus Pompey*, from whom he hoped by this alliance if need were to obtain peace. *Antony* this Spring moved from *Alexandria*, where he had lived all Winter very looſely with *Cleopatra*, as againſt the *Parthians*, who now under conduct of *Labienus* had over-run *Syria* as far as *Tyre*. Though this Town was ſet upon by them, and he pretended he would relieve it, yet he did not, alleging a neceſſity of going to the War againſt *Pompey*, who now hindred all Proviſions from coming to the Citie, and thereby cauſed a great dearth: & he again excuſed himſelf why he came no ſooner to that againſt *Pompey*, becauſe he was retained by the *Parthian* War. Sayling then into *Aſia*, he had news of the event of the *Peruſian* War, and blamed much his wife and brother; whence paſſing into *Greece* he met with her, and his mother *Julia*, whom *Pompey* having taken now ſent ſafe to him. Thence he ſayled over the *Ionian* Sea, where *Aenobarbus* delivered up all his Fleet and forces to him; and ſo they came to *Brunduſium*, where they were kept out by a Garriſon placed there by *Caeſar*.

Antonies carriage in the Eaſt.

Dio lib. 48.

The *Triumvirs* fall out.

19. This made ſuch a breach betwixt them, that *Antony* blocked up the Town, and procured *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Caeſar* came to *Brunduſium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Antony*, the Army laboured to reconcile the *Triumvirs*, which *Cocceius* friend to both at length effected with much labour; *Pollio* on *Antonie*'s ſide, and *Maecenas* on *Caeſar*'s, as Delegates making up the breach. All offences were mutually to be forgiven, and for that *Marcellus* husband to *Octavia Caeſar*'s ſiſter was now dead, and alſo *Fulvia Antonie*'s wife for grief that he neglected her, *Antony* married *Octavia*. Then was the *Roman* Empire divided betwixt them, the bounds of their Dominins being *Codropolis* a Town of *Illyricum*, all from it Weſtward being to obey *Caeſar*, and all Eaſtward *Antony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, who now was even no body, and having offended *Caeſar* had been confined by him to that Province. The War againſt the *Parthians* was judged to *Antony*, and that againſt *Pompey* (who muſt needs now be ſuppreſſed) unto *Caeſar*. *Antony* ſent *Ventidius* into *Aſia* to reſtrain the *Parthians*, who now had made an incurſion as far as *Ionia*. But out of *Sardinia* did *Menodorus Pompey*'s Admiral the ſecond time eject *Helenus Caeſar*'s Captain, whereupon *Caeſar* refuſed to hearken to *Antony*, when he moved him to be reconciled unto *Pompey*. Both the *Triumvirs* (or rather now the *Duumvirs*) being come to the Citie, were received with moſt lamentable complaints of poor people, ready to ſtarve for want of Proviſions, which *Pompey*

Appian.

Are reconciled and a new agreement is made.

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pey hindred from coming, from the East by *Sicily*, from the West by *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, which he had in his power, and from *Africk* by his Navy also, which then was most powerful at Sea. *Cæsar* could not be drawn to make Peace with him, notwithstanding the loud cries and prayers of the multitude, which obstinacy drew him, and *Antony* (rescuing him) into such danger, as both of them were near stoning. At length being forced to it, and *Pompey* being perswaded, they met, but *Pompey* expecting to be admitted into the power and place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty came to nothing. Yet the pressure of the famine brought them together again, and amongst other things it was concluded, that *Pompey retaining all the Islands he had already, and* Peloponnesus *over and above, as long as they should hold their power; and having liberty to be* Consul, *and to discharge the Office by any of his friends, he was to leave the Sea open, and pay to the People what corn was due out of* Sicily. *The proscribed persons, except such as were guilty of* Cæsar's *death, had now all liberty to return.* The day following, Consuls were designed for four years. First *Antonius* and *Libo*, than *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, next *Æno-barbus* and *Sosius*, and lastly, *Cæsar* and *Antony*, who then (it might be hoped) might restore the Government to the People. Then did *Antony* and *Cæsar* return, and were most joyfully received. And this year being the 714 of the City, did they procure *Herod* the Great to be declared King of *Judæa*, in the first year of the 184 *Olympiad*, *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* the second time, and C. *Asinius Pollio* being Consuls.

A great famine caused by *Sextus Pompey*.

Procureth an agreement with him.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 26.

20. *Antony* departed towards the East again for the *Parthian* Warre, which hitherto *Ventidius* his Lieutenant had managed with good successe, having got several victories, wherein *Labienus*, who brought them into *Syria*, and *Pharnapates*, (or *Phraates*, or *Barzapharnes*, being called by several names) the greatest of their Captains, with *Pacorus* son to *Orodes* the King, were slain. After this he repelled them in *Media* and *Mesopotamia*, and besieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in *Samosata*, whom he suffered, upon promise of 1000 talents, to send Ambassadors unto *Antony*, who now drew near, and for that the siege was likely long to continue, by reason of the desperat resolution of the defendants, granted him Peace for 300 talents, accepted but of two Hostages, and those inconsiderable ones; and he gave him leave to put to death *Alexander*, who had formerly revolted to the *Romans*. This by (*a*) some he was thought to do for fear of the Army, which was angry at his ill usage of *Ventidius*; though others say, he honoured him according to his deserts, who though a man of an obscure extract, now first of all others triumphed over the *Parthians*. *Antony* having setled the affairs of *Syria*, departed to *Athens*, where he spent the winter with *Octavia*. But the (*c*) peace with *Pompey* continued but a short time. The cause of the breach (what ever secretly was aimed at) was pretended to be, for that *Antony* being to quit *Peloponnesus*, would do it but upon this condition, that *Pompey* should give him satisfaction for such moneys as was due to him from the Inhabitants. But *Pompey* liked not of any such condition, and therefore rigged a new Fleet, and provided himself of forces, perhaps giving credit to *Metrodorus*, who would tell him, that the present state of affairs was no true Peace, but rather a cessation of arms. He then renewed his Piracy, which renewed the former grievances, and made the People cry out, that the matter was onely altered from three Tyrants to four. But *Metrodorus* revolted to *Cæsar*, bringing in with him *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions, and then *Antony* was called to *Brundusium* to consult about the War. Thither he came at the day appointed, but *Cæsar* keeping not his word he staied not for him, either not liking the breach of the Peace, or for that he envied *Cæsar* all that power he saw him have; for still they suspected and grudged each other. But *Cæsar* being provided, set out to Sea, as to invade *Sicily*, and was beaten back by *Pompey*, though he took him at unawares, who heard nothing of the revolt of *Metrodorus*, till also of *Cæsars* coming. Afterward his ships lying at Anchor, were extreamly battered, and most of the men were cast away.

Dio lib. 49.
Appian in Parthicis.

Ventidius prospereth against the *Parthians*.

Florus l. 4. c. 9.

(*a*) *Dio ut prius.*
(*b*) *Plutarch in Antonio.*
(*c*) *Appian de bello Civil. l. 4.*

The Peace with *Pompey* broken.

A. M. 3967.
V. C. 716.
Herodis 2.

21. *Cæsar*

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21. *Cæsar* fortified the Coasts of *Italy*, for fear lest *Pompey* should make an invasion, which he, not knowing how to improve a Victory, was never wont to attempt. Then wanting all manner of provisions for the Warre, he sent *Mecenas* to *Antony*, who refusing not to joyn with him, this cheared him, together with a Victory got by *Agrippa* in *Aquitaine*; many Cities, and private persons also promising aid. *Antony* came to *Tarentum* with 300 ships, but whether there was something else betwixt them, or for that he was now furnished, he slighted his help, *Cæsar* excused himself that he met him not, which the other took in ill part, yet sent for him again. For having laid out much upon the Fleet, he intended to exchange it for some *Italian* Legions, to be used in the *Parthian* Warr, it being difficult for him to raise men in *Italy*, which was subject to *Cæsar*, though by their last agreement both were left free there to make their Levies. *Octavia* coming over to her brother, agreed them, who then made the exchange, and because the time of the *Triumvirate* set by the Senate was almost out, prorogued their power for five years longer, without any consideration had of the suffrages of the People. So *Antony* departed into *Syria*, *Cæsar* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* untill the following year.

Idem.

Antony and *Cæsar* make a new agreement and prorogue their power.

22. He determined to invade *Sicily* from three several quarters: *Lepidus*, who now joyned with him, was to invade it from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himself from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* resolved to oppose him so many several wayes, but at this time it needed not; for *Cæsar's* Navy was the second time wracked by a Tempest, which so puffed up *Pompey*, that he stiled himself *Neptune's son*. But *Cæsar* gave not over the enterprize; for the same Summer having recruited his forces, and mended his ships, he put forth to sea, and then, though on *Lepidus* his part were lost two Legions, overthrew *Pompey's* Fleet, but was again worsted, and yet landed 21 Legions, and 2000 Horse, besides 5000 lightly armed. No great or memorable battel was there on Land; but *Pompey* sent to his Enemy, to know if he would fight by Sea, fearing his Land-Forces. He accepted of his offer, and then finally defeated him, having sunk 28 of his Vessels. The rest were either taken or broken, seventeen onely escaped, and at the sight of this overthrow his Land-forces yielded to *Cæsar*, so that with his seventeen Vessels he fled to *Antony*, from whom he expected protection, having restored formerly his mother safe to him, when in such a condition. *Messana* still stood out, but the Garrison at length yielded to *Lepidus*, who granted to the Soldiers, to draw them to his party, the plunder of the Town equal with his own. Having now by the addition of those Forces 22 Legions, and a strong body of Horse under his command, he pleased himself with thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his hands, to which he pretended a right, as first invaded by him; and he sought to hinder *Cæsar* all he could from the possession of it.

Idem.

Pompey overthrown by *Cæsar*.

A. M. 3969.
V. C. 718.

23. *Cæsar* expostulated with him for his ingratitude; but to no purpose. Then found he means to draw away all his Army from him, which now was something averse to Civil Warrs, and satisfied of the greater worth of *Cæsar*, being moreover incensed against their General, for making *Pompey's* Soldiers partakers with them in the plunder of *Messana*. Yet though his Soldiers would have killed him did he save them alive, but outed him of all power, and banished him; so that thus fell one head of this *Tricipitina*. *Pompey* not being persued by *Cæsar*, craved protection from *Antony*; yet sent to the *Parthian*, in case he should not be received by him. Then thought he of seizing upon *Syria*, and the parts adjacent, upon a rumour of *Antony's* being overthrown; whereupon he was pursued by his party, and at last taken and killed at *Midaius* a Town of *Phrygia*, as *Dio* writeth, but as *Florus* and *Appian* at *Miletus*, in the fourtieth year of his age, fourteen years after the death of his Father. *Cæsar* at his return restrained roberies in the City, setting watches therein, and administred things in the ancient way by annual Magistrates. He burnt all letters written in time of War, promising he would restore the Commonwealth as soon as *Antony* should return, who, he knew, would also lay down the Magistracy, all Civil Warrs being ended. He was there-

Appian ut supra.
Plutarch in Antonio.
Dio l. 49.

One head of the *Tricipitina* broken off.

Pompey killed.

Sect. 7. therefore received with luckie acclamations, and had a *Perpetual Tribuneſhip* beſtowed on him, as invited by this honour to lay down his other power. Concerning this he wrote privately to *Antony*, who, whilſt *Cæſar* was thus imployed about *Pompey*, had called *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, and there given her *Phœnicia*, *Caleſyria*, *Cyprus*, a great part of *Cilicia*, with part of *Arabia Nabathæa*, and ſo much of *Judæa* as brought *Baſſamum*. Then ſending her home, he marched into *Armenia*, where yet he could do nothing (for deſire of her) like himſelf; but ever thought of returning to her, which ſhortly after he did; but was much troubled in his paſſage by the *Parthians*, to whom his Army had revolted, but that they killed ſuch as firſt paſſed over to them.

Antony doateth on *Cleopatra.*

24. The year following, and that wherein *Pompey* was ſlain, he was ſolicited by the King of *Media* in conjunction with him to make Warre upon the *Parthian*; but was hindred by ſtirs which hapned betwixt *Cleopatra* and *Octavia* his wife, who now returning to him out of *Italy*, met with letters at *Athens* to ſtop her there, he pretending neceſſary avocations by Warre. *Cæſar* then would have had her come to his houſe, but ſhe would go to her husbands, where ſhe educated both his children and her own, as became her. Then did *Antony* return into *Armenia*, where he caught the King by a wile, and brought him in triumph into *Ægypt*. Now would he be called *Father Bacchus*, as *Cleopatra Iſis*, who now was ſtiled by him *Queen of Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Caleſyria*, *Cæſario* whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar* being her partner in theſe Principalities. But his own ſons by her, *Alexander* and *Ptolomy*, he named *Kings of Kings*; betwixt whom he did not onely part what Provinces he himſelf had, but alſo *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*, and to *Cleopatra* their daughter aſſigned *Cyrene*. Theſe things, together with the diſgrace of his ſiſter provoked *Cæſar*, who made report of them to the Senate and People. Hereby he incenſed men's minds againſt *Antony*, who ſhortly after went into *Media*, and entered into league with the King thereof. *Cæſar* at the ſame time fought againſt ſeveral People of *Illyrium*, and the next year both provided for the Civil War betwixt themſelves.

His extravagancies in *Ægypt.*

Plutarch. Dio.

25. *Antony* in way of recrimination to *Cæſar*, objected his putting *Lepidus* beſides the *Triumvirate*, and taking his Soldiers as thoſe of *Pompey* to himſelf, which ought to have been equally free for both; and he challenged his part of the Soldiers raiſed in *Italy*. For, *Cæſar* beſides what we formerly mentioned, accuſed him of taking *Ægypt* as his Province, killing *Pompey*, abuſing *Artavaſdes* the *Armenian* King, to the great infamy of the *Roman* State; but above all upbraided him with *Cleopatra*, and what he had aſſigned to their children, as alſo for that he owned *Cæſario* as begotten by *Cæſar*, though to the Senate he had acknowledged him for his own ſon. *Antony*, bewitched by *Cleopatra* ſo far as not to be able to rule himſelf, wrote to the Senate to have thoſe things confirmed, which he had ſetled upon her and her children. The two Conſuls *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Soſius* being much for him, were forced to leave the City, and get over to him, who now alſo having raiſed great forces, ſent to *Rome*, to drive *Octavia* out of his houſe. and if taking his opportunity he had this Summer invaded *Italy*, he might in all probability have put an end to the quarrel. For, *Cæſar* was not yet provided, wanting money exceedingly, which he now exacted throughout *Italy*. But this delay herein helped him, that men's minds were more and more bent againſt *Antony*, eſpecially after *Cæſar* had publiſhed his Teſtament, wherein he diſpoſed as formerly, to his and *Cleopatra*'s children, and ordained, that though he ſhould dye at *Rome*, his body ſhould be ſent to her at *Alexandria*: it was alſo reported, that he meant, if his matters proſpered, to give her *Rome*, and transfer the ſeat of the Empire into *Ægypt*. Hereupon the Warre was decreed againſt her, and he was deveſted of his *Triumvirate*, but not declared an Enemy, for fear of thoſe with him. For then muſt they neceſſarily have been included in the ſame capacity, and ſo driven upon deſperate Councils: to them therefore rewards were promiſed, if they would forſake him; and hereby was he thought rendred more inexcuſable, in that being

Cæſar and he fall out.

Dio l. 50. Florus l. 4. c. 11.

A. M. 3973. *Ol.* 187. an. 1. *V. C.* 722. *Herodis* 8.

Vide Dionem ubi ſupra.

Sect. 7. being unſure he ſhould make War for an *Egyptian* woman againſt his Countrey. Then did the one draw all the Eaſt, and the other the Weſt to his party. *Cæſar* had ready 250 ſhips of War, 80000 foot, and 12000 horſe.

Their preparations for war.

Antony had 500 ſuch like ſhips, very big and ſtately, with 100000 foot, and alſo 12000 horſe. The King of the *Medes* alſo ſent him aid, which being not ſent back, and *Antony* alſo recalling his forces he had left with him for the protection of that Countrey; the *Parthian* became Maſter of that Kingdom, and *Armenia* alſo was loſt.

Idem. Plutarch in Antonio.

Antony worſted.

26. The following year *Agrippa* being ſent before by *Cæſar*, took divers ſhips coming to *Antony* with Proviſions, and moleſted him exceedingly upon the Sea; wherewith *Cæſar* incouraged paſſed from *Brundaſium* into *Epirus*, to a Promontory whereof that lieth near the Bay of *Ambracia* ſending his forces, he took in *Corcyra*; ſo did *Agrippa* the Iſland *Leucas* near to *Actium*, with *Patræ* and *Corinth*; *Titius* alſo and *Taurus* routed *Antonies* horſe. Then ſeveral perſons of note fell off from *Antony*. *Soſius* was beaten, and loſt his life at Sea, and *Antony* himſelf was alſo worſted by a guard of *Cæſars*. Being much troubled hereat, *Canidius* would have perſwaded him to ſend away *Cleopatra*, and decide the quarrel either in *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, for that he was ſtronger in Land forces. But though his navy had been twice worſted, and he had loſt many ſhips, yet ſhe obtained of him to fight at Sea, providing withall all things as for a *fight*. For four dayes the Sea was ſo rough with winds that it hindred them from fighting; but on the fifth they joyned, and then *Cæſar*'s ſhips being light could eaſily tack about and invade *Antonies*, which were unwieldly, and of little uſe. *Cleopatra* wearied with long expectation, ere it could certainly be known how things would go, with her gilded deck, Purple ſayls, and ſixty light *Egyptian* Gallies fled away, which *Antony* ſeing, preſently followed, forſaking his men, and running away, who ought to have animadverted upon ſuch as did ſo. His Soldiers fought moſt valiantly, notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of their General (who getting into *Cleopatra*'s Gally, went, and ſate by himſelf in a deep ſilence, holding his head with both his hands) till at the tenth hour they were partly perſwaded, and partly conſtrained to ſubmit, it being confeſſed that in this fight they behaved themſelves like to, and executed the Office of, the beſt General, and their General played the part of a run-away Soldier. From this victory of *Cæſar* at *Actium* a Promontory of *Epirus*, Several * Authors date his Monarchy, which laſted from the ſecond of *September* whereon the battel was fought, to the 19th of *Auguſt*, on which he died, 44 years wanting 13 dayes. Now was hee himſelf the third time, and *M. Valerius Meſſala* Conſuls, in the 723th year of the Citie, the ſecond of the 187 *Olympiad*, and the ſeventh of *Herod* King of *Judæa*, as *Joſephus* gathereth, the 29th before the *Æra* of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3974.

A. M. 3974. *V. C.* 723. *Herodis* 9. *Ante Chriſt.* 29.

Overthrown at *Actium* in a Sea-fight.

Patercul. l. 2. c. 85.

Dio. Suetonius. Aurelius Victor. Eutropius.

27. His Land forces could ſcarcely believe his flight, having ſuch an Army left to him intire, and for ſeven dayes were ſo conſtant to him, that though the thing was clearly known, they rejected *Cæſars* meſſages, but being now over-taken by him, and forſaken of their Leader *Canidius*, who had poſted away after *Antony*, they yielded, and were taken into *Cæſar*'s Army. Then did *Cæſar* go to *Athens*, where he put to death *Caſſius Parmenſis*, one of thoſe that ſlew his Uncle, and ſetling the affairs both of *Greece* and *Aſia*, determined to vvinter in *Samus*; but was called into *Italy* by *Agrippa* to quiet his Soldiers who now mutinied. He ſailed then to *Brundaſium*, but the Senate meeting him there, he went no further, and having diſpatched his buſineſſe within thirty dayes returned into *Aſia*. *Antony* for ſome time lived diſconſolately by himſelf. *Cleopatra* conveyed ſhips over into the Red-Sea, intending there to ſeek her fortune, ſhe had thought alſo of flying into *Spain*. They both ſent to *Cæſar*, ſhe that her Children might have *Egypt* granted them, and he that he might be permitted to live privately at *Athens*. She ſent him a Golden Crown and Scepter, with a royal ſeat, privily to curry favour, and he, though openly he threatned her, ſecretly promiſed her ſafety.

Plutarch. in Antonio.

Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 87.

His Land forces yield to *Cæſar.*

Dio lib. 51.

and

Sect. 7. and her Kingdom, if she would kill *Antony*, who was also advised by * *Herod* of *Judea* to do as much by her. * *Joseph Antiq. l.15. c. 10.*

28. They sent again to him the first and second time, and he gave up to him *Turullius* a Senator, and one of the murderers of *Julius Cæsar*. He putting the man to death returned no answer, neither the second time, when he sent *Antyllus* his son to him with much Gold, which he received. But with her he still dealt, sending *Thyrsus* his Freed-man to her to make her believe that he was in love with her, hoping she might kill *Antony*, and preserve her Treasures, which she threatned to burn if she came into any danger. Now going down into *Egypt* he sent *Cornelius Gallus* before him, who seized on *Paraetonium* the Chief Citie on that part near *Africk*; and *Pelusium* the other strongest Town towards *Syria* did *Cleopatra* betray to him, secretly forbidding the *Alexandrians* to go out against him. *Antony* once fought prosperously against his horse, and the second time was beaten; then he sent him a challenge, which *Cæsar* refused, saying, that if *Antony* so pleased there were 1000 wayes lying open for his destruction. Wherefore bethinking himself that he could not die with more credit than in battel, he resolved to oppose *Cæsar* both by Sea and Land: but *Cleopatra* procured, that both his Navy, and horse revolted. Hereupon he returned into the Citie, crying out, that *he was betrayed by her for whose sake he had taken up Arms.* She being afraid of him departed to her Monument, and sent some to tell him she was dead, pretending fear of *Cæsar*. Upon which message, he resolving to follow her, wounded himself in the belly. The wound not quickly dispatching him, she sent for him up into her Monument, whither he was pulled up by her self, and two women, being willing to live now that she was alive, and hoping he might possibly recover. But he shortly after died, willing her as well as she could to provide for her self, and not grieve for him, but rather rejoyce, in that he had been the most famous of men, as also most powerfull, and now being a *Roman* was not through lazinesse overcome by a *Roman*. Such was the end of this man, who through desire of fame became the Author of sad Tragedies to his Countrey, who in the use of his power greatly abused it, and was not onely overcome by a *Roman*, but also by a *Woman*, and then so behaved himself, that he could not be excused from lazinesse, effeminateness, and luxury, all which things checked that goodnesse of disposition supposed once to be in him, and left *Cleopatra* little cause to rejoyce for any real glory that might accrue unto him.

Dio lib. 5. Plutarch. in Antonio.

Antony killeth himself.

20. *Cæsar* endeavoured to get *Cleopatra* into his hands, that he might lead her in Triumph. He easily obtained *Alexandria*, the Inhabitants whereof he pardoned, but put to death *Antyllus* the son of *Antony*, and some others. He viewed the body of *Alexander* the Great, and out of honour to his memory set on it a Golden Crown, and strewed it with flowers; but touching it he broke off a little piece of the Nose, and refused to see the bodies of the *Ptolomies*, though the *Alexandrians* much desired it, saying, *he had a mind to see the King, and not dead men.* *Cleopatra* dealt with her Physician to dispatch her, but being terrified by *Cæsar* upon the account of her Children, she gave it over, and did all she could, but in vain, to work upon his affections when he came to see her. Then did she give him an Inventory of her goods, and he promised her fair things, thinking thereby that he deceived her, though he himself was deceived. For she understanding that she was reserved for a Triumph, prevented it by a voluntary death, as is in the History of her Kingdom related. *Cæsar* made *Egypt* a Tributary Province, and would have conferred the Government thereof upon *Arius* the Philosopher, who formerly had taught him, but he refusing the imployment, he gave it to *Cornelius Gallus*, a man of obscure birth. *Cæsario* the son of *Cleopatra* by *Julius Cæsar*, had by his mother been sent towards *India* with a great sum of money, but at *Rhodes* his Governour perswaded him to return, as now being to expect the Kingdom. *Cæsar* consulting what to do with

Dio ut supra. Sueton. in Octavio. Plutarch. in Antonio. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 87. Florus lib. 4. cap. 11. Livii Epit. lib. 133. Julian ad Themistium.

So doth *Cleopatra* her self, and *Egypt* is made a Province.

with him, *Arieus*, alluding to * that prudent sentence of *Homer*, said, Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς. *To have many Cæsars is not good*; and so he was sent after his mother. Whilest these things were doing at *Alexandria*, was *M. Tullius Cicero*, son of the Orator, Consul at *Rome* (taken in by *Cæsar* to blot out the ignominy of betraying his father) in the room of *Licinius Crassus*, where he published *Cæsar* his Collegue's Letters concerning the overthrow of *Antony*, and put them up over the pleading place, where his father's head had formerly been set. But this overthrow and death of *Cleopatra* hapned in the 14th year after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the third of the 187 *Olympiad*, the 724 of the Citie, 28 before the birth of *Christ*, A. M. 3975. 294 after the death of *Alexander* the Great, under whom as the *Macedonian Empire* began, so now in *Cleopatra* (and not till now) it was quite extinct; and here the Contemporaries with it receive their period.

* Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς.

A. M. 3975. *Ol.* 187. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 724. *Herodis* 10. *Ante Christum* 28.

AN INSTITUTION OF General History.

The First Part.

BOOK IV.

The *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the absoluteneſſe of Octavius, *to the death of* Tiberius, *containing the ſpace of 66 years.*

The Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire.

1. THE *Roman Empire* had now ſwallowed up the *Macedonian*, with ſuch Kingdoms and States as were at all conſiderable, and Contemporary with it (whereof though ſome might retain a ſhew of liberty, yet were they but in a condition of vaſſalage) except the *Parthian* Kingdom, which as yet acknowledged no ſubjection, and when it did, being forced thereto for the moſt part by inteſtine diviſions, not long continued in that acknowledgement.

2. This *Empire* now laboured under it's own weight, and, like to ſome unwieldy thing, ſtaggered, by reaſon of the turgency of it's inward burthen, without any extraneous violence: it was grown up to an athletick habit, and had already ſufficiently manifeſted the danger of this conſtitution. For, being all head and no body, it wanted thoſe limbs, which by direction from a ſuperiour ſenſe, could ſecure it's progreſſe; or indeed being all body, and

It laboureth under it's own own weight.

no head, it was void of that influence which effecteth an orderly motion, and is necessary for the subsistence of life it self. The proper fruits of *Popular Government* were now grown fully ripe. Every one would command, and none would be ruled, yet every man challenging a part in the Supreme power, none enjoyed it much, and therefore but few were really sollicitous for the upholding of it as *Popular*, any further than some private interests led them. The heady multitude indeed was violently caried on in it's desires after the chief command; but some desired it rather that others might not enjoy it, holding this Principle, to oppose all rising, though excellent persons whatsoever. Others rickled with an humour of ruling, and in intellectuals above their fellows, set themselves to please the rabble by maligning other men, crying up liberty and equality, extolling the justice of the *Agrarian*, and vaunting of great matters intended to be done by themselves, when in a capacity. Sometimes their boldnesse and cunning procured their rise, most commonly some capitulations, and otherwhiles mony distributed to the rabble, when the step was great. For after that the *Romans* passed the Seas, more luxury, avarice, and corruption, than of Victory was brought home. When they came abroad, notwithstanding the repute of their abstinence, they found the same temptations as other men, and made themselves Masters of the manners, as well as the possessions of the conquered. All things were now bought and sold, from the meanest Office to the Consulship, and the lowest privilege to the right of Suffrages.

3. The daily sight of these things corrupted such, as else might have proved just. It seemed a prudent Principle, rather to command than to be commanded; rather to buy than to be sold, and to get something, rather than suffer all things to be lost. The body of the People was now grown large, the *Italians* being received to the freedom of the City, and liberty of Suffrages. Hence ambitious men had advantage enough to make parties, and to carry things in the *Comitia* or Assemblies, having anes by indirect practices ingratiated themselves. Having obtained commands afar off, they had opportunity to increase their power, through the distance of place, the credit of their conquests, and the affections of their Armies. Power once obtained, is difficultly laid down, both by reason that man's nature is averse to diminution, and for that something may be committed in height of passion, or through convenience, or otherwise, whereof it might not be safe to give an account, as neither to lye open and naked to the malice of revengeful Enemies. The Empire being now vast, several men at the same time might be found in these capacities, so that jealousies and emulations must thence be heightned, and one strive to reduce the other into order. Further, the largnesse of Empire afforded multiplicity of places, always of several, and sometimes of contrary interests or humours, which would espouse quarrels accordingly, whence never would be wanting sufficient and convenient matter for publick combustions.

And under such distempers

4. Such was the present State of *Roman* affairs, and such had been their constitution before the present juncture, which loudly, in the understanding of all prudent men, called for the help of some single Person duly qualified, whose Monarchy could onely put an end to the civil dissentions, by removing the loose liberty of the multitude, which give occasion to those distempers, by preventing ambitious indeavours of private persons after Soveraignty, which fomented them, and by checking all exorbitant power of particular men, which effectually procured them. *Cæsar* on the one side considering these things, as also being sensible of the power he already enjoyed, and of the danger he might incur by removing himself to a private life; and on the other, weighing the envy and odium he should contract by the establishment of himself, after he had conquered *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and (having entered his fourth Consulship in the Isle *Samus*) returned to *Rome*, he asked the advice of his two most inward Counsellors and bosome friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*. *Vipsanius Agrippa*, a man of mean Parentage (which *Vipsanius* manifesting, he changed into *Marcus*) and no great endowments, except in

As Monarchy could onely cure.

in what concerned War, though of a well-meaning mind, and a great lover of *Cæsar*, answered him first, and earnestly advised him *to lay down his power, and remit the Government into the hands of the Multitude*. His arguments for the most part respected the danger of *Cæsar*'s person, being drawn from the averseness of the *Romans* to Monarchy, and inforced by examples of others, who had attempted to establish themselves. Against Monarchy it self he could produce little of moment. He would prove that Popular Government was better for the *Greeks*, who, he said, did nothing that was notable, till they put themselves into that way. He said, there were others also, the condition of whom pleaded for this Government, yet named none. But he especially instanced in the *Romans* themselves, who being averse to *Monarchy*, had done all these great things under that form of rule and domination which was opposite to it.

Vid Dionis. l.52. ad initium p.463,&c.

Agrippa his advice to Cæsar for Democracy.

5. But *Mæcenas*, a man, though but of *Equestrean* rank, yet, of (*a*) high descent, and (*b*) extraordinary abilities, desired *Cæsar*, that *if he loved his Country, he would alter, correct and reduce it into a better form of Government*. He said, he would not have him deceived with a specious shew of names and words; but considering what should follow, to *restrain the fury of the multitude, and take to himself, assisted by excellent persons, the Government; that the most prudent might consult, the best Captains have the command of Armies, and the most robust and poor serve in them*. Hereby every one minding his own businesse, and one affoarding help to another, none would find any defect, and the true power of the People with liberty and safety would be preserved. For, *the power of the multitude*, he said, *being indeed the slavery of every worthy man, was most grievous, and brought common destruction unto all: but this, wherein moderation should ever be preferred, and mens deserts considered, would make all alike to be happy*. He would have him therefore assisted and advised by worthy persons, to *order all things needful, to make War, create Magistrates, reward, punish, and make Laws; all others being obedient; so that Wars might be made with secrecy, and upon occasion, such as were preferred might be chosen, not by lot, or through the prevalence of their ambition, but for their worth*. Thus good men might be honoured, and bad punished without disturbance; and so at length things would be rightly caried, when nothing should be referred to the Vulgar, nor openly be consulted of, nor be committed to intruders, nor come into danger through their ambition. In sum, all would enjoy their own, no dangerous Wars nor wicked Seditions being made.

Mæcenas his plea for Monarchy.

(*a*) *Mæcenas atavis edite regibus. Horat.* i.e. *Cui Menodorus pater Menippus avus, Rex Etruscorum fuit atavus.*

(*b*) *Ingeniosus vir ille (Mæcenas) fuit. Magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas imo extrusset. Seneca Epistol. 19.*

6. But these evils he proved to be common in a *Popular Government*, wherein the *great ones aspiring to the top, and with money or otherwise purchasing the help of the ordinary sort, disturbed all things*. He said, they had now had large experience of these things, and that by no other means could they be ended, than by that whereof he spake; whereof this was an evident sign, that for a long time they had been vexed with Warrs and Seditions, *by reason of the multitude of men, and greatnesse of affaires; for that men were so various in Nature and Nation, and induced with such diversity of affections and desires: and because things hereby were brought to that passe, that with difficulty could they be managed*. Now that he spake true, he said, the deeds themselves bore mention; for, *as long as the multitude of the* Roman *People was not great, nor much more considerable than their neighbours, the State was in a good condition, and almost all* Italy *was subdued by them. But after that passing out of* Italy, *they went abroad into all Countries and Islands, and filled all Seas and Lands with their name and power, no good got they by it: but first of all, at home and within the walls, riots being made, they shook the Commonwealth, and afterwards propagated the same mischief into their Enemies. Therefore their City, like to some great ship of burthen, filled with a various multitude, and destitute of a Pilot, having been for many ages beaten and tossed with grievous waves, now fleeted, and having no stay, was tossed here and there*. He desired him therefore, that he would not still neglect her thus conflicting with tempests

The insufferable inconveniencies of Popular Government.

'Tempests (for he saw how much water she had already taken in) nor suffer 'the stay to be quite broken off (for she was now battered, and could not 'long subsist) but seeing that the gods had presented him as an Overseer 'and Governour to his Countrey, not to cast her off; but as by his means 'she had a little recovered her spirits, so, for the ages to come, she might re- 'main in safety by the same means. Having used these arguments drawn 'from the *Thing*, he took others from the *Man*, and shewed him his immi- 'nent danger, in case he laid down his power, in the several cases of *Pompey*, '*Marius* and *Sylla*. *Pompey*, he said, having devested himself of his power, 'was contemned, and being laid at by his Enemies perished, because he could 'not recover it. He told him, that his father (meaning *Julius Cæsar*) going 'about the same miscarried. The same had hipned to *Marius* and *Sylla*, but 'that they were prevented by death; though some said also that *Sylla* killed 'himself to prevent his Enemies: 'tis certain, that many of his Laws began to 'be repealed whilest he yet lived. In conclusion, he told him, he must expects 'many such as *Lepidus*, *Sertorius*, *Brutus*, and *Cassius*. This is the sum of *Mece-* 'nas his speech in behalf of Monarchy, whereof the beginning is lost, as also 'the conclusion of that of *Agrippa*.

7. These things sufficiently evidence, that it was impossible in an humane way for the Empire to subsist in a Commonwealth so called; and not onely that, but any one considerable Nation, or more (not to speak of one, or a few Cities, or places at present) which must necessarily consist of *multitudes of people, diversly qualified, variously inclined, and very unequally possessed of wealth and honours*. Such having the Supream power in their own hands must needs foment several humours. The rich, and honourable, must either not medle, and so out of discontent watch for an advantage to alter things, or if they do, they will not be content with equal imployments. When any extraordinary power is obtained, such inforcements as were formerly mentioned will happen, which being driven on by that ambition which is but natural to all mankind, will drive either fear, or desire, into Monarchy. A civil war especially produceth this, and more especially when the quarrel is betwixt single persons; and yet more especially is it inforced by a religious pretence, under which Vizard the greatest deceit hath triumphed, accompanied, or ushered in by a sacrilegious asserting of approving providence, whereby *inviolable Majesty, Order, Propriety, and all things excellent have been contaminated, overturned, and trampled on, and yet a structure erected at length out of the materials of those very things, which formerly were onely by the intruders accounted bad, because they stood upon another ground*. But not onely in a *Democratical* way is it impossible for one, or more considerable Nations to be governed, but in an *Aristocratical* also. For if the wealth and propriety of a Nation be diffused, and not limited in the possessions of a few of the chiefest persons, such would find a continual repugnancy in their subjects, others thinking themselves as capable of power as they. Hence quarrels and implacable enmities must arise, and he who shall be best able will at length command the rest, though he ought to have been their fellow subject, and demonstrate a necessity of Monarchical Government.

Democratical Government impracticable in one or more Nations, considerable for wealth, and of various interests.

8. The affairs of the *Gracians* urged by *Agrippa* to make against Monarchy do much plead for it, and evince the necessity of it. For after that the multitude in the several Cities had rebelliously withdrawn themselves from that obedience, which both the Law of God, and just title of succession challenged as due to their *Kings* (who as *Thucydides* acknowledgeth governed them with Justice and Moderation) how miserably were they inslaved by their fellow Citizens (called by them *Tyranni* or *Tyrants*) and forced to submit to Usurpers, who punished them for their disobedience towards their rightfull Soveraigns. Never were there such *Tumults, Seditions, Civil Wars, Massacres, and Desolations*, as in, and amongst those Cities which called themselves Commonwealths. Such were the extravagancies of the multitude, that the best men were rejected, and bold, impudent, and sawcy fellows domineered, who being corrupted with money, bought, and sold all that was of con-

An answer to *Agrippa's* argument drawn from the *Greeks*.

consequence, and by their cunning speeches turned, and led the rabble which way soever they pleased. As for what *Agrippa* urged, *that they onely did things of moment after that the power came into the peoples hands*; those things of moment were *amongst themselves, and such as made them miserable, they tearing one another in pieces in the* Peloponnesian, *and other Wars, breathing nothing but rage, malice, and revenge against one another.* Nothing of consequence did, or could they do against the Barbarians, as they accounted all besides themselves, till reduced under the Monarchy of *Alexander* they became instruments in his hands. Common danger ingaged them against *Xerxes*, whose multitudes destroyed themselves; but had it not been for the meer wisdom of *Themistocles, want of Order, of Government, and discretion, had ruined them all in departing into* Peloponnesus, *and foolishly applying themselves to the fortifying of the Isthmus*. Though they several times assisted the *Ionians* in their rebellion, yet still at length were their endeavours defeared. *Cimon* indeed got several victories, and did notable exploits in a piratical way, but what effects produced they? The most that was effected at land was by *Agesilaus*, but he having not done much was recalled, for that many Cities having been allured with *Persian* Gold (which never failed to corrupt the Councils, overthrow the projects, and disturb the affairs of these petty States, by taking off the great Leaders of the rabble) had conspired against *Sparta*. But what great matters they could do against Monarchy appeared; in that first, *Philip*, then *Alexander* his son, and their Successors, easily subdued, and kept them under. As for their *Colonies*, each one usually followed the fortune of its *Metropolis*; little but tumults, banishments, and Massacres do we hear of, or of private mens getting the power over them, for that wanting rightfull, and successive Princes, they lay open to the cheats of their fellow Citizens. The particular cases of *Corcyra, Samus, Syracuse*, and others demonstrate this, and therewith the danger, and infirmity of *Antimonarchical Government*.

9. But in particular, such were the several constitutions of these Cities, that *Aristotle* himself liked none of them, as appeareth in his books of Politicks. The *Cretian* Commonwealth had its extravagancies, and if a Government may be judged from the carriage, and disposition of the people, in the opinion of *Epimenides* one of their own Poets, it was most naught. *Lycurgus* by taking away the just, and Hereditary power of the Kings of *Sparta*, and contrary both to nature and loyalty dissolving the Government of his Forefathers made but way for many inconveniences in the too great power of the Senate, and otherwise; but especially for the tyranny of the *Ephori*, five fellows chosen yearly out of the rabble, who domineered with unparalleld insolence over all. *Solon's* constitution, after so many changes and alterations wherein no rest could be procured from the time they forsook Kingly Government, give no such setlement, but that *Pisistratus* presently after cheating the rabble over and over, very easily made himself Master of *Athens*. Their *Ostracism* frighted all able persons from medling with the Commonwealth, as also did the *Petalism* of *Syracuse*; whereupon their affairs went down the wind, till they were forced to recall the banished, and change still from one constitution to another, never being at quiet, for that the multitude tyrannized in their assemblies. As for the learning of the *Greeks*, whereof they so much boasted, they had it either from the *Egyptians* or *Caldeans* who were subject to, and from the beginning flourished under, *Monarchy*: and *Pisistratus* who was a Monarch (though of his own making) made the first Collection of books, and thereby brought learning into *Athens* and *Greece*. Finally, the *Greeks* in their Wars were forced to make use of single persons; and at home in their greatest necessities did they fly to them, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* mentioneth the *Harmostes* of *Lacedæmon*, the *Archus* of the *Thessalians*, and the *Æsymnetes* of the *Mitylenæans*, whom he compareth with the *Dictator* of the *Romans*.

The constitutions of their several States were dangerous.

10. For the *Romans*, 'tis a meer mistake of *Agrippa*. Their affairs never more

An answer to *Agrippa's* Argument taken from the *Romans*.

more prospered than under Monarchy, if we consider the small beginnings of the City. *Romulus* did exceeding much for his time, and so did his successors in their several wayes, with so small a power as such a Colony could produce, insomuch as revengeful and furious *Brutus* acknowledged, that *no better way of Government could be found out than what they had chalked out to them.* The faults in it seem to have been his something too much indulging at his first constitutions a popular humour which might bring him to his end afterwards. Then *Servius* to curry favour with the rabble, that they might maintain him in his illegally procured power, diminished the Regal authority, and that of the Senate, which gave the multitude such a scope, as after could they not be reduced into any order. After him *Tarquinius* the heir of *Priscus* might go about to recover this power (for, a little charity may be allowed us, for one who lived in so dark and remote times, and whose actions were onely recorded by his Enemies, seeing we have formerly related his story as we find it) and thereby might incur that prejudice which, together with the fault of his son, and the implacable malice of *Brutus*, procured his banishment. This may be added as an ill accident, that *Romulus* dying childless, the Kingdom came to be elective, which thing must at length bring great inconveniences; so that experience now hath taught such Kingdoms to continue the Government to particular Families. But *Brutus* his giving to his *Consuls* full regal power (though they were two, and Annual) and putting the sword fully into their hands, together with his acknowledgement of the good government of all the former Kings, do more than make us suspect his spleen to have acted him most in the change of the power, especially the consequences considered. For, the power of the *Consuls* being shortly after diminished, or rather enervated by *Valerius* (who by flattering of the multitude got the name of *Poplicola*) the common sort got head, and confounded all things, nothing but changes, and re-changes hapening, till at length they quite outed the *Patricians* of their power, giving them leisure to repent their joyning with *Brutus*, and brought things to that ruine and disorder formerly mentioned, as compelled them to turn about, and by their *Lex Regia* (hereafter to be spoken of) to devolve all their power upon a single Person.

The disorders and tumults arising from their Antimonarchical Government.

11. Such and so many were these seditions and tumults, that thrice the common sort departed from the *Patricians* out of the City. And no sooner was the War against their King ended, but the stirs begun; and these very stirs have we proved from *Dionysius*, to have procured immediately the setting up of another King in effect, for half a year's continuance, *viz.* the *Dictator*, to which Officer they were forced to flye in all difficulties. Now it sufficiently appeared, that *the want of a King hindred the promotion of their affaires*, for, ever when any work was to be done abroad, nay when the Enemy was even at the gates, would the multitude mutiny, and with so much adoe at length could be drawn out, that business was retarded, and thereby their affairs not a little impaired, the *Monarch* being wanting, who should have kept both orders in subjection and awe. The weight of Usury and oppression was the first pretended cause of these stirs; but from it the multitude passed on from one thing to another, never resting till it had got all Offices of dignity, power, and profit, into it's own hands, as hath been at large made out. To effect this, they would one while have *Consuls*, and another while *Tribunes Military*, having formerly made *Decemviri* for the making of new Laws; so that within the space of 134 years, they had 37 changes in the Government, wherof (to make it clear) fifteen were from *Consuls* to *Tribunes Military*, and from *Tribunes* to *Consuls*, the two grand ones from *Kings* to *Consul*, and from *Consuls* to *Decemviri*, and twenty *Dictatorships*, besides *Interregnums* many an one, whereby for five dayes the chief power was in the hands of their *Interreges*. Thus was the Government tossed to and fro by the multitude, and little was done abroad, by reason of these confusions, nay the City was taken by the *Galls*, and razed, all but the *Capitol*, through the cowardise of their *Tribunes*, who also being in number three or more, by their

37 Changes of Government in 134 years.

their several opinions confounded their Armies, and shewed the truth of that speech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*. And this is worthy observation, that when the contention arose about the *Consulship*, which the Commons would have equally with the *Patricians*, so incredible were those confusions, that for five years the *Tribuni Plebis* (those great incendiaries) suffered no supreme Magistrates at all to be created.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, &c.

Great conquests were made by single persons.

12. All the great conquests afterwards were made by single persons, who abroad had alone the command of Armies. And so far was this present kind of Government from being instrumental to them, that it manifestly hindred and obstructed all good procedings. For, when a *Consul's* year was out, then must he be recalled, and a successor sent him, though he was in never so fair a way for the conquering of any Nation, which at length began to be understood, and then was their command continued to them, under the name of *Proconsuls*, after which time it was, that the great matters were performed; before this the Generals being glad to shuffle up a Peace, lest they should be defrauded of the credit of ending the Wars by their successors. The main cause of the growth of their Empire (under the all-disposing Providence of God) was the valour and virtue of their Captains and Senators, at that time when *Pyrrhus* set upon them; the courage also of the Soldiers was extraordinary, so that (as *Pyrrhus* spoke of himself) a *King*, whose command and conduct would have been constant and uncontroled, might have done greater wonders with such men. But as for the Government, so far was it from contributing to justice or virtue, that, even in these times, which their Writers so celebrate for these things, the multitude having by the *Hortensian* Law wrested this power from the Senate, to oblige all whatsoever by their *Plebiscita*, decreed aid to be sent to the *Mamertines*, though against all equity and conscience, the Senate having utterly refused to assist those thieves, murderers, intruders. But the multitude was told of great profit which would accrue to all men in particular, and therefore profit must bear down right, and forces must be sent into *Sicily* to get footing there, to inrich these vertuous and temperate men: and hence is to be fetched the rise of the *Carthaginian* Wars (which with what injustice they were managed on the *Roman* part, hath been seen) and indeed this was the original of all their conquests. The main things performed were done by such, as rather awed the people, than were awed by it, though to obtain their commands, they corrupted the multitude with money. *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, after they had successively ingrossed the power, made the greatest conquests. After the overthrow of *Carthage* especially, scarcely any great command was obtained, but by some great promises under-hand, some new attempts of innovation, or money distributed to the Tribes. So weak, imperfect, and vitious was the Government.

Hence appeareth the excellency and necessity of Monarchy.

13. These things evidence the excellency of *Monarchical Government* above the rest; a neceessity of it in any considerable Nation or Nations, and in Cities which extend the freedom of Suffrages to their Subjects or Associates, and are considerable, for number, power, and interest. Single Cities have for some time subsisted otherwise; but if we view those that have been mentioned in this Work, some of them we shall find to have been kept in that way by such strange discipline, and principles of equality and levelling, as are even repugnant to Nature, and destroy that lawful use of such things as were ordained for man's comfort and delight. Such was the constitution of that of *Sparta*, which yet secured it not from the tyranny of the *Ephori*, and when but the use of Gold, Silver, and other things, very lawful in themselves, came up, the *Lacedæmonians* were sensible of their slavery to such harsh constitutions, and the Government tottered. Again, in others that were left more to their liberty, we see how impossible it was for the People to use it, but for their own destruction; so that for any one place to subsist without such miseries and disasters, is near to a miracle. *Monarchy*, though it may have it's defects (as all things managed by meer men) yet *in it self* includes more order, certainty, and security, it's force being commonly turned outward. It's

that which is most agreeable with primitive prudence, when men were not arrived at that ambition and wickedness, which later times have produced.

The antiquity,

All Nations at first had their Kings from the very first foundation, as is clear in the case of the *Greeks*, and others; so that they voluntarily submitted to them, at the first leading out of Colonies from the *East*, being their Captains; and thence we may see that the Government is natural, flowing from paternal rule, and proceeding from that superiority which Masters of Families, and Heads of Kindreds might well challenge over others. It's most suitable to the Government of the Universe, which is in God alone; who therefore

And authority of it.

acknowledgeth *Kings* for his *Vicegerents*, and calleth them *gods*, promising they should be nursing Fathers to his Church; and taking no notice herein of other Governments. Hence our Kings owe account to him alone, are *Sacrosanct* (which term the *Romans* gave to their very *Tribunes* who were inviolable, it being death to injure them in the least, and therefore we may well apply it to *Kings*) and that perpetually; and are intrusted by him with a Prerogative, which is necessary for the good of their Subjects. For all power flowing from them, it's contradictory for authority to challenge it self, as unnatural and violent, for a derived stream, to oppose the current of the Fountain.

14. But (to return from this requisite digression, whereby an answer is given to *Agrippa*'s arguments, and Students are directed to make the right and natural use of History) after that *Mecenas* had pressed *Cæsar* with these urgent reasons, to take the Government upon him, he gave him directions for

Mecenas his advice to *Cæsar* for the ordering of his affaires.

'the management of his affaires. First he advised him to regulate the Senate, 'placing and displacing according to the worth of persons; and to have a spe- 'cial regard to Nobility and Gentry, to gratify them with imployments. To 'admit none into the *Equestrian* rank before eighteen years of age, and none 'into the Senate till 25, before which time the *Romans* were never account- 'ed of full age. When these had born the Offices of *Quæstor*, *Ædilis*, 'and *Tribunus plebis*, then being thirty years old, he would have them made 'Prætors, all which at first were to be *Romans* alone, lest he should seem sud- 'denly to change the customs of his Country. All these Magistrates he would 'have of *Cæsar*'s making, and not this power to be left in any case to the Se- 'nate, or People. He counselled him by all means to diminish their antient 'power, which else might procure trouble and alteration; but leave them 'their whole honour and dignity. The way to this was to make them execute

Consule Dionem l.12. p.476.D.

Magistrates of Senatorian dignity.

'their Offices in the City, and not suffer them then, nor presently after, 'to have any Military command, but for some time to five privately. He 'would have these Magistrates, to celebrate games, and exercise judicial 'power in all cases, except that of murther; for some Judges were to be 'chosen from amongst the rest of the Senators, but the chief power to re- 'main in these. Then he said, a certain Governour or *Mayor* of the City 'was to be made out of the most principal men, who had born these Offices, 'to joyn with the rest in governing the City, to receive appeals, and judge 'capital causes, except some afterwards to be spoken of, both in the City, 'and 81 miles round about. Another of the same rank was to be chosen, who 'should make inspection into the stock, estates and manners of Senators, 'and *Knights* or *Equites*, both those of under age and others, and as well of 'women as the other Sex, to correct such things, as being not worthy of pu- 'nishment, yet being neglected might occasion great inconveniences; and re- 'fer the greater matters to *Cæsar* himself, who was to bear the name of *Cen- 'sor*, and the other being a *Patrician*, and the next in dignity to the *Mayor*, 'but that of *Subcensor*. These two Officers might be, for life, except they 'committed some fault, or by old age or sickness were rendred unservice- 'able; for no dammage could thence arise, the one having no Soldiers, and 'the other but a few, and who should execute his Office before *Cæsar*'s eyes, 'for the most part. The other Magistrates, would fear to do any unjust thing, 'being presently to be reduced into a private condition, and others to succeed 'them in their power. He added, that the Provinces were onely to be com- 'mitted

'mitted to men of *Prætorian* rank; the rest being *Proprætors* in order once 'and again, should arrive at the *Consulship*, (if they well exercised their for- 'mer Offices) and then be preferred to greater commands.

15. 'He further advised him to divide *Italy*, for 94 miles round about 'the City, and all the rest of conquered Countries after such a manner, ac- 'cording to People, Nations, and Cities, as if they were to be governed by 'single men with absolute power. In each of these Soldiers were to be pla- 'ced, over whom was to be set one person of *Consular* dignity, and two 'more of *Prætorian* rank, from those there lying appeal to the other, in all 'cases, except when Officers of the Army were to be animadverted on, who 'were to be punished by none but *Cæsar* himself, lest they should there- 'by be brought by fearing some one more, to attempt something against the 'Prince. All those who had any command out of the City, were to have 'their salaries set as was suitable to the imployment, for that they could not 'live of their own, and it was not convenient they should spend what they 'list, as they did at present. They were not to hold their imployments un- 'der the term of three years, nor longer than five, for in so short a space 'they could but learn the interests of places, and how to behave themselves, 'and longer commands made men but proud, and provoked them to attempt 'new matters. And one great command he said, was not to be given them 'presently after another, for this would amount to as much, as if they had 'one continued to them; but after they had been reduced to a private condi- 'tion, and therein lived at home. Thus much for Senators.

Of Equestrian rank.

16. 'From amongst the *Equites*, he would have him chuse out two of 'the most excellent, and make them Captains of his Guard. For to commit 'that trust to one would not be safe, and to more than two, would not want 'trouble. Being two in number, if one should be treacherous, the other 'would preserve him. They were to be such as had been trained up in the 'Wars, and much exercised in Offices, and to have the command not onely 'of his Guard, but of all Soldiers in *Italy*, so as to punish and reward them, 'except Centurions, and such as belonged to *Senatorian* Magistrates. These 'Captains of the Guard ought to have their *Deputies*, and hold their places 'for their lives, as also the *Mayor* of the City, and the *Subcensor*. Besides, 'out of the next rank of *Equites*, one should be chosen for Captain of the 'Watch, and another to take care for provision of Corn, but these for a li- 'mited time. The care of the Treasury, Exchecker, and other matters, as 'well at *Rome* as throughout *Italy*, was to be committed to those of *Eque- 'strian* rank, who were to have salaries suitable to their condition, being poorer 'than *Senators*. He told him the reason why he would have these Offices 'committed to them, was, for that it was inconvenient to have both the sword 'and money in the same hands, and better that publick businesse should be 'managed by many, both that more might reap benefit from it, and learn 'experience; and hereby his Subjects would love him more, and he would 'have a sufficient number fit for employment. One *Eques* would be suffici- 'ent at *Rome* for gathering money, and one in each Province, who might 'have assistants out of the *Equites*, and *Cæsar*'s *Liberti* or *Freed-men*. For 'he told him it was convenient to joyn those with them, that his servants 'might get something, and he receive certain intelligence how matters should 'go. Now if any *Eques* (or *Knight*, if we may so call him) should grow so fa- 'mous by businesse, as to be thought worthy to be received into the *Sena- 'torian* rank, his age ought not to be any obstacle: and sometimes some 'Officers of the Army were to be received into the Senate, provided they 'had never been ordinary Soldiers, but from the beginning *Centurions* at the 'least.

Education of the children of Senators and Equites.

17. 'He further advised him to educate all of *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* 'rank, whilst they were boyes, at School in humanity, and when grown up, in 'fencing and riding, by Masters hired publickly in both places. Forasmuch 'as it is the part of an excellent Prince, not onely that he do well himself, 'but to take care that all else do so. This would be effected, not by permit-

'ting them to do ill, and then correcting them, but teaching them before-
'hand such things. And he added, that he needed not to fear, that such as
'were so excellently educated, would attempt innovation; forasmuch as
'such as were not cultivated by any discipline, but dissolute in breeding
'and carriage, were hereof to bee suspected, who easily would commit
'the most wicked and abhominable things, both against themselves and
'others.

The Militia and money.

18. 'Forasmuch as by reason of the largeness of the *Empire*, and nearness
'of Enemies, it was necessary to have a standing Army, he would have le-
'vies made out of the poorest and lustiest young men, who being continually
'exercised and trained up in Military discipline, all others were to be forbid-
'den the use of Arms. Then for money, which he shewed to be necessary
'for carying on of affaires, in all Governments, as well as under *Monarchy*,
'he advised him to make money of all publick things gotten in War, and let
'it out upon moderate interest: to look well to the Mines, and impose Tri-
'bute upon all Subjects, it being reasonable that all should contribute to the
'expense of that, which tended to the protection and good of all. But there
'was no danger he said, but men would be willing to pay, seeing most of them
'should receive it back with advantage; either, by bearing Offices of Ma-
'gistracy or Government, or serving in the War, especially when they un-
'derstood that *Cæsar* himself lived soberly and frugally, not improving the
'publick expence to any private excesse.

Rome to be adorned.

19. 'For the rest, he would have him adorn *Rome* with all magnificence,
'and set it out with all sorts of solemnities, to make it in great reverence
'and esteem abroad. No Nation was to have any power in it's own hands, nor
'meet in any publick Assemblies of debate, for that would procure disturbance,

The Provinces curbed.

'for which reason neither was the *Roman* People, he said, to be permitted
'either to come together for passing of Judgement, to the *Comitia*, or any
'other Council, for the enacting of any thing. No City or People was to
'be suffered to use any excesse in buildings or in games: none to use any pecu-
'liar coin, weight, or measure. None were to send any peculiar message to him,
'except the matter required his inspection, but have recourse to the Gover-
'nour of the place, who was therewith to acquaint *Cæsar*. Ambassadors ei-
'ther from Enemies or confederate Kings or States, were to have audience
'from the Senate, that the power seeming to be in the Senate, they might
'see how many Enemies they should have if the case so required, and mat-
'ters being dispatched by consent of the *Fathers*, the Majesty of the Em-
'pire would be the more established. All of *Senatorian* rank he would have
'impeached before, and judged by the Senate, that *Cæsar* might escape the
'envy of condemnation, and others by so formal proceedings, might be
'kept in awe. As for any scandalous words against himself, he told him he

How scandalous words to be thought of.

'should neither hear any accusation, nor punish them. For it was not good,
'he said, that he should believe, that any one would injure him, who hurt
'no body, but did good to all; for, saith he, bad Princes onely do this,
'whom their guilty consciences make credulous. Neither is it fitting to take
'those things ill, which if true ought not to have been done, and if false
'should be neglected and dissembled: for that many by punishing them,
'minister greater occasion of worse discourse. His sense therefore of scan-
'dalous words was this: that he ought to be higher than all injury, and
'neither himself to fancy, nor make other believe, that any one durst be so
'sawcy, but that the same opinion of veneration was had of him, as of the

How Traitors to be punished.

'eternal gods. If any plotted his destruction, he would neither have him
'himself to judge, nor sentence him, but refer him to the Senate, and if he
'were convicted, to punish him as lightly as might be, that his crime might
'gain belief. But he here excepted such, as having command of Armies,
'made open insurrections, who were not to be formally arraigned, but pu-
'nished as Enemies.

The Senate to be made use of.

20. 'These things, and most of the rest which concerned the Common-
'wealth, he would have him propound to the *Senate*, wherein all the mem-
'bers

'bers should have equal power of voting, except any of them were accused.
'If the party indeed were not as yet a *Senator*, or but of the rank of a *Qua-*
'*stor*, all might have voices; but it was against reason that he, who never
'had been a *Tribune of the People*, or *Ædilis*, should passe sentence upon him
'that had born these Offices, or that those should do it upon one of *Prato-*
'*rian* rank, or such an one upon a *Consular* person: but it was fitting enough
'that those of *Consular* Dignity might judge all the several sorts, and the
'rest their equals or inferiours. *Cæsar* himself was to be Judge in all Appeals
'made from the greater sorts of Magistrates, his Procurators, the Governour
'of the Citie, Subcensor, Chief Justices, Overseers of Provisions or Prove-
'ditors, and Masters of the Wvatches: for *none ought to have so absolute a*
'*power, but that appeal ought to lie from him.* Of these he ought to take
'Cognisance, as also of the causes of *Equites*, *Centurions*, or *prime Officers*,

What Cases seals ought to *Cæ-*

'when the controversie is about life or reputation. For these Cases ought
'to be referred to him alone, and for the fore mentioned causes none other
'ought to Judge them. Yet to the hearing of them he might nominate
'some of the principal men of *Senatorian* or *Equestrian* rank, or of Consu-
'lar, or *Pratorian* Dignity, that he and they having had hereby experience
'one of another, he might imploy them in other matters abroad. In the
'Cases of greatest consequence he would not have him ask their opinions
'openly, lest favouring their friends they might not speak freely their minds;
'but their opinions were to be written down, and then presently blotted
'out, which secrecy would procure them to use all freedom. He advised
'him in his affairs of Causes, Letters, businesse of Cities, and Petitions of
'private men, and in other things of Government, to use the assistance of
'the *Equites*. To refuse to hear no mans advice, and to look at the Will,
'and not at the successe, both of Councellors and Soldiers; as, neither, to en-
'vy the glory of military men. For, many fearing the envy of Princes and
'States, have rather chosen to lose than gain in the Wars, to provide for their

Military men not to be envied.

'own safety. Wherefore he would not have him (whom especially the event,
'either as to profit or disprofit would concern) in word others, and indeed,
'to envy himself.

Rules for *Cæsar's* General carriage.

21. 'He desired him speak and do such things, as he would have his Offi-
'cers to think and practice, for this would more easily teach them their duty,
'men being led more by example than precept, and the actions of Princes
'being especially pried into, and more imitated than their threatnings feared.
'The lives of others he should look into, but not greatly enquire: what
'Crimes by others were detected he ought to punish, but dissemble such as
'had no accuser, and know how to correct mildly, which in some cases
'doth more good than rigorous proceedings. Then as for rewards, he told

Deserving persons rather to be rewarded above then below their merits.

'him, he was to require deserving persons rather above than below their
'merits; for this was the way to win upon them, and to make them virtu-
'ous. He then advised him not to admit of any extraordinary honours from
'Senate or others, for this would be needlesse, chargeable, and dangerous.
'He bade him by virtue seek for immortality, not by Temples built unto
'his name. The gods he told him he was ever, and all over to worship, ac-
'cording to the custom of his Countrey, and compel others so to do: and to
'punish Authors of strange religions, not onely for reverence to his gods,
'but also because such things draw men to the use of forein customs, whence
'conspiracies, and bandyings arise, which are no whit agreeable with the
'Government of a single person. Neither was he to suffer any *Magicians*,
'and to have a care of *Philosophers* also, who by their foretellings often
'raised Seditions. He was to be studious of peace, content with present en-
'joyments, and yet to be ready for War upon all occasions. Though he must
'use Intelligencers and Spies; yet he ought not to be too credulous, and not
'indulge his servants, or Dependents too much, for all their failings would be
'imputed to him. He was to right inferiour and private men, incourage arts,
'and profitable occupations, as to punish idle, and vitious persons; not to
'suffer contentious, or animosities to grow, nor peculiar names to be assu-
'med,

'med, nor any other thing whence discord might arise. He was to keep an 'equality in his granting requests as much as could be; and therefore not to 'suffer any to ask him what he should not grant; but to indeavour that none 'should petition for any thing forbidden. In sum, he advised him never to 'abuse his power, and not to think this a diminution of it, if he did not do 'all that he might: but by how much the more he could do what he would, 'by so much to take care to will all things that became him. He bade 'him alwayes consider whether he did well or ill: whether by such an acti-'on he procured love or ill will, that he might do and forbear accordingly. 'He told him, that though he heard no body blame him, yet ought he not 'to conclude, that therefore he did well; nor to expect that any should be 'so mad as openly to upbraid him. This no man would do, though most ex-'tremely injured. Nay, many, saith he, are constrained openly to commend 'those by whom they have been wronged, lest they should be thought to blame 'them. But 'tis the duty of a Prince not to guesse at the affections of others 'from their words; but from those things which 'tis most probable that they 'think of.

22. 'These, and other like things he would have him do; for many things 'he said he passed over, because all could not be spoken at the same time. 'One thing he would say, which was the sum of all, either said or to be said. '*If he would do all those things, which if he were a subject he would have*
'*his Prince do to him, he should in nothing offend, prosper in all things, and*
'*lead both a safe, and most happy life.* For how could not all but look upon 'him, and love him as a father, and preserver, when they should see him 'modest, of unblameable life, and excellent both in Peace and War; when 'he should neither disgrace nor injure any one, but carry himself humbly: 'not exact money from others, whilest he himself flowed with wealth; not af-'flicting others whilest he was luxurious; not punishing others whilest he 'himself was loose and licentious; but in all things as it were sharing with 'them? Therefore relying on that defence which would be great in thy self 'if thou hurtest no man; believe me, saith he, thou wilt have no body, nei-'ther hate thee, or devise any thing against thee, which being so, thou must 'needs lead a pleasant life. For, what can be more sweet, what more happy, 'than for one with virtue to enjoy all humane good things, and to be able to 'confer them upon others? In conclusion, those, and other things heretofore 'spoken being considered, he bade him yield to him, and not contemn For-'tune, which had preferred him, picked out from amongst all others, to be 'chief. Now, if taking in reality to himself alone the Soveraign power, 'he feared the name of a Kingdom as odious he might omit that, and order 'his matters under the other of *Cæsar*: if he desired other titles they would 'give him that of *Imperator*, heretofore given to his father: they would 'adorn him also with some other venerable note of honour, so that he 'might injoy all the Privileges of a Kingdom without the envied name 'thereof.

The sum of all *Mæcenas* his advice.

Cæsar follow-eth the ad-vice of *Mæce-nas.*

23. *Mæcenas* concluded with these words, whose advice *Cæsar* followed, though he greatly commended them both, for wisdom, copiousnesse, and freedom of speech: yet he did not presently set upon all those things which he offered, lest if on a sudden he should attempt to change the constitution of the State, he might fail in his indeavours: therefore some things he changed out of hand, other afterwards: and some things he left to be perfected by his Successors, which he thought might be better settled through the advantage of time and opportunity. He used also the industry of *Agrippa* in the prose-cution of these designs no lesse than if he had advised him to this course. In this same year, and his fifth Consulship, he took the name of *Imperator*; not in that sense wherein anciently it was wont to be given for victories obtained (for so he had it given him often both before this and after) but in respect of chief Command, or Authority, as it had been decreed to his father *Julius*, and his sons, and posterity. Then was he made *Censor* with *Agrippa*, and amongst other things belonging to that Office, purged the Senate, into which

Taketh the title of *Impe-rator*, and or-dereth several matters.

which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept during the Civil Wars; and increased it to the number of a thousand. Two persons, *viz. C. Cinlius* and *C. Furnius* he put into the rank of *Consulares*, because being designed *Consuls* they had been prevented by others. He also ranked certain families amongst the *Patricians*, because most of those had perished in the Wars. He commanded that no *Senators* without his leave should passe beyond *Italy*, which is at this day observed, saith *Dio*, it being unlawfull for any of that rank to travel, except into *Sicily*, or *Gallia Narbonensis*, whither any that have Estates in those Provinces may go without leave, because those Countreys are in quiet, and destitute of Arms. *Cæsar* also considering that many Senators and others trusted him not, lest they should attempt new matters, he gave out that he had burned all the Letters found in *Antony* his Cof-fers: and indeed some of them were lost, but most of them he very carefully kept, and afterwards made use of them as he had occasion. He sent for *An-tiochus Commagenus*, who had treacherously killed his brother, sent on an Em-bassy to *Rome*, and put him to death, being condemned by the Senate.

Maketh a *Lu-strum.*

24. *Cæsar* in his sixth *Consulship*, together with *M. Agrippa* his Collegue made a *Lustrum* 41 years after the last Celebration of one (by *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Gellius*) and herein were cessed 4063000 Polls of *Roman* Citizens. He celebrated Games also, which had been decreed in memory of his victory at *Actium*, and it was ordered they should be renewed every fifth year, four Colleges of Priests taking care of them, *viz.* the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Sep-temviri*, and *Quindecimviri* by courses. He caused other sorts of Games and Exercises to be made at his own cost, borrowing money; ordered that two per-sons of *Prætorian* rank should yearly oversee the Treasury, gave to the people four times as much Corn as they were wont to have, to some Senators he gave money, some of this rank being so poor, that they could not bear Offices be-longing to them. All ingagements and debts to the Exchequer he made void that stood good before the battel at *Actium*, except what concerned build-ings. He suffered no sacrifize to be offered to *Egyptian* gods within the *Po-merium*, took also care for repairing of Temples. And because many un-just things had been ordained during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, espe-cially in the *Triumvirate*, he made them all void by one Edict, and caused them to cease from his sixth *Consulship*. Being in the eyes and mouths of all for these things, he considered how he might increase his reputation, and confirm his single power by the consent, and without the constraint of the people. Being then *Consul* the seventh time, when he had prepared every Se-nator before-hand, whom he knew to be well affected towards him, he came to the Senate-house, and there read a set speech which he had written down fitly for this purpose.

Pretending in a set speech to the Senate, a desire to lay down his power.

25. 'Herein he first exceedingly magnified with much affected art, the things 'he was about to do, and then signified, that though he had such opportunity to 'establish himself as no man ever had more, yet did he now devest himself of 'all power, & *restore all unto them, Arms, Laws, and Provinces: and not onely*
'*such things as he had been intrusted with, but he gave them besides what he*
'*himself had further acquired.* This then his gift he much illustrated by his 'self denial, shewn as well formerly as at present, being very sorry that ever 'there had been occasion for the Commonwealth to use him. He spake of the 'justice and prudence of this resignation, and boasted of the glory of it, which 'he avowed to exceed the Conquests of *Gall*, *Mysia*, *Egypt*, or *Pannonia*, the 'victories over *Pharnaces*, *Juba*, or *Pharnaces*, the expedition into *Britain* 'or the passage of the *Rhine*, and all the difficulties of the Civil Wars. He 'demanded if any could be found that excelled him in greatnesse of mind, 'who had so many Cities, Nations, and Soldiers at his back, and whom none 'durst oppose? *Horatius*, *Mucius*, *Curtius*, *Regulus*, and the *Decii*, who 'ventured their lives for glory were not comparable to him, for as much as by 'this resignation he exceeded both them, and all others in glory. And shewed 'hence that the gallantry of spirit found in the antient *Romans* was not ex-'tinct. Having discoursed much in this vein, he concluded with his advice to

'the

'the Senate how to manage publick affairs, telling them, that if they fol-
'lowed it they would be happy and thankful to him, who rescuing them from
'seditions, had brought them into that estate: but if they did not punctually
'observe it, they would make him repent of what he had done, and cast them-
'selves again into manifold Wars, and great dangers.

26. *Cæsar* having read his writing, the minds of the *Senators* were marvailously affected. Some there were who knew his design, and therefore agreed with him; the rest either suspected his intent, or believed him. Of these some admired his craft in concealing his purposes; others were troubled at his design: some at his cunning; and others at his refusal of the Government. For there were some who hated the *Popular* form as turbulent, and approving of the change, were well pleased with *Cæsar*'s administration. Yet the product of these several affections was the same; for neither they that believed he spake as he thought, could rejoyce; those that wished he were reduced to a private condition, being yet fearful how things would go; and they that desired he might keep his power, being sorry for the losse of their hopes. Neither could they that believed him not reprehend him, because to some will, and to others courage was wanting. No man yet, whether he believed him, or believed him not, durst commend his speech, for that some liked it not, and others feared to do it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilst speaking, when he had done, they all besought him with many words, that *he would alone undertake the Government*, and by many arguments compelled him at length to accept of the Soveraignty. Then that his person might be preserved, they presently decreed the pay of his Guard to be double to that of other Soldiers.

Thereby confirmeth it.

27. *Cæsar* by this artifice pretending that he would lay down his power, effected that it was confirmed to him, by Senate and People. Yet that he might seem to be Popular, he said, he would not govern all the Provinces, nor obtain perpetual power over such as he should take care of; therefore the weaker, because they were more quiet, he left to others: the most powerful which had appearance of most danger (having an Enemy near at hand, or likely to be turbulent) he kept himself, under pretence that the Fathers might enjoy their power safely, and he himself undergo labour and dangers; but by this device he rendred the Senate really helplesse, and weak, and engrossed to himself the Militia. To the Senate and People was left *Africk*, *Numidia*, *Asia*, *Greece*, with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Sicily*, *Crete*, *Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, with the neighbouring *Pontus*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Bætica*. *Cæsar* kept the rest of *Spain*, all *Gall* and *Germany*, as also *Cœlesyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Ægypt*. Over these Provinces he assumed the Government but for ten years, within which time he undertook to reduce them into order, adding with a certain juvenile kind of boasting, that *as soon as ever he could quiet them, he would quit his power*. Then did he set over the Provinces of both sorts, men of *Patrician* dignity, but over *Ægypt* one of *Equestrian* rank onely, for the causes above rehearsed. To *Senators* he allotted by themselves *Africk* and *Asia*, and the rest of the Provinces to *Prætorians*. He forbad either to take this employment within five years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Governments but for a year. And as soon as successors were sent them, they were presently to depart the Provinces, and not loiter in their return, but come to *Rome* within three moneths. The distribution of the Provinces was made on the *Ides* of *January*, as may be gathered from *Ovid*, who thought also that *Cæsar Octavianus* had the Sirname of *Augustus* given him the same day, which indeed was the fourth day after, as appeareth from *Censorinus*.

Divideth the Principalities betwixt the Senate and himself.

28. For, the Provinces being divided, and all things setled, it was debated in the Senate, whether he ought not to be called *Romulus*, because he had founded the Empire; but the other more venerable name of *Augustus*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length seemed best; for, sacred places and Temples consecrated by *Augurs* the *Romans* termed *Augusta*. *Cæsar* though he much desired that of *Romulus* (saith *Dio*) yet perceiving he should be suspected of affecting the Kingdom, omitted it, and was sirnamed *Augustus*, as greater than the nature of man could make him. For those things are called *Augusta*, which are most worthy of honour, and most sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* expresse it by Σεβαστὸν, as if thou shouldest say *Venerable*. Thus *Cæsar* alone got the whole power into his hands, having both money (for though he had his own separate from the Treasury, yet did he use this at his pleasure) and the Militia in his own hands. When his ten years were out other five, and when they were expired five more, and these ended, ten more, and ten more after them were added; so that he had his authority still continued for his life; for which cause his Successors, though they had the power setled on them for life, yet at the end of every ten years, solemnized as it were the renewing of it. As soon as *Cæsar* had but made his Oration about resigning his command, and distributing the Provinces, many honours were conferred on him, as that Laurel should be planted before his gates in the *Palatium*, and upon those trees Oaken garlands hung, as for him who was a perpetual Conquerour of Enemies, and preserver of Citizens. The house of the *Emperour* also was wont afterwards to be called the *Palatium* or *Palace*; not for that it was ever so decreed; but because *Cæsar* lived in the *Palatium* or *Palatine hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*; his house also received some dignity from the Mount it self, because *Romulus* there lived: therefore though the *Emperour*, saith the Historian, live elsewhere, yet is his house called the *Palatium* or *Palace*. But after he had done those things which he promised, then was he called *Augustus* by the Senate and People. *From this day forward began the soveraign power and authority to be in the hands of one man, which the* Greeks *called* Monarchy. Yet the *Romans* derived the *Epoche* of their *Augusti* from the *Kalends* of *January* of this year, as *Censorinus* writeth, who compareth with the 265 year of this *Æra*, the 283 of the *Julian* ordination. This seventh Consulship of *Augustus Cæsar*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, fell out in the 727 year of the City, the second of the 188 *Olympiad*, the thirteenth of *Herod* the Great, 25 before the birth of *Christ*, A. M. 3978, he himself, as it's said, the seventh, and *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* the third time being *Consuls*.

Sirnamed *Augustus*.

29. *On this manner all the power of the People and Senate was transferred upon* Augustus, *saith* Dio. For this notable translation and change in the Government there was a Law made, which is famous by the name of *Lex Regia*, after which it's convenient to make a little enquiry, for the better information of Students in this great affair. A Law may be so (and is so) called, either for that *a King made*, or *preferred it*, or because it was *made and enacted concerning a King* or *Kingly power*. In the first sense, such Laws as were made by *Romulus* and his successors the antient Kings of *Rome*, are by Lawyers called *Leges Regiæ*, whereof *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* hath recorded many, and of which several have been already mentioned in their due places; and in the (a) *Code* is yet extant a Law called *Lex Regia*, concerning the burial of a woman with child, so called, because enacted by some ancient King. But in the later acceptation is to be understood this Law, whereby *Regal* (and that absolute) *power was conferred upon* Augustus *by the* Roman *People*. The Law it self is not now extant in terms, nor exemplified in any Author still remaining, yet it is mentioned by *Justinian* in his (b) *Institutions* of Law, who there writeth (speaking of several sorts of Law) that *what pleaseth the Prince, hath the vigour of a Law; forasmuch as by the* Lex Regia, *which was made concerning his power, the People granted to him all it's command and authority*. In the (c) *Pandects* he also mentioneth it, well-nigh in these very words; in a third (d) place also expressing it to the same purpose, that *by an antient Law called* Lex Regia, *all the right and all the power of the* Roman *People was translated into the Emperours authority*: therefore it is otherwise called *Lex Imperii*, and *Augustum privilegium*. As for Commentators upon both *Institutions* and *Pandects*, with other parts of the

All power of Senate and People transferred upon him.

By a Law called *Lex Regia*.

(a) *Tit. de mortuo inferendo l. 2.*

(b) *Lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Jure Nat. &c.*

(c) *L. 1. Tit. de Constit. Principum.*

(d) *L. 1. sect. cum itaque C. tit. de Vet. Jure Enucleando.*

Lib. 55. p. 517. A. M. 3978. *Ol.* 188. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 727. *Herodis* 13.

Civil Law, nothing is more acknowledged by them all, as they have occasion.

30. But as for the interpretation of this Law, some difference there hath been amongst Expositors, who lived since the Civil Law was restored in the West. For some there have been ever since that time, who rightly understood all manner of power and authority, to be so by the *Roman* People transferred upon the Prince by that Law, that they affirmed the People thereby deprived and made destitute of all power and authority. Others thought power and authority indeed was given to the Prince to make Laws, but so that by this concession the power of the People was in no sort diminished, and the force of *Plebiscitums* and *Senatusconsultums*, as well future as past, was the same as formerly; so that Prince, People, Senate, and Commons, had equal authority in this matter: both these opinions being held, as appeareth from *Accursius*, *Hostiensis*, and others. But the later of them seemeth thence to have risen, that they mistook this *Lex Regia* (called also corruptly *Lex Remnia*) for the *Hortensian Law*, or rather thence, as a late (*a*) learned man judgeth, that the Professors and Students of the Civil Law, which was newly restored, were fearful, lest by asserting the true power of the Emperours, they should give offence to such People and Cities, as then lived in a course contrary to such a prerogative, and thereby injure their newly restored profession. And hence might that most known controversie arise, concerning the power of the Prince, from this Law, betwixt the *Martinians* and *Bulgarians*. But as for that conceit about the *Hortensian Law*, it was enacted by *Q. Hortensius* the *Dictator*, in the 468 year of the City (not the 422, as that same learned man hath it) and the 284 (not the 330) before the birth of Christ, upon the third separation of the Commons, and 259 before the enacting of the *Regal Law*. The purport of it was, that all *Quirites or Romans should be bound by the Plebiscita, or the Decrees of the People*. Hence, as we formerly observed out of *Pomponius*, concerning the Original of the *Roman* Laws, the authority of making Laws was the same, though the fashions differed, although the same thing in effect, was done long before the *Hortensian* Law, *viz.* by *L. Valerius* and * *M. Horatius* the Consuls, who got it enacted by a Law in the *Centuriata Comitia*, that what the Commons resolved on in their Tribes, or *Tributa Comitia*, saith *Livy*, but in their *Curiæ* or *Curiata Comitia*, saith *Dionysius*, should bind the whole People, which thing we having formerly omitted in it's own place, here supply, having yet * observed, that a Law was also preferred by *Q. Publius Philo* the *Dictator*, 111 years after the other, to the same purpose, and 211 before the *Lex Regia*.

A different manner of expounding it.

The Reason.

(*a*) *Joh. Seldenus in Fletam Dissert. cap. 3. sect. 3.*

* *V. C.* 305.

* *Lib.* 8. *c.* 4. *sect.* 2. *par.* 46.

31. Now strange it is, that *Accursius* and others, should wrest any thing of the *Hortensian* Law, and apply it to the *Lex Regiæ*, or rather make them all one, as he doth, expounding the *Regia* thus; *Scil. lata ab Hortensio mirabili Oratore*, although he acknowledgeth, as necessarily he must, that the *Hortensian Law* made onely expresse mention of the power of Senate and Commons. It's not easie to guesse what he meant by so strange a conceit; but this interpretation is made of it by * one as able to judge as any, that as the *Hortensian Law* concerning *Regal Right*, that is, the *Right of Regiment or Government*, gave to the People and Senate (of which two orders or estates then the *Roman* body politick consisted) equal power and authority; so when the *Prince* came to be joyned as a *third party*, in like manner an equal power should be granted to him, as to the other two, and that from the sence of the same Law. And those of this opinion interpret *Justinian* (who saith concerning the *Plebiscita*, that *from the* Hortensian *Law they began to be of no lesse value than Laws, and also the same of the* Senatusconsulta, *that because the People was so increased, that it could not easily meet together for making of Laws, that therefore the Senate was consulted*) as though the same power remained to Senate and People still under the Emperours as before. They strangely disputed also, whether the power so granted by the People to the Emperour, might not be revoked, as that which is given to *Delegates*

The *Hortensian* Law strangely wrested by some.

Seldenus ubi supra.

Delegates from the *Delegators*. And this is all that can be imagined, as meant by those men concerning the *Hortensian Law*, as to the subject in hand, though it be strangely wrested to their design, and maketh nothing for their purpose.

But in vain.

32. For nothing is more certain than the former opinion, *viz.* that *the people by the* Lex Regia *were wholy deprived of all Power and Authority in making Laws*. This is clear from the words of *Justinian* formerly cited, which clearly signifie that the *whole Power and Authority of People and Senate was transferred upon, and yielded or granted to the Emperours by this Law*. And he (*a*) elsewhere declareth, that his sentence standeth for Law, and bindeth all under his command, which indeed the very composing of the body of Law, as from him it is transmitted to us, sufficiently demonstrateth, wherein he by his sole Authority repealeth what he pleaseth, and enacteth anew what seemeth good to him, without interposition of any other Authority; which he could not have done (nor his Predecessors) as to the *Plebiscita* and *Senatusconsulta*, though he might as to the *Principales Constitutiones*, except he had had that power which formerly belonged to People and Senate, and they were devested of all. (*b*) *Constantine* challengeth to himself alone Authority to judge betwixt Law and Equity. *Ulpian* wrote, that all the Power and Authority which they had, the People placed upon, and in the Emperour, by the *Lex Regia*, and the most learned, and accurate (*c*) expositors of more later times agree with him herein, rejecting the *Hortensian Law* utterly, as having any thing to do in this matter of the *Regal Law*. In the *Laterane Palace* at *Rome*, or the *Capitol*, is extant (*d*) a Table of brasse, wherein is to be seen a fragment of this Law renewed, as to *Vespasian*, confirming many things of Soverain, and sole Authority, as descending upon him from his Predecessors, and enacting, that *what he had done, decreed, or commanded, before this ratification, should be held and taken for as good Law, as if the People it self had done, decreed, or commanded it*. For, though he might make use of this ratification, yet his right was as strong before; there being no such custom as some have thought, that particular Princes had particular and several Laws made for their Authority, that one for *Augustus* respecting himself, and Successors, as is clear from *Justinian*, who never mentioneth any other, nor speaketh in the plural number.

For the whole power of people and Senate was given up by the *Lex Regia* to the Emperour.

(*a*) *L.* 12. *C. tit. de Legibus, &c.*

(*b*) *C. Tit. de Legib. l.* 1.

(*c*) *Consule inter alios Franciscum de Amaya obs.* 41. *c.* 1.

(*d*) *Inscript. Gruteri p.* 142. *& Ursinus Notis ad Leges & Senatusconsulta.*

33. If we fetch an explanation of the *Lex Regia* from Historians, we shall find that though they mention it not in words, yet they give that Supream and absolute power to *Augustus*, which devesteth the Senate and People of all Legislative Authority, and sheweth that his command (and that of his Successors) was as large as could be transferred upon a Prince that was to govern persons of free condition without Tyranny. *Suetonius* saith, that *he received perpetual Tribunitial power* (which could obstruct all proceedings of Senate and People) *and perpetual regiment of manners, and of the Laws*. *Dio* saith expresly, that * *all the power of People and Senate was transferred upon him*; and that all *things were managed meerly as the Emperour pleased, though all other Magistrates, except the Censors were preserved. And that the Emperours may appear to have so great power*, saith he, *not by force but from the Laws; all things which under the Popular Government were of greatest force (and that by Unive sal consent) together with the names, they take upon them, except Dictatorship. For they are often* Consuls, *and when without the* Pomærium, *are called* Proconsuls; *and they bear the name of* Imperator, *(not onely such as have obtained victories, but all of them) to signifie their plenary and absolute power; in the room of King and Dictator, which being taken away, they never assume, but confirm the force and matter of them by the title of Emperour. Accordingly they have the power of raising men and money, making War and Peace, commanding all things effectually, both at home and abroad, putting to death Equites and Senators, even within the* Pomærium, *and doing all other things, which a Consul and other Magistrates who had absolute power might do. As Censors also they have Authority to inquire into our life and Maners, to make the Cen-*

Historians shew it.

* Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς κράτος ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μετῆλθεν.

sus, admit persons into the Equestrian or Senatorian rank, and remove thence according to their pleasure. And in as much as they are inaugurate in all Priesthoods, admit Priests into the Colleges, and ever one of them (if there be two or three Emperours at one time) is Chief Priest, it is that they may have all religious things and sacred in their own hands. As for the Tribunitial power, which every eminent Emperour was wont to have, it inableth them to interpose against any thing that may be done contrary to their pleasure, and they are thereby Sacrosanct, *or* Inviolable, *so that if any one injure them by the least, not onely deed, but word, they may put him to death without processe as* Piacularly Criminal. *The Emperours count it unlawfull to be Tribunes, because they are Patricians, but they receive Tribunitial power as large as ever any enjoyed; and as renewing it yearly with the annual Tribunes, the years of their reign or power, are counted accordingly. These things, as they were established in the Popular Government, do the Emperours, together with the name, take unto them, that they may appear to have nothing but what was freely conferred on them.*

34. *But they have another privilege* (so Dio proceedeth) *which never was universally granted to any* Roman. *For the* Emperours *are loosed from the Laws; by which thing alone liberty is given them to do those which we have related, and all other things. After this manner, with these names which were used in the Popular State, they receive all the power of the whole Commonwealth, and the Kingly also, shunning onely the name. For, the titles of* Cæsar *and* Augustus *add nothing of peculiar power unto them: but the one signifieth the succession, and the other the splendour of their Dignity. As for the name of* Fathers, *though it giveth them such right over their subjects, as Parents have over Children; yet at first it was given onely for honour, and to admonish them to hold their Subjects as dear as Children, and these them as Parents. These are the titles which the Emperours according to the Laws and Customs use even in our dayes and in our age, all these are at the same time given to them, except that of* Censor; *but in times past they were severally according to the Laws decreed to them. The name also of* Censor, *some of them according to the antient custom have received, and* Domitian *bore it all his life, but now it is not so. For, the Emperours of our time having the thing it self, are neither chosen to the Censorship, nor bear the name of the Office, except during the Census. But* * *thus the Commonwealth was changed into a better form and order; for it was utterly impossible it should subsist under the power of the people.* Thus far Dio, excellently, according to his custom of relating the principal matters of State. It clearly appeareth from him, how absolute the power of the *Emperours* was, and how without any co-ordinate power of People or Senate in any respect. The main of their Authority lay in the title of *Imperator*; assisted by the *Tribunitial* power, which two, (nay the former of them) make good our exposition of the *Lex Regia*, without the other titles which they might take upon them for popularity, and to prevent the prerences of others, though their Authority was large, and strong enough without them. Our Author concludeth this discourse with an Attestation to that truth we formerly asserted against *Agrippa*.

* Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω πῃ τὸ βέλτιον ἔσχε τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· κ, γὰρ οὐ κατὰ τὸ δημοκρατούμενον ἀδύνατον ἦν διαμεμενηκέναι.

35. The same night that *Cæsar* received the surname of *Augustus*, a considerable sign (as it was accounted) of his confirmation hapned. For *Tiber* so overflowed, that all the lower parts of *Rome* were Navigable, which the Fortune tellers interpreted to signifie his great advancement, and that he should have the whole Citie in his power. Now many sought to flatter him, but the indeavours of *Sextus Pacuvius* (or *Apudius*) exceeded all, who being *Tribune of the People*, after the custom of the *Spaniard*, consecrated himself to him, and caused others to do so. Having now obtained the Government by consent of the people, he set himself more effectually to look after it, and made several Laws. Yet did he not all on his own head, but propounded many things to be debated in publick, that if any were displeased he might amend them: he desired all, freely, and openly, to deliver their opinions, and being moved by their reasons changed something: but he especially de- *Dio lib. 53. pag. 510.*

desired to be advised by the Consuls, or his Collegue, if he himself bore that Office. Of the other Magistrates he made choice of one out of each sort, and out of the Senate fifteen chosen by lot, who were for six moneths to be his Counsellors; that hereby he might seem to communicate his designs to the rest. Some things he brought down to the whole Senate; but he thought it fitter to consult with a few persons at leisure about the greatest affairs. He called also these men sometimes to decide causes: although the Senate still heard certain matters, and gave answer to the Ambassadors of Kings and States as formerly. Although the Comitia, or Assemblies of the People were sometimes held, yet nothing was done but according to the pleasure of *Augustus*. He partly named Magistrates, and left others to be created by the People; onely taking care that no unworthy persons by indirect practices advanced themselves. This was the general course of *Augustus* his administration, saith *Dio*.

The general course of Augustus his administration.

36. The year following *Augustus* made an expedition into *Spain*, which never had been well quieted since the *Romans* first set footing there; but now the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* were not onely ready to defend their own liberty, but endeavoured also to lay the yoak upon their neighbours. Yet he reduced, and brought all under, and being then at *Tarracon*, came Ambassadors from *India* to beg his friendship. Returning home, he shut the Temple of *Janus* the second time, having formerly so done after his Triumph over *Antony*, and his return out of *Egypt*, which shutting was the third from the foundation of the Citie. But after his return out of *Spain* it continued not long shut. For *Ælius Gallus* made War against the *Arabians*, and piercing far into their Countrey, had subdued all *Arabia Fœlix*, but that he was betrayed. At the same time also *Candace*, *Queen* of *Æthiopia*, sent her Captains to invade *Egypt*, but they were repulsed by *Petronius* Governour of that Countrey (for *Cornelius Gallus* having besparttered *Augustus*, and for that being condemned by the Senate had killed himself) who also pursued them, and taking divers Towns, forced the *Queen* to beg peace, and returned inriched to *Alexandria*. *Augustus* some time after went into *Greece*, and thence into *Syria*, whither the *Parthian* now affrighted, sent the Ensigns taken at the overthrow of *Crassus*, and slight of *Antony*; and now again did the two Kings of *India*, *Pandion*, and *Porus*, send Ambassadors with presents. As he returned home, *Virgil* the Poet met him at *Athens*, who now out of a desire to finish his *Æneiados* had resolved to withdraw himself out of the way into *Greece* and *Asia*; but meeting here with *Augustus*, in whose especial favour he flourished, he was drawn back with him, and viewing *Megara* in a very hot season contracted a distemper, which was so much increased with sayling, that growing still worse, he died at *Brundusium* within a few dayes after his landing, in the 52th year of his age, on the 12th of *September*, and the 735th year of the Citie, *C. Sextius* and *Q. Lucretius* being Consuls.

He reduceth the Spaniards, and shutteth the Temple of Janus the second time. *Oros. lib. 6. cap. 2.* *Flor. lib. 4. c. ult.* *Suet. in Octavio.* *Strabo lib. 2.* *Lib. 17.* *Dio l. 17.* *Virgil dieth.* *Vide vitam Virgilii.* *A. M. 3990. V. C. 735.*

37. *Augustus* his first wife was *Scribonia*, which had been married to two persons of *Consular* Dignity, and by one was a Mother. Of her he begat his daughter *Julia*, but within a short time divorced her, as he pretended, because of the perversity of her disposition. Then did *Nero*, who had followed *L. Antonius* to *Perusium*, but afterwards was reconciled, freely yield unto him *Livia Drusilla*, though he had had one son already by her, named *Tiberius*, and she was big with another, which being born three moneths after she had married *Cæsar*, was called *Drusus*. By *Livia*, *Augustus* had no Children but abortive. His daughter *Julia* he married to *Marcellus*, his sister *Octavia*'s son, and after his death to *Agrippa*, making him put away his wife, the daughter of *Octavia*; for in a consultation *Mæcenas* took the liberty to tell him, that *he must either marry his daughter to* Agrippa, *or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great.* By *Agrippa* she had three sons, *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Posthumus*, and two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Julia*. The three sons were adopted by their Grand-father, but the two former died before, and the later was killed by *Tiberius* after: the

Augustus his wives and issue. *Suetonius in Octavio cap. 62. 63, 64.*

the death of *Augustus*. *Tiberius* and *Drusus* subdued the *Rhætians* and *Vindelicians*, People of *Germany*, and afterwards the *Pannonians* and *Frisians* apart. *Agrippa* was made partaker of the *Tribunitial* power by *Augustus*, amongst other honours, and ruled *Syria* by himself and Agents ten years. Being sent into *Pannonia* (of which *Hungaria* is part) he stilled the Natives by the rumour of his coming, and returning into *Campania*, died shortly after. Then was *Tiberius* compelled to marry *Julia*, although he had already to wife *Agrippina* the daugher of *Agrippa*. Within two or three years after, *Drusus* having pierced very far into *Germany*, and entered his Consulship together with *L. Quintius Crispinus*, died also, leaving two sons, viz. *Germanicus* and *Claudius*, in the 746 year of the City.

Dio lib. 54.

Sueton. in Claudio.

38. The same year that *Drusus* died (by a fall from his Horse, as *Livy* wrote, who intended his History just so far) *Augustus* being *High-Priest* (which Office he took not upon him till the death of *Lepidus*) amended the *Calendar*, corrected formerly by his adoptive Father. For in those 36 years there had been made an intercalation of twelve dayes, whereas there ought to have been but of nine, therefore he commanded that the twelve years following should passe without any intercalation at all, that so the three dayes might be swallowed up. Now he named *August* after himself the moneth *Sextilis*, because in it he entered his first Consulship, and had the first ensigns of Victory and Power, rather than *September* wherein he was born. Not long after did *Tiberius*, rather by craft than force of Arms, again subdue the *Germans*, who maintained a most difficult Warre. After his Triumph he withdrew himself into the Island *Rhodes*, either because of *Caius* and *Lucius*, or by reason of the intolerable dishonesty of his wife *Julia*; for she was so abominably wanton, that her father at length banished her into the Hland *Pandataria*, and very imprudently in his anger, revealed her naughty cariage in way of complaint to the Senate, of which indiscretion being afterward sensible, he would often say, that *if either* Agrippa *or* Mæcenas *had lived, no such thing had hapened to him.*

Sueton in Octavio.

Plinius l. 18. c. 25. Ovidius lib. 6. cap. 21. Dio l. 55. p. 552.

A. M. 3996. V. C. 745.

Sueton in Tiberio.

Seneca de beneficiis. l. 3. c.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 1.

He amendeth the Calendar.

The moneth August called after him.

39. *Agrippa*, as we said, having quieted *Pannonia*, died after his return into *Campania*, in the 743 year of the City, three years before *Drusus*. *Pliny* telleth, that they were first called *Agrippæ*, which were born with the feet forward, as if a man should say, *born hardly*, or *with much adoe*. And in this manner, (saith he) as they say, *M. Agrippa* came forth of his mothers womb, the onely man almost known to have brought any good fortune with him, and prospered in the World, of all that were in that sort born Yet he was much pained with the Gout, and passed all his youth, and many a day after in bloody Wars, and in danger of a thousand deaths. Unfortunate he was in his children, and especially in his two daughters the *Agrippinæ*, who brought forth two children pernicious to the whole Earth, namely *C. Caligula* and *Domitius Nero* Emperours. He died in the 51 year of his age, tormented and vexed with the adulteries of his wife, and oppressed with the intolerable servitude in which he lived under her father. Four years after him, and the year after *Drusus*, died *Mæcenas*, the other favourite of *Augustus*, and the great *Patron* of Learned men. He was in as great grace with *Cæsar* as *Agrippa*, though lesse honoured: for he contented himself with the *Equestrian* rank; neither could he not obtain greater things, but he would * not. He had great power with *Augustus*, which he improved to the allaying of his passion, and doing good offices for others, as one example shews above the rest. On a time, as *Augustus* sate in Judgment, and was about to sentence many to death, he perceiving it, and not able to come at him for the croud, wrote these words; *Rise up at last Executioner*, in a table, and cast them into *Cæsar*'s lap as some other matter, who having read them, presently departed without condemning any. Neither did this offend *Augustus*, but he was glad that he had one who would be so free with him, and curb that anger, which either his inclination or the urgency of businesse moved him to. (*a*) *Cilnius* was the antient name of his Family, and *Arretium* in the *Tyrrhenian* Coasts the place of it. (*b*) *Pliny* telleth strange passages

A. M. 3993. V. C. 743. Lib. 7. c. 8.

The death of *Agrippa*,

A. M. 3997. V. C. 746. Velleius l. 2. c. 88. Dio l. 55. p. 552.

Of *Mæcenas*.

* *Mæcenas eques Hetruscæ de Sanguine regum Intra fortunas qui cupis esse tuam. Propertius l. 3.*

(*a*) *Cilnius Aretii Tyrrhenis ortus in oris Clarum nomen erat. Silius Italicus.*

(*b*) *L. 7. c. 52.*

passages of him, as that he never was without an Ague, and for three years before his death, never slept a quarter of an hour together. In the same year (which was that wherein *Augustus* mended the *Calendar*, and called the moneth *Sextilis* after himself) *Horace* the Poet also died, in the 57 year of his age. His familiarity with *Cæsar* and *Mæcenas* is sufficiently known. His life is written by *Suetonius*.

40. *Augustus* having again quieted all Nations, and shut the Temple of *Janus* the third time; having ordained a general taxation throughout the *Empire*, that he might know the State and worth thereof; having also refused the name of *Dominus* or *Lord* with great earnestnesse, which he forbad even his Children and Nephews by an edict to use towards him, the Lord and Heir of all things came into the World, in the fulnesse of time, revealed by the Angel *Gabriel* to the Prophet *Daniel*, for the fulfilling of the promises made concerning the seed of the woman, which should break the serpents head. Great difference there is in assigning the year of the World wherein our Saviour was born, by reason of the difficulty of computation arising from the several versions of the Scriptures, the intricate and uncertain successions of the Judges, the variety of the forms of years, and the several reckonings as to parcels of such as are related in Scripture. A great help for the regulation of these things is afforded from prophane Histories. But it beginneth but with *Cyrus*, whose History, as to the restauration of the *Jews*, presenteth us with the first certain note of conjunction (he being so named both by holy and prophane Writers, but not *Nebuchadnesar*) and yet the duration of his reign is also uncertain. Yet as from all these opinions weighed together, a good account may be given in another place, more proper for the length of it, as to the year of the World, so the *Evangelist* teaching us, that in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Christ* was about thirty years old, it must needs follow, that *Augustus* reigned fifteen years after his birth; so that if we count (as some do) the reign of *Augustus* from the death of *Julius Cæsar*, it lasted 57 years, and then must *Christ* be born in the 42 of it. But if we follow them (as the order of this Work doth) who with more reason fetch the beginning of his Empire from the death of *Antony*, and the conquest of *Ægypt*, then *Christ*'s birth fell into the 28 year thereof; and according to the computation which we most approve into the 4003 year of the World, the 752 of the City, and the third year of the 194 *Olympiad*, wherein *Cæsar Augustus* himself the thirteenth time, and *M. Plautius Silanus* were *Consuls*. Although *Cyrenius* (who was *Consul* ten years before, and is called elsewhere *P. Sulpicius Quirinius*) might not formally be *President* of *Syria* (which Office as others say, was now obtained by *Quintilius Varus*, who succeeded *Saturninus*, who as yet was not departed out of the Province) yet being set over this taxation by *Augustus* in that place, this title might well be given him, though he then governed *Cilicia*, as *Herod* is by *Josephus* said to be constituted *Procurator* of all *Syria*, though it had it's Officers, who were to act by his assistance and direction. *Herod* had now reigned 37 years and odd moneths, and being deluded by the Wise Men (whom he willingly suffered to search out *Christ*, that he might destroy him) killed all the children in and about *Bethlehem* of two years and under; which cruelty was but agreable with his disposition and constant practice. Here, that we may describe his affaires, we must make a little digression, and take them where we formerly left them.

The birth of our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

A. M. 4003. Ol. 194. an. 3. V. C. 752. Cæsare Augusto 13. M. Plautio Silano Coss.

Josephus Antiq. l. 17. c. 7.

De bello Judaic. l. 1. c. 15.

Matth. 2. 16.

A digression to the affairs of *Herod*.

41. After he had obtained the possession of his Kingdom, he put to death 45 of *Antigonus* his friends, having procured him to be beheaded, as we formerly shewed. Then did he prefer to the *High-Priesthood* one *Ananël* an obscure man, neglecting *Aristobulus* the son of *Aristobulus* the King, and brother to his own wife *Mariamne*; and *Antony* desiring to see this youth, for the fame of his beauty, he fearing the *Roman* might advance him, to stay him at home, gave him the *Priesthood*, and excused his neglect to send him, by the inclination of the *Jews* to rebellion. Perceiving him then to be in extraordinary favour with the *Jews*, and that his mother *Alexandra* (which he kept

Josephus Antiq. l. 15. c. 1, &c.

kept very close because of her restlesse spirit) plotted the escape of her self and son into *Ægypt*, a year after, as he was swimming, he caused him to be drowned, and though *Cleopatra* accused him hereof to *Antony*, yet by presents

He maketh away *Aristobulus*.

he made his Peace. In the Civil Wars he sided with *Antony*, who having forces sufficient, desired him to chastize the *Arabians*, that denied the Tribute imposed on them. This he did, and though at first his attempts miscarried, yet in another battel he quite overthrew and brought them under. After the overthrow of *Antony*, he had little hope that his own matters would go well. He murdered *Hyrcanus*, who onely survived of all the males of the Royal Family, and whom he had recalled from *Babylon*, whither he was caried by the *Parthians*. He took the advantage of the old man's intent to flye into *Arabia*, through the importunity of his daughter *Alexandra*, who promised him great things, if *Herod* should miscary under the power of *Augustus*. Then providing as well as he could for the worst, in case it should happen, he went to *Rhodes* to visit *Cæsar*, from whom he concealed not the love he bore to *Antony*, but with notable courage declaring it, withall signified that he was ready to serve him as faithfully, which so wrought upon the magnificent Prince, that he liked him extremely, and confirmed him in his estate. After *Cæsar's* return out of *Ægypt* into *Syria*, he entertained him, and as he thereby procured the reputation of a noble and heroick spirit, so also an addition to his Kingdom. Yet was he unfortunate at home, having commanded several times, that if any thing hapened in his absence, they should make away his beloved wife *Mariamne*. She hearing of it used him frowardly, whereat being inraged, he was throughly perswaded to put her to death by his sister *Salome*, which envious woman feigned certain accusations against her. But after the deed was done, having extraordinarily loved her, he fell even mad, and thereby into a great sickness, so that casting off all Government, he departed to *Samaria*, then called *Sebaste*, in honour of *Augustus*.

Idem ibid. c. 9, &c.

Is reconciled to *Cæsar*, having sided with Antony.

Killeth his wife *Mariamne*.

42. *Alexandra* in the mean time endeavoured to get the strong places of *Jerusalem* into her hands, wherewith he being acquainted, ordered her to be put to death, and then returning to the City, grew exceeding cruel and distasteful. The prejudice was increased by his making Games in honour of *Cæsar*, and hanging his Theatre with Trophies, which the People sorely distasted, as being by their Religion principled against Pictures. Ten men conspired against him, but were discovered and put to death. Not long after he redeemed his credit by liberality in a great dearth, and maried the daughter of *Simon*, whom he preferred to the *Priesthood*, having displaced *Jesus* the son of *Phabes*. Then did he imploy his time and treasure in sumptuous and royal buildings, as that of *Cæsarea* amongst the rest, formerly called the *Tower of Straton*; and he built a Temple to the honour of *Augustus*, who had again inlarged his Dominions, and bestowed a *Tetrarchy* at his desire upon his brother *Pheroras*. To the People, which was ready to mutinie, because of his idolatry, he released the third part of their Tributes to please them, forbad all their meetings, punished severely such as were obstinate, and bound the rest to him by an oath. After this, taking down the old Temple of *Jerusalem*, he built another much more stately and magnificent (being a Work of most admirable beauty) in the space of nine years and six moneths, during which time, it's said, that it onely rained on nights, lest the Work should be hindred. In the dedication he sacrificed 300 Oxen, and the rest of the People according to their abilities. He made a Law, that thieves which broke walls should be sold for slaves, out of the Kingdom. Which the People ill resented, as against their Religion, which not onely provided otherwise concerning thieves, but would be broken also by these men, who must necessarily serve Idolaters. Now he himself fetched from *Rome Alexander* and *Aristobulus* his sons by *Mariamne*, whom having sent thither to be bred, *Augustus* had kindly entertained. These youths were feared by *Salome* and *Pherorus*, as intending to revenge their mothers death, and therefore they resolved they must not live, especially she that was incouraged by the succesſe

cap. 11, &c.

Groweth cruel.

Repaireth the Temple at or *Jerusalem*.

Josephus Antiq. l. 16. c. 3, &c.

succesſe she had had against their mother. And they presented her with an opportunity of accusing them, seeming indeed not to be well affected toward their father, desiring the Kingdom, and exclaiming greatly against the authors of their mother's death. *Herod* troubled hereat, called to Court *Antipater* his son, begotten when he was a private man, that opposing him against them he might make them more carefull of their behaviour. But thereby were they more incensed, and *Antipater* making use of his time got more and more into his father's affections, who commended him in especial manner to *Cæsar* (though he had not a thought at first of making him his Heir) and sent him to *Rome* to procure the *Emperour's* favour.

43. *Antipater* improving his father's displeasure against his brothers, effected that he carried them to *Augustus* then at *Aquileia*, and grievously accused them of an intention to poyson him. Yet the young men by their tears, and *Alexander's* refutation of the calumny, so moved *Cæsar*, that he reconciled them; and for that *Herod* had given him 300 Talents, and been very liberal, as his custom was to be in all places, unto the people of *Rome*, he bestowed on him half of the profits of the Mines in *Cyprus*, and gave him liberty to leave which of his sons he pleased his Successor, or if he would, to distribute his Kingdom amongst them all, which *Herod* presently would have done, but *Cæsar* would not permit it. In his absence the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis* a considerable part of his Kingdom rebelled, and were reduced by his Captains. After his return he made a speech to the people, and named to succeed him first *Antipater*, and then his sons by *Mariamne*, which naming a Successor beforehand, when the inheritance is uncertain, hath ever wrought great inconvenience to both parties. After he had opened *David's* Sepulchre to search for Treasure, (as *John Hyrcanus* had done before him) where he found none except very costly Attire, and Ornaments of Gold, 'tis observed that his family fell into a very sad condition, nothing being heard but complaints & accusations one against another. The greatest part of *Antipater's* malice fell upon *Alexander*, and the Court hereby was filled with tortures and slaughters. *Herod* suspecting all, and trusting none, put many to death, and those of his most intimate friends, and committed *Alexander* to prison, being captivated by so great a fear of an untimely death, that he was almost ready to run mad. These things were diverted by the rebellion of the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis* (which Countrey *Cæsar*, having taken it from *Zenodorus*, gave unto him) who again revolting, were protected by *Syllæus* an *Arabian*, that being to marry his sister *Salome* was rejected, because he would not turn *Jew*. *Saturninus* and *Volumnius Presidents* of *Syria*, resolved he might by force of Arms chastize these Rebels, whereupon he entred *Arabia*, and having formerly destroyed their families, which they left in their Corn Countrey, took a Castel they held there. *Syllæus* now being at *Rome* accused *Herod* unto *Cæsar*, as having wasted all *Arabia*, and he so far believed it, that he twice denied his Ambassadors audience. The Rebels and *Arabians* hereupon did him much injury, which he was glad to put up for the present, but sent *Nicholaus Damascenus* to plead his cause.

Idem ibid. cap. 7. &c.

Accuseth his two sons begotten of *Mariamne* unto *Cæsar*.

cap. 11. &c.

After his rifling of *Davids* Sepulchre his affaires decline.

44. He first joyned with the Ambassadors of *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, in accusing *Syllæus*, thence came to lay open his forgeries against *Herod*, to whom *Augustus* was throughly reconciled, and had given him *Arabia* too, but that he received from him other Letters, containing another complaint against his sons. For whilest he was thus out with *Cæsar*, the former stirs were renewed in his house by means of *Eurycles* a *Lacedæmonian*, who winding himself into *Alexander's* acquaintance, betrayed him first to *Antipater*, and then to *Herod* himself. He denied all accusations, except that he intended with his wife to fly to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* her father; but *Cæsar* being consulted, as we said, willed *Herod* to call a *Council* at *Berytum* with the *Roman* Presidents, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, and the rest of his friends and Nobility there abouts, and do as he should be advised. He called all but *Archelaus*, and in an Assembly of 150 men declaimed most furiously against his sons, not producing any proof at all, further than that they intended to

cap. 16. &c.

fly, and not suffering them to be present to answer for themselves; He onely required the suffrages of the Assembly to countenance his private resolution, which the major part giving (though *Saturninus* and his sons gave an indifferent sentence) he acted by fury, and unnatural madnesse, caused them to be strangled at *Sebaste*. *Antipater*, after the death of his brothers, quickly plotted the destruction of his father, and for that he was hated by all men, procured some esteem by his gifts, and drew *Pheroras* into the conspiracy, to the issue of whom the *Pharisees* promised the Kingdom. For refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, they were fined by *Herod*, to whose Kingdom they propheſied destruction, and happinesse to the family of *Pheroras*, because his wife payed their fine. *Herod* getting out these things by the means of *Salome*, put the principal of the *Pharisees* to death, with others, and urged his brother *Pheroras* to put away his wife, which he refusing to do, he banished him his Kingdom. *Pheroras* then departing into his *Tetrarchy*, died shortly after, being visited by *Herod*, who buried him honourably at *Jerusalem*. *Antipater* standing in fear of his father, wrought by his Creatures at *Rome* to be sent for by *Cæsar*. But this availed nothing; for in his absence all came out, which confirmed *Salome*'s words (to which the King in this matter had given but little credit, knowing her to be too free in accusations) and brought vengeance upon him, notwithstanding all his craft, for the murther of his brethren.

Putteth his sons to death. *Joseph Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 1. &c.*

45. *Pheroras* his wife being accused of poysoning her husband, her maids were tortured, and in their pain gave some suspition of the conspiracy, which was more cleared by one *Antipater* that had the ordering of *Antipater*'s affairs, who confessed that his Master had compounded a poyson, and delivered it to *Pheroras* to be given to the King in his absence, and that it was kept by *Pheroras* his wife: She confirmed the same, declaring that the poyson was bought in *Egypt* by *Antipater*'s procurement, that it was committed to her charge, and how, that when her husband was sick, and *Herod* came out of kindnesse to visit him, being overcome with his love he forbade her to give it him. Amongst the accessaries was *Herod*'s own wife, the daughter of the *High-Priest*; she was put away, her father deposed, and *Mathias* the son of *Theophilus* preferred to his place; *Herod* also her son was put out of the King's Testament, wherein he had bequeathed the Kingdom to him after his death. In the mean time *Bathillus* the *Freedman* of *Antipater* returning from *Rome* was tortured, and confessed that he had brought with him a poyson to deliver to *Pheroras*, wherewith the King might be certainly and speedily dispatched in case the other should fail. *Antipater* returned ignorant of these passages, for that almost every one was his Enemy, and before his father and *Quintilius Varus*, though he sought to cover his wickednesse, all things were made plain against him, whereupon he was committed to close prison. Shortly after *Herod* himself sickned, and became exceeding teasty and wrathfull, as well for these things as for that he thought the people was glad of his misfortunes, having at the instigation of the Doctors of their Law cut down an Eagle of Gold of great value that stood over the Portal of the Temple. But his sickneſſe more and more increased.

cap. 6. &c.

A grievous Conspiracy against him.

He sickneth.

46. His disease was strange and fearfull. For he burned with an inward heat, which pierced and tormented him in his bowels. He was also vexed with a ravenous and insatiable appetite, and an Ulcer in his Entrails, with a strange and furious Collick. His feet were swoln with moisture, and a shining kind of flegm, his stomack being no lesse afflicted. His body rotted, and was full of crawling Worms, which afforded an intollerable stench; besides, he was held with a filthy and troublesom Priapism, a strong Convulsion of his Nerves, and shortnesse of breath, being generally judged thus to be punished for his infinite impieties and sins committed against the Majesty of God; & doubtlesse his intention to kill *Christ*, with the innocent bloud of the Infants cried loud. He used all means for recovery, and went over *Jordan* to the hot Baths of *Callirhoe*. Thence returning to *Jericho*, a melancholick

cap. 8. & 9.

His strange Disease.

cholick humour seized on him; which rendred him unsociable, and displeased with all men. Perceiving now that he should die, and supposing that the *Jews* would much rejoyce in his death, he shut up many of the chiefest of them in the *Hippodrome*, and gave in charge to his sister *Salome*, and her husband *Alexas*, that as soon as he was dead they should cause them all to be killed, that a lamentation might accompany his funeral. Before his death he received Letters from *Cæsar*, who gave him leave to deal with his son as he saw occasion. *Antipater* yet believing that he was dead, plotted how to escape and seize on the Kingdom, but his Jaylor with whom he dealt revealed it to *Herod*, who commanded one of his Guard instantly to kill him; and to such an end came he for the murther of his brethren, and the sad Tragedies he had raised in his father's house. *Herod* having attempted to kill himself, died some five dayes after his son, in the 72 year of his age, 27 after his getting possession of the Kingdom, and 29 after he had been declared King by the *Romans*; 'tis uncertain how long after the birth of *Christ*, but as is supposed not above two years, in the first of the 195 *Olympiad*, the 754 of the Citie, *Caius Cæsar*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus* being Consuls. *Salome* and *Alexas* before his death was throughly known, to their great honour discharged those that were locked up in the *Hippodrome*.

He killeth his son *Antipater*, who had procured the death of his brothers, and plotted against his father's life.

A. D. 2. *Ol. 194. ann. 1. V. C. 754.*

And dieth.

47. *Herod* not long before his end renewed his Testament, wherein he ordained his son *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galile* and *Perea*, having before this appointed him his Successor in the Kingdom, for that he was incensed against *Archelaus* and *Philip*, by the means of *Antipater*. Now he made *Archelaus* King, gave the Province *Gaulonitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Batanea*, and *Peneade* to *Philip*, left *Salome* very well, and gave great Legacies to *Cæsar* and *Livia* his wife. *Archelaus* at first was much cried up by the peoples but afterwards the multitude calling to mind the death of *Mathias*, and his Confederates whom *Herod* had slain for breaking down the Eagle, fell into a Sedition (many flocking out of the Countrey to the Passeover) and demanded justice against divers of his Officers; but this tumult was setled by the slaughter of 3000 about the Temple. Then went *Archelaus* to *Rome*, not daring to take upon him the title without the leave of *Augustus*, to whose disposal his father had referred his Testament. Many followed, and spoke against him, being affected better towards *Antipas*, the *Jews* also sent their Ambassadors, with whom joyned 8000 of their Countrey-men then living at *Rome*, in a Petition to *Cæsar*, that they might be joyned to *Syria*, and live under *Roman* Governours without any King. At length *Cæsar* came to this resolution, to give half that Dominion, which *Herod* injoyed, unto *Archelaus*, *viz.* of *Idumæa*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, with *Cæsarea*, *Sebaste*, *Joppe*, and *Jerusalem*: the other half he divided betwixt *Antipas* and *Philip*. The former had the Countrey lying on the further side of *Jordan* and *Galile*, with 200 Talents of annual revenue. *Philip* obtained *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis* with 100 Talents. *Archelaus* had 500 Talents of yearly rent out of his Countrey. Whileſt these things were in hand at *Rome*, grievous Seditions tore the *Jews* in pieces at home; for they being now destitute of a King, several took upon them that title, *Sabinus*, who superintended the affairs of *Cæsar* there, gave the occasion, by pilling the people, which now at the feast of *Pentecoste* gathering together from all quarters, sought to shake off that yoak. After great slaughters, at length all was quieted by the coming of *Varus* from *Antioch*, who left the first Legion in Garrison at *Jerusalem*.

cap. 10, 11, & 13.

Archelaus his son being left his Successor in *Judæa*.

Augustus giveth him half of the Kingdom, and the other half to his two brothers.

cap. 12.

Seditions in *Judæa*.

48. The succession being setled by *Augustus*, a young man, and a *Jew*, born at *Sidon*, counterfeited himself *Alexander* the son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, affirming, that both he and *Aristobulus* were delivered by a friend, who had it in charge to see them executed, others being killed in their rooms. He deluded thousands of *Jews* inhabiting *Malas*, as also them at *Rome*, by whom he was received as their King. But he could not deceive *Cæsar*, who made him confesse the forgery, and because he had promised him pardon, if he would acknowledge the deceit, for that he had formerly

Cap. 14.

One counterfeits *Alexander* the son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*.

laboured with his hands, he condemned him to the Gallies, and put the man to death who had perswaded him to turn counterfeit. As for *Archelaus*, he tyrannized for ten years, and then being accused by the *Jews*, *Augustus* sent for him to *Rome*, where his cause being heard, he banished him to *Vienna* in *Gall*, and confiscated his goods. After this *Cyrenius* being sent into *Syria* to succeed *Varus*, valued the goods of each Inhabitant, and seized the estate of *Archelaus*. This cesse or valuation of their estates, gave occasion to a great Sedition, by the means one *Judas* a *Gaulonite*, *Sadoc* a *Pharise*, and his confederate, alleging that this description was no other than a manifest token of their servitude, and exhorting all to maintain their liberty, to no purpose. For *Judea* now having no more Princes of it's own, was governed by *Deputies*, of which *Coponius* being the first, was shortly after succeeded by *M. Ambivius*, and he by *Annius Rufus*.

And is detected by *Augustus*. *Cap.* 15. *Josephus Antiq. lib.* 18. *c.* 1, & 3. *Act.* 5. 37. *Judea* governed by Deputies.

49. *Augustus* (that we may return to *Roman* matters) adopted his two Grandsons *Caius* and *Lucius*, having got them to be called *Principes Juventutis*, and designed them *Consuls*. It hapned that the *Armenians* cast out *Artavasdus*, whom he had placed as King over them, and were in this Sedition assisted by the *Parthians*. This troubled him exceedingly; for he grew old himself, and his adopted sons were too young on the other hand. Yet sent he *Caius* with *Proconsular* power to compose these troubles, giving him for a greater grace *Lollia Paulina* to wife, the daughter (or niece) of *M. Lollius*, who went with him as his Governour. *Tiberius* met him at *Samus*, but was slightly looked on, being little better than a banished man. But *Caius* falling out with *Lollius*, who had incensed him against him, he had leave to return home, in the eighth year of his retirement, *Augustus* giving way to it, through the importunity of *Livia*, but denying to do any thing without the consent of *Caius*, and then recalling him with this condition, that he should not at all medle with affairs of State. As for *Caius*, he prospered at his first entrance into *Armenia*, but not long after received an hurt in a rash and unadvised conference, after which he grew listlesse and sluggish, and this distemper was increased by flatterers, so that he desired to stay in the East, and lead there a private life. His Grandfather vehemently urged his return, with condition also, that then he might do what he pleased, so that unwillingly journying for *Italy*, he died at *Limyra* a City of *Lycia*. His brother *Lucius* going into *Spain*, was dead eighteen moneths before, after whose decease *Augustus* would have adopted *Tiberius*: but he (if we believe *Paterculus* an egregious flatterer of him) fearing the envy of *Caius*, vehemently withstood the attempt. But now both of them being dead (and it's thought helped away by his mother *Livia* for his sake) he was adopted, together with *Agrippa Posthumus*, who had been born of *Julia* after *Agrippa*'s death. And lest he should attempt any new matters, he was constrained to adopt *Germanicus*, one of the sons of his brother *Drusus*; though he had a son of his own called also *Drusus*, in the 757 year of the City, *Sextus Ælius Latus* and *C. Sextius Saturninus* being *Consuls*, the fifth after the birth of *Christ*.

Caius sent against the *Armenians*. *Dio l.* 55. *Sueton in Claudio. A. D.* 3. *V. C.* 755. *Idem in Tiberio c.* 12, 13. Dieth 18 moneths after his brother *Lucius*. *Paterc. l.* 2. *c.* 102, & 103. *Florus l.* 4. *c.* ult. *A. D.* 4. *V. C.* 756.

50. *Tiberius* was presently sent into *Germany*, where three years before a famous War had broken out; and with him *Velleius Paterculus* the Historian (formerly a *Tribune* in the Army) in quality of *General of the Horse*, as succeeding his father in his places; and *for nine whole years was he*, as he telleth us, **the spectator of* Tiberius *his heavenly actions, either in that place, or as Lieutenant, and as far as the meanness of his faculties could reach, an assistant in them.* This Summer he passed over the River *Visurgis*, and reduced divers Nations; but in the next even all *Germany*. For, the *Roman* Army was led 400 miles upwards from the *Rhine*, as far the River *Elbe* which runneth by *Saxe*, now the seat of an Archbishop, and a people then called *Hermundurians*, and was met there by the Fleet, which having sailed through the *British* Sea (till then unknown and unheard of) having conquered many Nations, and brought infinite provision of all things there joyned with it. Now nothing was left unconquered, except the *Marcomanni*, who under conduct

* *Vide l.* 2. *c.* 104, 105, 106. *Tiberius* subdueth *Germany*.

conduct of *Marobodunus* quitting their former seat, had seated themselves upon these grounds surrounded by the *Hercinian* Wood, and through his ordering were raised to a considerable and emulous greatness. *Tiberius* intended to set upon them the next summer; but was diverted by the rebellion of all *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, which not satisfied with the benefits of a long Peace, and grown in strength, drew into society all the Nations about them, and flew to arms, to the number of 800000 fighting-men.

Idem ibid. c. 109, 110.

51. *Augustus* himself was much affrighted at this rebellion, and well he might, for the Rebels having raised 200000 foot, and 9000 Horse, all select men, they ordered that part of this Army should make for *Italy* it self, under expert Captains, that part should break into *Macedonia*, and a third band be left at home to defend their own. Levies therefore were carefully made, all the old Soldiers recalled from every quarter, and such men and women both, as were found within the cesse of Freed-men, were compelled to find Soldiers, the *Prince* himself being heard to say in the Senate, that *except they took good heed, within ten dayes the Enemie might face the walls of* Rome. *Tiberius* was appointed General, and amongst other Officers *Paterculus* went his *Quæstor*; *Germanicus* also is said to have deserved well in this Expedition. Though the War at first was full of difficulties, and the more through scarcity of provisions, yet was it in the space of three years concluded by *Tiberius*. *Pannonia* first submitted, *Bato* and *Pinetus* their most famous Leaders being taken off, for the one was made a prisoner, and the other yielded himself. And though the *Dalmatians* were hard to be overcome, through the difficult situation of their places, the fiercenesse of their natures, and their wondrous abilities in matters of War, yet not long after they were reduced, being almost totally ruined. During these troubles abroad, *Agrippa* the other adopted son of *Augustus* lived as a banished person, being by him confined to *Planasia* an *Island* near *Corsica*, for his great folly and rudeneſſe, though he was not found guilty of any notable crime. To *Tiberius* a Triumph and other great honours were decreed for reducing *Illyricum*, but he put off the Triumph as very unseasonable, the City being now in great heavinesse for the losse of the *Legions*, and *Varus* in *Germany*.

Reduceth the *Pannonians* & *Dalmatians*. *Dio l.* 55. *Paterculus l.* 2. *c.* 110, 111. *Tacitus l.* 1. *c.* 3. *Sueton in Tiberio c.* 20.

52. *Quintilius Varus* formerly *Presidens of Syria* (which being rich he entred poor, but left it poor coming away rich, as one expresseth it) was sent into *Germany*, which he governed with great negligence and security, as not considering that he lay in an Enemies Country, but administring Justice as if he had been in the Forum at *Rome*. Against him thus secure did the *Germans* conspire at the instigation of *Arminius*, sonne to *Sigimerus* Prince of that Nation, and a young man of excellent parts. The plot was revealed to *Varus* by *Segestes*, but he refused to give any credit to the relation. They left no room therefore for a second discoverer, but intangling the best Army the *Romans* had (both for discipline, valour, and experience) amongst bogs, woods, and ambuscadoes, cut in pieces three Legions, with as many wings, and six cohorts. *Varus* killed himself, *Volumnius* his Lieutenant most basely leaving the foot, ran away with the horse; yet he overlived not those whom he had forsaken, but died a betrayer of his Country. *Lucius Asprenas* who commanded two Legions under his uncle *Varus*, preserved his party in so great a calamity, and by coming down in a seasonable time to the lower Wintering quarters, setled the wavering minds of such People as inhabited on this side the *Rhine*. *L. Sedisius* the *Camp-Master*, and others with him, being shut up in *Alisone*, and besieged by innumerable forces, when they wanted necessaries, brake through and came to their own party. This disaster fell out in the 762 year of the City, *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* being *Consuls*.

Paterculus ut supra c. 117, 118, 119, 120. *Tacitus Annal. l.* 1. The overthrow of the Legions under *Varus* in *Germany*. *Dio l.* 56. *Sueton in Octavio. Florus l.* 4. *c.* ult. *A. D.* 9. *V. C.* 761.

53. *Augustus* was out of all measure troubled at so dishonourable a losse, so that counting it as full of danger as disgrace, he appointed watches about in the City, prorogued the commands of Presidents over the Provinces, that by them who were experienced and well known to the people, they might the better *Suetonius in Octavio c.* 23.

better be kept in order, and he vowed to celebrate Games in honour of *Jupiter*, if the Commonwealth should recover it's former and better condition. Nayhe was struck with such consternation, that for several moneths he never cut the hair of his head or beard, and sometimes would he knock his head against the dores, crying out in a kind of distraction * *Quintilius Varus restore the Legions*: he also observed the day of the defeat, as unluckie and dismal every year. He sent *Tiberius* into *Germany*, who setling the affaires of *Gall*, passed over the *Rhene*, and wasting the Country defeated all he met. Perceiving the former miscariages to have happened through the negligence and temerity of the General, he took good advice, though at other times wont to act things on his own head, and exacted Military discipline according to the most ancient strictnesse thereof. For two years he managed this War, being once in danger of his life, and then returning to *Rome*, triumphed three times, whereas if we believe *Velleius*, who served under him, he deserved seven. The year following *Germanicus Cæsar*, after the end of his Consulship, was sent into *Germany*. *Tiberius* was well rewarded. For *Augustus* procured him equal power with himself over Provinces and Armies, which he held for two years, and then arrived at the *Monarchy* of the *Roman* Empire.

* Redde Legiones Quintili Vare.

Tiberius setleth that Country.

Patercul. l. 2. c. 120, 121, 122.

Sueton in Tiberio c. 18, 19, &c.

54. *Augustus* in the year preceding his death, when his fourth ten years Government was now expiring, unwillingly, as he ever pretended, accepted of the fifth, and prorogued to *Tiberius* the *Tribuneship* for other five years. The year wherein he died he made his third *Census* with *Tiberius* his Collegue, and in this *Lustrum* were found 4137000 polls of *Roman* Citizens. Celebrating the *Lustrum* in the *Campus Martius*, and with great concourse of People, an Eagle flew about him several times, and directing her flight to a Chapel near adjoyning, sate down over the name of *Agrippa*, at the first letter. Which considering, he commanded *Tiberius* his Collegue to make those vows, which it was the custom to make for the following *Lustrum*. For though the tables were written and ready, yet he refused to undertake that which he should not perform. About the same time, the first letter of his name on his statue in the *Capitol* was stricken out by a Thunderbolt. The Fortune-tellers answered, that he should onely live 100 dayes longer, which was signified by the letter C: and must be reckoned amongst the gods; for AESAR the rest of the name in the *Hetruscan* language signified a *God*. In the mean time he wrote a breviary of his actions, which he commanded to be cut in brasse, and set before his *Mausoleum*. Then sending *Tiberius* into *Illyricum* to settle matters there, he followed him as far as *Beneventum*; but returning back indisposed by a Dirrhæa, he came to *Nola*, whither he also recalled *Tiberius*, and had long discourse with him in private. His last day being come, he called for a looking-glasse, caused his hair to be combed, and his wrinckled cheeks smoothed up. Then asking his friends if he had not acted his part well, upon their answer *yea*, he said *Plaudite*, and so died in the imbraces of his beloved wife *Livia*, bidding her *remember their Mariage and Farewel*. He died in the same rome as *Octavius* his Father had done, and on the same day (*August* 19) on which he entred his first Consulship, having lived 76 years all but 35 dayes, in the 767 year of the City, the second of the 198 *Olympiad*, the 57 after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, and the fifteenth after the death of Christ. *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* being *Consuls*. He was the founder of the *Roman Monarchy*, his Uncle having been rather the chalker of it out. Having obtained it with the destruction of many, he managed it with great prudence and moderation. His publick demeanour was with modesty, and his private with temperance, altogether void of luxury: for though his fortune was high, his fare was but mean, and his apparel suitable, being made of cloath wrought in his own house by his wife, sister, and daughter. He was most unfortunate in his first mariage, through the incredible wantonnesse of his daughter *Julia*, which died at *Rhegium* in confinement not long after him. And he was not much happier in his second mariage, except his dearly beloved *Livia* was much wronged.

Dio l. 56.

Inscript. Gruteri p. 230.

Sueton. in Octavio c. 99, 100

Patercul. l. 2. c. 123.

Augustus dieth.

A. D. 15. V. C. 767.

Birth

For

'tis reported that she (fearing *Agrippa Postumus* might be received into favour again, whom *Augustus* had lately visited) set him forward to his long home, by poysoning some Figs as they hung on a Tree, from which she knew he was wont to gather that kind of fruit.

Sueton in Tiberio Capp. 22, & 24.

55. *Tacitus* maketh it a doubt whether *Tiberius* found him alive or dead, for *Livia* kept all things close, gave out words sometimes as if he recovered, secured the High-wayes, denied all accesse to the house, and sent for her son (her self) when he had scarcely entred *Illyricum*; so that by their practices *Agrippa Posthumus* was first taken out of the way, and all things necessary being provided, the very same report gave information that *Augustus* was dead, and *Tiberius* possessed of the Soverainty. For he had secured it to himself by strength, though he played the dissembler most egregiously, refusing the Government so long as till the Senators fell down at his feet, and besought him to accept of it, whom he answered with ambiguous words, and at length complaining that a miserable and intollerable servitude was imposed on him, received it as by constraint, and yet so as he seemed to signifie that he would again relinquish it. Indeed there was cause for him to say, as he did, that *he took a Wolf by the ears*. For *Clemens* the slave of *Agrippa* had got a considerable party together under pretence of revenging his Lord's death: *Scribonius Libo* secretly plotted his own advancement, and the *Legions* both in *Germany* and *Illyricum* mutined, the former chusing *Germanicus* for their *Prince*, who earnestly refused to accept of their offer, and at length quieted them with much ado, as *Drusus* did the other in *Pannonia*, they being frighted into obedience by a total Eclypse of the Moon, which fell out on the 27th of *September*, five hours after midnight. *Clemens* was apprehended, and *Libo* not effecting any thing was in the second year accused to the Senate. *Tiberius* in the mean while looking carefully to himself, notwithstanding these motions obtained the Supream power, betwixt which and his rule with *Augustus* for two years there was this difference; that his former command extended onely to the Armies and Provinces subject to *Augustus*, but this to the Citie it self Mistresse of all. Formerly he had *Tribunitial* and *Censorian* power; but now he became *Monarch*, and was loose or exempt from all power of Laws, as *Augustus* before him. For he had not together with him when living so equal authority as afterwards *L. Varus* had with *M. Antoninus* the *Philosopher*, which two first governed the Commonwealth upon equal terms; but such like as *Antoninus Pius* had with *Adrian*, who also adopted him, and made him his Collegue in the *Proconsular* power as to Provinces, and in the *Tribunitial* power at home. And therefore *Suetonius* telleth us, that *Tiberius* first assembled the Senate by virtue of his *Tribunitial* Office onely.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 1.

Tiberius succeedeth him.

In Tiberio cap. 23.

56. *Tiberius* at first carried himself (as ever in some cases) very cunningly, cloaking with marvelous dissimulation those enormities which afterwards appeared. For some time he counterfeited incredible patience, stooped too low in his complementing of Senators and Magistrates, rejected all high titles and honours (not enduring the name of *Dominus*, or *Lord*) and consulted the Senate continually, not doing little or much without its consents; nay, suffering some things therein to be carried against his mind; he was also at first very temperate in his diet, and exact in reforming manners; by degrees falling into his natural humour. From the beginning he was much afflicted with the fame of *Germanicus*, his brother *Drusus* his son by nature (begotten of *Antonia* the younger, daughter of *Antony* the *Triumvir*, by *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*, concerning which *Antonia*, *Pliny* reporteth that she never spake) and his own by adoption, who now prosperously carried on the War in *Germany*. Within two or three years a very plausible occasion presented it self for the calling of him back from those Legions which were so much at his devotion. For it hapned then that the *Parthians* were in great commotions about their Kings. *Phraates* had 27 years before for his own security sent four of his sons as Hostages to *Rome*, through the procurement

Sucton in Tiberio Capp. 26, 27, 28, &c. Tacitus ut supra.

Tiberius at first dissembleth his vices.

Envieth *Germanicus.*

curement of his wife *Thermusa* an *Italian* woman, which having been formerly his Concubine had then a ſon by him, and that this her ſon might obtain the Crown, got the reſt to be ſent out of the way, and then they two murdered the King. This Baſtard called *Phraataces* reigned; but being hated by the people for his paricide, was not long after ſlain, and then was ſet up one *Orodes* of the family of the *Arſacidæ*, who being alſo hated for his cruelty came to the ſame end. Then ſent the *Parthians* for one of the Hoſtages, and *Vonones* the eldeſt was diſmiſſed by *Tiberius*. But they counting it a diſgrace for any to reign over them, who (as they termed it) had been a ſlave to *Cæſar*, rebelliouſly caſt him off, and called in *Artabanus*, who then reigned in *Media*, and was alſo one of the *Arſacidæ* or the blood royal of *Parthia*. He at his firſt entrance was repulſed by *Vonones*; but the ſecond time overthrew him, and got poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Vonones* retiring into *Armenia* ſent to *Tiberius* for aid, who, for that *Artabanus* threatned hard, and the principal of the *Armenians* were of his faction, did not think fit to make War upon him: therefore *Vonones* yielded himſelf to *Creticus Silanus*, who governed *Syria*, and *Artabanus* ſet *Orodes* one of his own ſons over *Armenia*. At the ſame time *Antiochus* King of *Commagena* dying, a contention aroſe betwixt the Nobility and Commons; the former would have the Countrey reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, but the people were for a King. Now alſo *Philopator* King of *Cilicia* being dead, his ſubjects were divided upon the very ſame grounds. *Syria* alſo, and *Judæa* being weary of their burthens, deſired a diminution of their Tributes.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 3.

Tacitus Annal. l. 2.

Sueton in Tiberio cap. 49. Tacitus ut prius.

57. *Tiberius* now perſwaded the Senate that the abilities of *Germanicus* were requiſit for quieting the *Eaſt*, whereupon the Provinces beyond the Seas were decreed to him, with larger power than had been granted to any that governed them, either by lot or the gift of the Prince. *Germanicus* was often importuned by *Tiberius* upon this ground to return, yet intent upon his buſineſſe he firſt ſubdued ſeveral Nations in *Germany*, and by the overthrow of *Arminius* obtained great glory, which was ſomething obſcured at laſt by a ſhipwrack. It was the deſign of *Tiberius* to expoſe him unto danger and treachery; therefore he removed *Silanus* his friend, and put *Cn. Piſo* a froward man into his room, to whom he gave in charge ſome ſecret thing as many believed. *Germanicus, being thus expelled to compoſe the affairs of the Eaſt*, as * one truely termeth it, placed *Zeno* the ſon of *Polemo* King of *Pontus* over *Armenia*. *Q. Veranius* a Knight had the overſight of *Cappadocia*, which was made a Province; for *Archelaus* the King thereof courted not *Tiberius* enough when he was at *Rhodes*, and therefore was called to *Rome*, and there kept till his death. *Q. Servæus* alſo was ſet over *Commagena*. *Artabanus* ſent to *Germanicus* about renewing the league, and good correſpondence, deſiring that *Vonones* might not be kept in *Syria*, nor ſuffered by his Meſſengers to ſow diſcord amongſt the people, offering him alſo leave to come to the bank of *Euphrates*; to which he anſwered, as became the State and himſelf. This year died *Livy* the *Hiſtorian*, who was born at *Padua*; and alſo *Ovid* the Poet, having remained a baniſhed man in *Pontus* ſeveral years, whither the diſpleaſure of *Auguſtus* confined him, either for that he had ſeen him do ſome unſeemly thing which he would not have known, or for publiſhing his wanton books concerning *Love*, as he hints himſelf. This was the 771 year of the Citie, the 19th after the birth of *Chriſt*, *Tiberius Auguſtus* the third, and *Germanicus Cæſar* the ſecond time being *Conſuls*.

Idem cap. 43.

Under pretence of quieting the East expoſeth him to danger and treachery.

** Sueton in Caligula cap. 1. Tacitus ibid. cap. 56.*

Euſeb. in Chronico.

A. D. 19. V. C. 771. Lib. 2. De Triſtibus.

58. *Germanicus* the year following made a voyage into *Egypt*, to view it for the rarity of its Antiquities; for which he was chidden by *Tiberius*, as going without his leave. Thence returning into *Syria*, he was moſt ſhamefully, and without any meaſure affronted by *Piſo*, and at length died of a lingring diſeaſe at *Antioch*, being thought to miſcarry by the fraud of *Tiberius*, and the Miniſtry of *Piſo*, who plainly ſaid, that *he muſt either diſpleaſe Father or Son*. But the fruit he reaped in pleaſing thus the Father was but unpleaſing; for returning to *Rome* the year following, he eſcaped narrowly tearing

Tacitus lib. 2. Capp. 59, 60, &c.

A. D. 20. V. C. 772.

Who dieth of a lingring diſeaſe at *Antioch*.

Sueton in Caligula cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. Joſephus Antiquit. l. 18 c. 8.

tearing in pieces by the people, and being condemned by the Senate killed himſelf. For *Germanicus* there was an univerſal mourning, not onely in *Rome* and the *Provinces*, but alſo amongſt *Barbarians* and Enemies themſelves. He was a perſon excellently accompliſhed, and of a moſt ſweet diſpoſition, whereby he became the love and delight of the people, and *Auguſtus* long debating with himſelf whether he ſhould not leave him his Succeſſor, at length cauſed *Tiberius* to adopt him, who, 'tis thought, being reſtrained by fear, and reverence of him, after his death broke out into ſuch courſes as made the other more miſſed and glorious. By his wife *Agrippina* (the daughter of *Agrippa* and *Julia*) he died father of three ſons, *viz. Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*; and of as many daughters. He died in the 34th year of his age, and that which followed his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, *M. Junius Silanus*, and *C. Norbanus Flaccus* being *Conſuls*.

His iſſue.

59. Three or four years after was *Tiberius* puniſhed in his own kind by the poyſoning of his own ſon *Druſus*, and that by his greateſt favourite *Ælius Seianus*. This man being the ſon of *Seius Strabo* a *Roman* Knight, when very young followed *Caius* the Nephew of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards by divers Arts wound himſelf into the affections of *Tiberius*, who uſed him as his moſt inward Counſellour, or Miniſter of State, and erected to his honour his ſtatue of braſſe in the Theatre. Now he thought of no leſſe than the Empire it ſelf, as a ſtep to which, he poyſoned *Druſus* the ſon of *Tiberius*, having brought *Livia* the young man's wife to a compliance with him by his filthy dalliance, and corrupted *Lygdus* the Eunuch to betray his truſt. *Druſus* had the year before the *Tribunitial* power conferred on him; but for that he was none of the moſt towardly was little regarded by his father, who as ſoon as his Funeral was over, returned to his wonted employments, forbidding any longer vacation upon his account. The Inhabitants of *Ilium* ſending their Ambaſſadors ſomething too late to condole his death, he anſwered, that *he alſo was ſorry for the death of Hector their excellent Countrey-man*. *Tiberius* after this commended the two ſons of *Germanicus*, *Nero* and *Druſus*, to the Senate, which done, *Seianus* begin to ſtrike at them, though at firſt through the ſides of their mother, labouring to bring them all into ſuſpition and hatred. This firſt advantage he took was from the prayers of the Prieſts, who made vows for their health, as for that of *Tiberius*; for he took it hainouſly that they herein ſhould be made equal to him. Then did he provoke them, and never ceaſed till he cauſed them to be declared Enemies by the Senate, after which he ſtarved them to death, uſing alſo their moſt injuriouſly, for that ſhe was not ſparing of her tongue in reprehending and upbraiding him. Now was *Tacfarinas*, who had maintained a tedious war in *Africk*, ſlain by *Dolabella*. As for *Tiberius* by the perſwaſion of *Seianus* he withdrew into the Iſle *Capreæ*, and thence forward minding nothing gave up himſelf to all ſorts of enormities.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 4.

Tiberius puniſhed by the treachery of Seianus, who poyſoneth his ſon Druſus.

Sueton in Tiberio cap. 52.

Tacitus ut ſuprà.

Sueton. in Tib. cap. 40.

60. For, caſting off all care of the State, being out of ſight, he returned to his natural diſpoſition, not looking to the ſupply, either of Army or Provinces; ſuffering *Armenia* to be ſeized on by the *Parthians*, *Maſia* by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, and *Gall* to be waſted by the *Germans*. He inſtituted a new Office for the management of pleaſures, unto which he preferred a Knight, *T. Caſonius Priſcus*: he held ſuch in greateſt eſteem, & beſtowed Offices on men that were moſt for his turn that way, being given up to ſuch beaſtlineſſe as is incredible, and not to be mentioned. He was exceſſively covetous, both as to getting, and keeping what was unjuſt. He was ſo undutifull to his mother, as he refuſed to come at her, when living, and when dead, he neglected to bury her; neither would he perform her will, but perſecuted her friends; but ſhe was juſtly rewarded (though as to him unjuſtly) living over and above other wicked practices been ſuſpected to have had an hand in the death of *Germanicus*. So cruel, and filthy he became, that he verified the Character given him when but young, by *Theodorus Gadareus* his School-maſter, that he was πηλὸν ἐμμεμιγμένον, or *Dirt mingled with blood*. Having choſen twenty of the principal men of the Citie to be his Counſel-

Idem ibid. Capp. 41, 42. &c.

Tiberius returneth to his natural humour.

A. D. 23. V. C. 776. Lib. 3.

His Character given him by his School-maſter.

lors, he ſcarcely left two or three of them alive, *Seianus* being found out, and puniſhed juſtly for his wickedneſſe, amongſt others that were innocent. He ſpared not the familiar friends of his mother, nephews, *Agrippina* or *Seianus*. No day either holy or prophane was free from ſlaughters. Every offence little or great was Capital. Many were codemned with their wives and children. Rewards were propoſed to informers, and all teſtimonies taken for true. Simple death he accounted nothing, and therefore invented painful waies; eſpecially after he knew how his ſon *Druſus* died, he neither ſpared any perſon nor ſort of torments. *Caius* the ſon of *Germanicus* he cared not for, as ſuſpecting him, and *Tiberius* his grandſon by *Druſus* he deſpiſed, as conceived in adultery.

Pontius Pilate ſucceedeth *Gratus* in *Judea.*

61. In the twelfth year of *Tiberius* was *Pontius Pilate* ſent into *Judaea* to ſucceed *Valerius Gratus*, the fourth Governour after the baniſhment of *Archelaus* the ſon of *Herod* to *Vienna*. *Coponius* was the firſt, *M. Ambivius* the ſecond, *Annius Rufus* the third, and *Gratus* the fourth. *Pilate* at his firſt entrance ſet up the *Images* of *Caeſar* at *Jeruſalem*, which moved the *Jews* to ſedition; but overcome by their intreaties, he removed them to *Caeſarea*. He being now Governour of *Judaea*, *Herod Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galile*, his brother *Philip* Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*, and *Lyſanias* of *Abilene*; *Annas* (who, formerly having had the Office, though diſplaced by *Gratus*, yet for his authority ſtill caried the name) and *Caiphas* (otherwiſe called *Joſeph*, whom lately *Gratus* had placed in the room of *Simon*, by him depoſed alſo) being *High-Prieſts*, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* entering,

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 3. & Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 9. Luc. 3.

John Baptiſt beginneth to preach and baptize.

John Baptiſt began to preach and baptize in the reſemblance and ſpirit of *Elias*. Amongſt others he baptized *Chriſt* himſelf, of whom he was the forerunner. His miniſtry is thought to have commenced on the tenth day of the ſeventh moneth, which was *Penitential*, and ſo great a *Faſt*, that the ſoul which did not afflict it ſelf, was to be cut off from amongſt it's People; and was alſo *Expiatorie*, wherein the *High-Prieſt* (the Type of him before whoſe face *John* was ſent) entred into the *Holy of Holies* alone, with blood expiating the ſins of the People, this being alſo the ſame day wherein by trumpet the *Jubile* was proclaimed.

A. D. 29. *Ol.* 201. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 781.

62. *Jeſus* now about thirty years of age, being baptized of *John* in *Jordan* (and owned for the *Meſſiah* and ſon of God, by the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt in the form of a dove, and reſting upon him, as alſo by a voice from Heaven) was led of the Spirit into the Wilderneſſe to be tempted of the Devil. After his temptation he returned in the power of the Spirit into *Galile*. Going into *Galile* he received *Andrew* and *Simon* his brother, the day following called *Philip* of *Bethſaida* the City of *Andrew*, and *Simon* ſirnamed *Cephas* or *Peter* by the Lord. On the third day being invited to a mariage in *Cana* of *Galile*, he turned water into wine, this being his firſt miracle, and by it his glory was manifeſted, and his Diſciples believed in him. Afterward he went down to *Capernaum* with his mother, his brethren, (or kinſmen) and diſciples, where they abode not many dayes. Then came he to the exerciſe of his Miniſtry, the acts whereof are diſtinguiſhed by four Paſſeovers. Amongſt the four Evangeliſts which deſcribe them, *Matthew* alone hath neglected the order of time, which is conſtantly obſerved by the reſt, except in the Hiſtory of *John*'s caſting into priſon, as *Luke* hath recorded it.

A. D. 30. *Ol.* 202. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 782.

The Lord Jeſus executeth his Miniſtry.

63. Jeſus having aſcended to *Jeruſalem* at the time of the *firſt Paſſeover*, caſt buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, wrought miracles, and inſtructed *Nicodemus* in the myſtery of Regeneration, and Faith in himſelf. Leaving then *Jeruſalem* he went into *Judaea* with his Diſciples, where abiding, he baptized by the miniſtry of them; *John* then baptizing in *Aenon*; for he was not yet caſt in priſon. A certain queſtion aroſe about purifying betwixt ſome of *John*'s Diſciples and the *Jews*. *John* inſtructed now his Diſciples concerning *Chriſt* the laſt time, as they told him of his acts with ſome emulation, and not long after he was caſt into priſon, for reprehending *Herod* the *Tetrarch* his inceſt with his brother *Philip*'s wife. *Jeſus* hearing of his captivity, and that the *Phariſees* took notice that he baptized more by the hands of

Ex uſſerio Armachano uti ille ex Richardſono epiſcopo Ardachadenſi in provincia Armachana.

The firſt Paſſeover thereof.

of his Diſciples, departed out of *Judaea* (where he had remained ſome eight moneths) and came into *Galile*. In his paſſage through *Samaria* he diſcourſed with a woman at a Well near unto the City *Sychar*, the Inhabitants of which by her means he brought to the acknowledgement of himſelf, four moneths before harveſt, or the *Paſſeover*, about the middle of the ninth moneth called *Ab*. Having ſtayed two dayes at *Sychar*, he proceeded, and returned the ſecond time into *Galile* out of *Judaea* after his baptiſm, being received with great reſpect by the *Galilaeans*, who had ſeen what he did at *Jeruſalem*. Preaching in their Synagogues here, he alſo healed at *Cana*, the ſon of the Noble-man that was ſick at *Capernaum*, which was his ſecond miracle in *Galile*. Having wrought miracles at *Capernaum*, he went to *Nazareth*, where he had been brought up, and expounding the Prophet *Eſay* concerning himſelf, they firſt admired, and then caſt him out, and would have thrown him down headlong, but he paſſed away through the midſt of them.

64. Leaving then *Nazareth*, he taught at *Capernaum*, where they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, and caſt out an unclean ſpirit that was firſt commanded ſilence. Departing out of the Synagogue into the houſe of *Simon* and *Andrew*, he cured of a Feaver *Simons* wive's mother. At Sun-ſet he healed ſick folkes brought to him, and caſt out Divels, firſt put to ſilence. In the morning he went out into a deſert place to pray, and the multitudes endeavouring to detain him, he anſwered, he muſt alſo preach in other places; and coaſting through *Galile*, he preached in their Synagogues, and caſt out Devils. Then taught he the People out of *Simon*'s ſhip on the Lake of *Geneſareth*, and helped them to a miraculous draught of fiſhes, whereupon *Simon Peter*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, being commanded to follow him, he maketh fiſhers of men. Then going through all *Galile* healing and teaching, his fame ſpred through *Syria*, and multitudes flocked to him. In a certain City he healed a Leper, which though forbidden, yet noiſed his fame, and ſuch companies now followed him that he could not enter the City, but taught without in deſert places, and prayed. After a few dayes he returned to *Capernaum*, and reaching in his own houſe he healed the *Paralitick*, who was let down in a bed, and forgave him his ſins before the *Phariſees*. Thence going towards the Sea he taught, and paſſing by called *Levi* or *Matthew*, then ſitting at the receit of cuſtom, by whom being feaſted, he defended his diſciples againſt the *Phariſees*, for eating with *Publicans* and ſinners, and for not faſting. And it came to paſſe, that on the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt (that is, on the ſecond Sabbath of the new year, inſtituted after their return out of *Aegypt*, and beginning with the moneth *Niſan* or *Abib*) *Jeſus* paſſing through the Corn-fields, defended his Diſciples, who plucked and ate ears of Corn, againſt the *Phariſees*, and explained the Doctrine of the obſervation of the Sabbath.

65. After theſe things there was a Feaſt of the *Jews* (that is, the *ſecond Paſſeover* of his Miniſtry) and *Jeſus* went up to *Jeruſalem*, where on the Sabbath-day he healed one who had layn 38 years diſeaſed at the Pool of *Bethesda*, for which thing, and becauſe he had called God his Father, the *Jews* went about to kill him, and he oppoſed againſt them his moſt divine apology. Departing thence, in the Synagogue, on another Sabbath, he healed a man that had a withered hand, for which the *Phariſees* and *Herodians* preſently ſought to kill him. *Jeſus* knowing this, departed to the Sea, where teaching the People, he commanded a little Veſſel to wait on him, becauſe the multitude crouded him. In theſe dayes he ſpent a whole night in prayer upon a mountain, and when it was day, made choice of twelve, whom he called *Apoſtles*. Going down into the plain he healed the ſick, and coming home, ſuch was the preſſe, that they could not eat, whereupon his friends came to take him, ſuppoſing he had been beſides himſelf. When he had ſeen the multitude he aſcended into the mountain, and his Diſciples coming to him, there he preached his long Sermon, firſt ſpeaking to the *Apoſtles*, and then to the multitude. Having ended all his words in the audience of the People, he entred into *Capernaum*, and healed the *Centurions* ſervant ready to die. The

Joh. 5.

The ſecond Paſſeover.

day following he raised from the dead the widdow's son in the City *Naim*, whence his fame was spread abroad. Then sent *John* his Disciples from prison to him, to ask *whether he was the man, or they must look for another*, who being departed with an answer, Christ took occasion to speak of *John*, and upbraided the Cities, aquiescing in the Will of his Father as to the revealing or hiding the things of salvation. Then *Simon* the *Pharisee* inviting him to dinner, a woman that was a sinner washed his feet with her tears, which defending against *Simon*, he forgave her her sins. And it came to passe afterward, that he preached through every City and Village, his Disciples being with him, and certain women ministring to him, amongst which was *Joanna* the wife of *Chusa*, *Herod*'s Steward. Then healed he a man possessed with a dumb and deaf Divel, and defended himself against the *Pharisees*, who said, that he cast out Divels by *Beelzebub* Prince of Divels. To the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* demanding a sign, he onely giveth that of *Jonas*, and his mother and brethren asking to speak with him, he declareth who are his neerest relations. On that day going to the Sea, he taught the People from the ship in the Parable of the Sower and others. On this same day when it was evening, he would they should passe to the further side, and having dismissed the multitude, when in their passage a great Tempest arose, he chiding the winds stilled the Sea, and saved his Disciples then in danger. Coming unto the further side into the Country of the *Gaderens*, or *Gergasens*, which lyeth over against *Galile*, two Demoniacks met him, exceeding fierce (whereof *Mark* and *Luke* mention but one) out of which he casting the Divels, permitted them to enter into the Swine. The *Gaderens* hereupon desiring him to depart out of their Coasts, he (having dismissed the man who desired to be with him, and upon refusal, preached throughout *Decapolis* what things *Jesus* had done for him) returned by ship unto the further side, and so to *Capernaum* his own City.

66. And it came to passe, that when *Jesus* was returned, the People gladly received him; for they were all waiting for him. And being by the Seaside, he answered the Disciples of *John*, inquiring why his Disciples fasted not, seeing they, and the Disciples of the *Pharisees* fasted often. Whilst he spake, he was besought to heal the onely daughter of *Jairus*; and as he was going down, a woman that had had an issue of blood twelve years, was by touching the hem of his garment made whole. Passing thence, he cured two blind men, whom he charged with threatning to say nothing of him; but in vain. As they passed away, a man possessed with a dumb Divel was presented unto him, whom he healed, the company admiring, and the *Pharisees* blaspheming. Then going about to all the Towns, he taught and healed, and coming into his own Country was contemned again by his Country-men, as he taught in the Synagogue on the Sabbath-day, they calling him *Carpenter*, though they admired him. Going about the Villages he taught, and pitying the multitude because the Harvest was great and the labourers few, he bade his Disciples pray for labourers into the Harvest. Then sent he out his twelve Disciples two and two, commissionated with power to preach and heal. Having made an end of commanding them, he went and preached in their Cities: and the twelve went about the Villages, teaching and healing every where. Now about this time was *John Baptist* beheaded, through the procurement of *Herodias*, which being told unto *Jesus* by his Disciples, who buried him, after the return of his own, he went with them by ship into a desert place called *Bethsaida*. The multitude hearing of it, got thither before him, where he taught and healed them. And *Jesus* went up into a mountain, and there sate with his Disciples, and the *Passeover* was nigh. It being late, he having compassion on the multitude, fed the number of 5000 men (besides women and children) with five barly loaves, and two small fishes, whereof twelve baskets full of fragments were taken up. When they would come and take him by force to make him a King, he caused his Disciples to passe over to the other side opposite to *Bethsaida*, and towards *Capernaum*. Having prayed in a mountain apart, he came towards his Disciples, and walking upon the Sea, when they had now rowed 25. or 30 furlongs, and were troubled with a contrary wind. They being affrighted at him, he made known himself, and saying *Peter* (who had desired he would bid him come to him on the water) when he was sinking, he passed over with them. Coming into the Land of *Genesaret*, they brought all sorts of diseased persons to him, desiring they might touch but the hem of his Garment, which as many as touched were made whole. The day after his passage came the people which he had left on the further side to *Capernaum* to seek him, where in the Synagogue he preached concerning the *bread of life*, asserting himself to be it against the murmuring of the *Jews*. Many now of his Disciples departed from, and walked no more with him. And though the 12 refused to depart, yet he declared that one of them was a Devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who should betray him, being one of the twelve.

The third Passeover.

67. After the *third Passover* of his Ministery, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* that were come from *Jerusalem* came to him, and complained that his Disciples ate with unwashed hands, to whom he answered concerning their abolishing God's commands by their Traditions, and taught the multitude what he declared to his Disciples, that *not what entreth in, but what cometh out defileth a man*. Departing into the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he cast the Devil out of the daughter of the *Syrophanician* woman, because of the greatness of her faith. Passing thence to the Sea of *Galile* through the midst of *Decapolis*, he healed a deaf man, who had an impediment in his speech, and ascending into a Mountain healed many. In those dayes a great multitude having stayed with him three dayes, he fed them to the number of 4000 men, besides Women and Children, with seven Loaves, and a few little fishes; and seven baskets full of fragments were taken up. Taking ship presently he came into the parts of *Dalmanutha*, or the Coasts of *Magdala*. The *Pharisees* aking a sign, he sighed deeply in his spirit for that these Hypocrites could discern the face of the sky, and not the signs of the times; and refusing to give them any other sign than that of *Jonas*, he left them, and returned by ship to the further side. His Disciples having forgot to take bread, and brought but one loaf with them, he bids them beware of the Leiven of the *Pharisees* and of *Herod*; and expounderh his meaning to be of the Leaven of Doctrine. Coming then to *Bethsaida*, he cureth a blind man by degrees without the Town. Passing thence into the Towns of *Cæsarea-Philippi*, he asked his Disciples concerning the opinion which men had of him, and then what they themselves thought; to which for themselves *Peter* answered, that *he was the Christ*, which thing he forbade them to declare, foretold his death and resurrection, called *Peter* Satan for checking him about his sufferings, and foretold his transfiguration, which after some six dayes was fulfilled. The day following coming down, he cast out a Devil out of the *Lunatick*, which his Disciples could not eject. Passing thence, they journeyed through *Galile*, which he would not have known, and taught his Disciples that he must die, and rise again, which they understanding not were troubled, and afraid to ask him. Being arrived at *Capernaum*, the Lord paid Tribute-money, and taught his Disciples humility by the example of a little Child, speaking also against offending one's weak brother, and forgiving one another seventy seven times by the Parable of the King's two debtors. *John* telling him that they had seen one casting out Devils in his name, he said he was not to be forbidden, and again spake against offending weak ones, and bade them beware that no Member offended them. After these things *Jesus* walked in *Galile*, for he would not walk in *Jury*, because the *Jews* sought to kill him. Now the *Jews* feast of *Tabernacles* (the *Scenopagia*) was at hand. His brethren, or Kinsmen willed him to go up that his Disciples might believe in him; but he refused to comply with them therein who themselves believed not, and went up after them, not openly, but as it were in secret.

68. When the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to *Jerusalem*. The *Samaritans* not receiving him he checked his

his Diſciples, who would have had fire called down from Heaven upon them. Several in his paſſage deſiring to follow him, he gave anſwer to them all. After theſe things he ſent out 70 Diſciples before his face, two into every Citie and place where he would come. And in the midſt of the feaſt when the multitude was buſie in inquiring about him, he came, and taught in the Temple. Some were ſent to lay hold of him. On the laſt, and great day of the *Feaſt*, when he ſpake of faith in himſelf, a great difference aroſe, and the Meſſengers that were ſent to apprehend him, with *Nicodemus*, defended him againſt the *Phariſees*. Departing into the *Mount of Olives*, he returned early in the morning, and refuſed as a Judge to condemn the woman taken in Adultery. In the Treaſury he ſpake much concerning many truths, concluding with *before Abraham was I am*; whereupon the *Jews* took up ſtones to caſt at him; but he hid himſelf, and paſſed away through the midſt of them. Paſſing by, he ſaw, and cured a man that was born blind, who for vindicating him was caſt out of the Synagogue. He then preached concerning the true ſhepherd, ſheep, and Door, as alſo of Thieves and Mercenaries, which cauſed a diſtention amongſt his hearers. The 70 then return with joy, and a certain Lawyer asking him what he ſhould do to inherit eternal life, he ſendeth him to the Law, and to declare who is our neighbour, ſpeaketh the Parable of the man that fell amongſt Thieves. After this he was entertained in the houſe of *Martha*, which miniſtred to him, while her ſiſter *Mary* hearing his word was preferred before her. And it came to paſſe that after he had done praying in a certain place, one of his Diſciples deſired him to teach them to pray, as *John* alſo taught his Diſciples, therfore he preſcribed the ſecond time the ſame *Lords prayer*, adding arguments for conſtancy and firmneſſe of faith. He caſt out a Devil which was dumb, & proved againſt the blaſphemers that he did it not by *Beelzebub*. While he ſaid theſe things a certain woman ſaid, *Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee ſuck*, to which he anſwered. The multitude gathering about him, he ſaid, that Generation ſought for a ſign, but no ſign, but that of *Jonas* the Prophet ſhould be given it, ſaying, that the *Queen* of the *South*, and the *Ninevites* ſhould condemn it in judgement. Dining with a *Phariſee* who had invited him, and wondred that he waſhed not, he ſpoke againſt their Hypocriſie, and denounced alſo woes againſt the Expoſitors of the Law. He bade his Diſciples beware of the Leaven of the *Phariſees* (Hypocriſie) and not fear thoſe that could kill the body. He refuſed to be a Judge betwixt a man and his brother about the inheritance, and thence took occaſion to ſpeak againſt anxious cares of the World, bidding them be ready againſt the uncertain time of their Lords coming.

69. There being ſome that told *Jeſus* of the *Galileans*, the bloud of whom *Pilate* mingled with their ſacrifice, he took thence occaſion to preſſe repentance, and ſpake the Parable of the barren Fig-tree. On a certain *Sabbath* healed a woman that had a ſpirit of infirmity 18 years, which act he defended againſt the ruler of the Synagogue, and compared the Kingdom of God to a Grane of Muſtard ſeed, and to Leaven. Journeying towards *Jeruſalem* to the *Feaſt* of the *Dedication* he taught through the Cities and Villages, and anſwered that queſtion whether *few ſhall be ſaved?* To certain *Phariſees*, who bade him be gone for fear of *Herod*, he gave a couragious anſwer. Being invited to eat in the houſe of one of the chiefeſt *Phariſees*, he healed one of the Dropſie, defended it, and ſpake the Parable of thoſe that were invited to the feaſt, inſtructing the *Phariſee* who had invited him. One of the Gueſts, ſaying, that *Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat bread in the Kingdom of God*, he took occaſion to ſpeak the Parable of the *great Supper*, and the *excuſes of ſuch as were invited*. To the multitude following him he preached concerning the denial of life it ſelf for his ſake, propounding the Parable of *one who was to build a Tower*, and the *King going to battel*. Upon the *Publicans* and *ſinners* their coming to hear him, the *Phariſees* murmured, and he ſpake to them the Parables of the *loſt ſheep*, the *groat*, and *the Prodigal Son*. To his Diſciples he alſo ſpake that of the *unjuſt Steward*, which applying, the *Phariſees*, who were covetous derided him, whereupon

upon preaching againſt them, amongſt other things he ſpake the Parable of the *Rich-man* and *Lazarus*. Speaking to his Diſciples againſt offences, he alſo teacheth that we muſt forgive our offending brother. The Apoſtles deſiring him to increaſe their faith, he ſpeaketh of the power of that Grace, and by the Parable of *the ſervant* ſheweth, that *when we have done all we can we are unprofitable ſervants*, having done but what we ought. Paſſing through *Samaria* and *Galile*, towards *Jeruſalem*, he healed the *ten Lepers*, whereof one onely returned and praiſed God. To the *Phariſees* asking him when the Kingdom of God ſhould come, he anſwereth, and declareth to his Diſciples, that the day of the ſon of man ſhould be like to thoſe of *Noah* and *Lot*, but he muſt firſt ſuffer many things. To incourage his Diſciples to pray, he ſpake the Parable of the *unjuſt Judge*, and to ſome that thought themſelves righteous and deſpiſed others, that of the *Phariſee* and the *Publican*.

70. At the *Feaſt of Dedication*, when it was Winter, *Jeſus* walking in *Salomons* Porch, to the *Jews*, who bade him tell them plainly whether he was Chriſt or not, he anſwered, that *He and his father are one*, whereupon they taking up ſtones to throw at him, he defended his Divinity by his works, and the Scriptures, and eſcaped when they ſought to take him. Paſſing beyond *Jordan* into that place where *John* baptized, he taught and healed, many believing on him, and anſwered the *Phariſees*, tempting him, that *it is unlawfull for a man to put away his wife, except for Adultery*. Now admitted he Infants, though his Diſciples rebuked ſuch as brought them, and as he was paſſing thence to come into the way, he anſwered the young Rich man that asked him what he ſhould do to inherit eternal life, and bade him ſell all he had, and give it to the poor, then to follow him. Hearing that *Lazarus* was ſick, he abode in the place where he was two dayes, and then coming to *Bethany*, after he had been dead four dayes raiſed him from the dead. Hereupon *Caiphas* Prophecying that *he was to die for the people*, they reſolved to put him to death, which he underſtanding, went into the Citie *Ephraim*, and there taught. Aſcending towards *Jeruſalem*, he went before his Diſciples, who were amazed and afraid. He now told them of his ſufferings, which they did not at all underſtand; and the ſons of *Zebede* asking to ſit on his right, and left hand in his Kingdom, he gave them a repulſe, and improved it to the teaching of them all humility. Coming near to *Jericho* he healed a blind man. In *Jericho* he called, and was entertained by *Zacheus*, and paſſing thence reſtored ſight to two blind men, whereof one was *Bartimaus*; when they drew near to *Jeruſalem*, they thinking that the Kingdom of God was near, he ſpake the Parable of the *King*, *who going a journey committed ten Talents to his ſervants to be improved till his return*. The Paſſeover being now at hand, many went up to *Jeruſalem* to purifie themſelves, and *Jeſus* ſix dayes before it came to *Bethany*, where they made him a Supper. *Lazarus* ſate at Table with him, but *Mary* anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair. Many of the *Jews* came not onely to ſee him, but *Lazarus* alſo, upon whoſe account, for that many believed on him, the *Chief Prieſts* conſulted alſo to kill *Lazarus*. Going towards *Jeruſalem*, when he was come nigh to *Bethphage* and *Bethany*, at the *Mount of Olives* (on the 29th of *March*) he ſent his Diſciples for the Aſſe's Colt whereon he rode to *Jeruſalem*. When he came near the Citie he wept over it, foretelling its final deſtruction. Out of the Temple he caſt buyers and ſellers, where the Children cried *Hoſanna*, and many believed on him, the great ones ſtudying how to kill him. Certain *Greeks* who were come to the *Feaſt* deſiring to ſee him, he preached concerning his paſſion, and had a voice from Heaven anſwering his prayer, which ſome thought to be of an Angel, and others of Thunder. It being late, he went to *Bethany* with the 12. Notwithſtanding, the multitude had ſeen ſo many works, yet they believed not, that the ſaying of *Eſaias* might be fulfilled. Yet many of the *Chief Prieſts* believed on him, but durſt not confeſſe him for the *Phariſees*. *Jeſus* cried, and ſpake concerning faith in himſelf.

71. The next morning as he returned he hungred, and curſed the barren Fig-

Fig-tree. He caſt buyers and ſellers again out of the Temple, and ſuffered nothing to be caried through it. Whilſt he taught concerning Faith in himſelf, the *Chief-Prieſts* conſulted how to kill him, fearing the People. At evening he went out of the City, and returning in the morning, they found the Fig-tree withered; whereupon he took occaſion to preach concerning the power of Faith. As he taught in the Temple, the *Chief-Prieſts*, and *Phariſees*, and *Elders*, asked him by what authority he did theſe things? to whom he anſwered, with another queſtion concerning *John*'s authority, ſpake the Parable of *the two ſons*, asking them, whether did the will of his father? and that of the *husbandmen*, *who killed the heir of the vinyard*, applying them to thoſe men, who now ſtudied how to apprehend him, but feared the People. Again, he ſpake to them the Parable of the *mariage of the King's ſon, and the excuſes of the invited, with the want of the wedding garment*. Then the *Phariſees* ſent ſome to intrap him in his talk, who asking him *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæſar?* admired his anſwer, and left him. On that day the *Saduces* asked him concerning the woman maried to ſeven husbands, whoſe ſhe ſhould be at the reſurrection? to which having anſwered, and aſſerted the reſurrection, a Lawyer tempted him, asking him *which is the greateſt Commandement?* Having anſwered him, he asked the *Phariſees* whoſe ſon Chriſt is? and no man could anſwer him any thing, nor durſt thenceforth ask him any more queſtions. Then ſpeaking of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, he pronounced eight woes againſt them, and upbraiding *Jeruſalem* with her cruelty and obſtinacy, foretelleth her deſtruction. Sitting over againſt the treaſury, he ſaw a poor widdow caſt in two mites, and going out to his Diſciples, who admired the ſtructure, he foretold it's ruine. His Diſciples asked him on the *Mount of Olives* when theſe things ſhould be, concerning the ſign of his coming, and the end of the World, he anſwered largely, adviſing them to watch, for they knew not what hour their Lord would come, illuſtrating his doctrine by the Parable of the *Ten Virgins*, and the *talents committed to the ſervants to traffick*. And he deſcribed the laſt Judgement by a *ſevering of goats from the ſheep*. By day he taught, at night he went to the *Mount of Olives*, and all the People came in the morning to hear him in the Temple. When he had ended theſe ſayings, he ſaid to his Diſciples, *You know that after two dayes is the* Feaſt of the Paſſeover, *and the ſon of man is betrayed to be crucified*. The great ones aſſembling in the houſe of *Caiphas* the *High-Prieſt*, conſulted how to kill him; but they ſaid, *not on the Feaſt-day, leſt there be an uprore amongſt the People*. *Jeſus* being in *Bethany* in the houſe of *Simon* the *Leper*, a woman poured ointment upon his head, which he defended againſt his Diſciples, foretelling his burial. Then entred Satan into *Judas*, who offered himſelf, aed covenanted for money to betray him.

The Fourth Paſſeover wherein Chriſt the true Paſſeover himſelf was offered.

72. In the *Fourth Paſſeover Jeſus* himſelf, *Our Paſſeover*, was offered, and an end thereby was put to all Sacrifices, which were but types of this. Some think that he did not this time eat the *Paſchal Lamb*, but onely unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, ſuch as were uſed by thoſe that could not come up to the Sacrifice, being in another Country. For a (*a*) learned man diſtinguiſheth betwixt πάσχα θύσιμον and μνημονευτικὸν, which later was performed by thoſe that were a far off, in memorial of the thing, it being unlawful to kill the Lamb any where out of *Judæa*. Now *Chriſt* would not ſacrifize, becauſe he himſelf was now to be offered. That he did not do it, appeareth, becauſe as ſoon as he came into the houſe he ſate down: and this many of the antient *Greek Fathers* did believe. Theſe words of *Chriſt*, *with deſire I have deſired to eat this Paſſeover with you before I ſuffer*, the ſame learned man expoundeth as meant, that *he haſted to that Supper becauſe the time of his death was at hand, which would take from him the liberty of celebrating the* πάσχα θύσιμον. It being granted that he kept the *Paſſeover* a day before the *Jews* obſerved it, (*b*) another contendeth that Chriſt kept it on the true day, and that the *Jews* receding from the Law, put it off till the following day, or the 15 of the moneth *Niſan*, being the Sabbath,

(*a*) *Grotius Annot. in Matth. c.* 26.

(*b*) *Voſſius de ſacræ cœnæ dominicæ Symbolis Diſp.* 1.

Sabbath, leſt they ſhould be debarred of working for two dayes together. But the other opinion is more probable, which holdeth that he anticipated it, being as the *true Paſſeover*, to be offered up on the true day of killing the *Paſſeover*, which fell out on the day preceding the Sabbath, and not on the Sabbath day. It clearly appeareth in Scripture, what things our Lord did and ſuffered for unworthy ſinners, after he had eaten this Supper, though the order of the former paſſages concerning his preaching be obſcure, and therefore we have more largely deſcribed them. Being betrayed by *Judas* into the hands of the *Chief-Prieſts*, and by them delivered up to *Pilate* the *Governour*, he being convinced of his innocence and their malice, ſought how to deliver him, till they told him, that *if he did it he was not* Cæſar's *friend*; whereupon fearing to be accuſed to *Tiberius*, of proteCting one who affected the Kingdom, he condemned him, and delivered him to the Soldiers to be crucified. This was about the ſixt hour, or a little after noon, at what time a great darkneſſe aroſe, for that the Sun was obſcured, and continued till the ninth hour, or three of the clock. Then Chriſt to ſhew the bitterneſſe of his torment cried (yet) with a loud voice, *Eli Eli Lamaſabachtani*, and receiving the vineger, after he had commended his ſoul into the hands of his Father, gave up the ghoſt. Thus he who was in the form of God, and counted it no robbery to be equal with God, made himſelf of no reputation, and ſuffered death, even the (moſt ignominious) death of the Croſſe for ingrateful men. A. D. 33. *Ol.* 202. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 787.

73. Some think that the darkneſſe which hapened at our Saviour's Paſſion, was onely in the Land of *Judæa*. But others, finding that the Evangeliſts mention * the whole Earth, conclude that this Eclypſe was *Oecumenical* or *Univerſal*, *Luke* expreſly ſaying, that *the Sun it ſelf* (the eye of the whole World) *was darkned*. Some conceived that the Sun was darkened by the interpoſition of the body of the Moon, whereof (*a*) *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* (as he calleth himſelf) was an eye witneſſe, at what time he and *Apollophanes* the Philoſopher being at *Heliopolis*, obſerved the Moon ſuddenly to caſt her ſelf before the Sun (though it was not the time of conjunction) and again from the ninth hour to the evening, oppoſing her ſelf to the middle line of the Sun. If ſo, it was an extraordinary miracle, the Moon being nowar the full (as (*b*) *Auguſtin* obſerveth it to have been ever at the *Paſſeover*) and conſequently at the greateſt diſtance from the Sun, out of which reſpect others ſeem to have held, that the Sun was darkned, not by the interpoſition of that luminary, but the retention of his beams. That the darkneſſe was univerſal, appeareth from the records of Heathen Writers, which, as (*c*) *Oroſius* ſaith, beſides the *Evangeliſts*, mentioned the greatneſſe of the Eclypſe. And (*d*) *Tertullian* writing to *Pagans* ſaith, *You cannot make this wonder ſuſpected, ſeeing your own Calendars have remarked it, and your ſelves retain the teſtimonies thereof in your own regiſters*. Amongſt *Greek Authors*, *Phlegon* (*e*) *Trallianus* the Freed-man of *Adrian* the *Emperour*, in his Work of *Olympiads* or Chronicle, which conſiſted of ſixteen Books, clearly ſpoke of this Eclypſe, writing in his thirteenth Book, that *in the fourth year of the* 202 *Olympiad, the greateſt Eclypſe hapened that ever was known; for, at the ſixth hour of the day it was night, ſo that the Starrs were ſeen in the Heavens*.

* ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, *Mat.* ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν, *Mar. & Luc.*

The miraculous Eclypſe at our Saviour's death.

(*a*) *Epiſt.* 7.

(*b*) *De Civitat. Dei l.* 3. *c.* 15.

(*c*) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 4.

(*d*) *Apologet. c.* 21.

Recorded by the Heathen.

(*e*) *Euſeb. in Chronico, & Orig. contra Celſum. l.* 2. *& in Matth.*

74. That *Chriſt* was put to death in the reign of *Tiberius* by *Pontius Pilate* (*a*) *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, an Author guilty of Ethnick ignorance, and prejudice. But (*b*) *Joſephus* the noble *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian giveth him an honourable teſtimony, writing, that *At the ſame time there was one Jeſus a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man. For he was a worker of wonderful works, and a teacher of thoſe which willingly receive the truth. He had alſo many followers, not onely Jews but Gentiles: and he was believed to be Chriſt. And whereas by the malice of our Princes, Pilate condemned him to be crucified, yet notwithſtanding they who firſt loved him have perſwered. For he appeared to them alive the third day; the Prophets having foretold in their writings, theſe, and many other wonderful things concerning him:*

(*a*) *Annal. l.* 15. *c.* 44.

(*b*) *Antiq. l.* 18. *c.* 4.

The teſtimony of *Joſephus* concerning Chriſt.

him: and to this day the People from him called Christians hath not ceased. This he relateth, after he had spoken of that Sedition which hapened because of *Pilate* his bringing in of *Cæsar's* Images. Some from amongst our selves have not given credit to this relation, thinking it to be foisted in by some Christians, for the greater honour of our Religion. But as the *pia fraudes* supposed to have been used by the *Primitive Christians*, are rather increased than otherwise, by some, who either pedantically, and out of ostentation seek for applause from the prejudice of their own cause (as one hath done of late in reference to the matter in hand) or as out of a melancholick and distrustful humour question the evidence of the truth; so is there no reason that this testimony should be condemned amongst them. For *Josephus* maketh mention of *John Baptist*, giving him large commendations, and relateth also that he was beheaded; though he assigneth the cause to have been but of jealousie of him, and lest he should make some commotions through his popularity, which likely enough might be some cause, especially the malice of *Herodias* considered, which woman would not be wanting to fill his head with suspition, although the main reason was his reproving of the incest. He also maketh mention of *James* the brother of *Alphæus*, whom he calleth *the brother of Jesus Christ*, how he was put to death at *Jerusalem*, saying, that all good men were sorely troubled at it, and clearly expresseth himself dissatisfied in it, writing, that *Ananus*, who commanded the murder to be done, did ill, and this he saith not onely because the Judicial power was taken away from the *Jews*, as is evident from the course of his words.

Defended to be true and not feigned by Christians.

75. It is hence clear enough, that *Josephus* was not in the number of those whom *Herod Agrippa* could have pleased in the killing of the other *James the brother of John*; and truly amongst the *Jews*, such as were not extremely malicious against Christ, were something inclining to him, if we consider the temper of that People. It cannot therefore be said, that *Josephus* was so inveterately despightful against *Christ* and *Christians*, that, as some have thought, he utterly passed over the story of *Christ* upon that account. This Principle would have induced him to rail rather than to be silent, to besparter the Christian generation, rather to say nothing, or rather to seem displeased at their sufferings. It's true, he was with the younger *Agrippa*, but almost a *Christian*, and therefore we rather follow the translation of *Jerome*, which rendereth his words *credebatur esse Christus*, than to take them as *Eusebius* and *Rufinus* have them, and as they are found in the present copies, ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, *Christus hic erat*. But some there were amongst the learneder sort of *Jews*, who knew not really what to blame as to *Christ*, nay they believed in him, onely they desired still to * keep the Law, such were their tenaciousnesse as to it. It's true, they stumbled at the meanness of his outward condition, and expected a *Messiah* to reign at *Jerusalem*. But *Josephus* lived to see *Jerusalem* utterly destroyed, and thereby an occasion for such an advantage taken away; and affliction maketh men more seriously to consider things; so that he might be favourable enough towards Christ himself, though as to the Law he might still be pertinacious, as many of them were. *Eusebius* writeth, that the Verses of *Sibylla* were accounted by some as feigned by the *Ecclesiasticks*, but not a word of this matter.

* *Acts* 15. *Galat.* 1. 23. 4, 5.

76. The *Jews* had great expectations of the coming of the *Messiah*, at that very time when the *Lord Jesus* was upon Earth. They knew that the Prophecies of old respected that season: they understood well enough the *weeks of Daniel*, and that the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, when they had no Judiciary power as to life and death left amongst them. This expectation was so great, that it possessed the whole Eastern part of the Empire, though it was understood in the same sense onely, as by the carnal sort of *Jews*, amongst whom how many counterfeits do we read of, which at that time presumed upon it? Hereupon, though *Christ* came in an humble way, yet his Miracles caused a reverence and esteem of his person, nay they durst not but think well of him as the *Messiah* (*how long dost thou make us to doubt?*) till confounded by the spiritualnesse of his preaching, offended at his opposition of their Traditions, and Pharisaical Tenents (as contrary to their Law, which they thought must necessarily indure for ever) and especially moved (the greatest of them) by their corrupt interests of profit and applause (which made them deny him, though they knew the resurrection, and to sin against their own consciences, and the holy Ghost) they rejected, and put him to death. That saying amongst the *Talmudists*, and ascribed to the *house of Elias* (whom some will have to be *John Baptist*) is commonly known, *viz.* that *the World should continue* 6000 *years, whereof* 2000 *belong to Tohu* or *Inane* (that is the void space of time betwixt the Creation and the Law) 2000 *to the Law, and* 2000 *to the* Messiah; *that then is should be destroyed.* Now as the first division lighteth well, if the *Tohu* be taken as ending at the birth of *Abraham*, the father of the faithfull (or those in Covenant with God) so the second endeth much about the birth of our Saviour (reckoning as to both those accounts the years of the *Patriarchs*, according to the *Hebrew* Text) and pointeth out the time of the *Messiah*. *Suidas* mentioned out of *Theodosius* a noble *Jew*, that before *Christ* did rebuke the Scribes, they marvelling at his wise answers and questions made him one of the *Priests*, and entred his name, Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ ὁ Μεσσίας, *Jesus the son of God and of Mary*, otherwise he being of the Tribe of *Judah* could not have been suffered to preach at *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* as he did.

Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. *Sueton in Vespas.*

77. But (that we may improve those things as to *Josephus*) it doth appear, that not onely before Christ gave them offence, and that before he died, some had honourable thoughts of him, but also after his death they accounted him the very *Messiah*, though they would not part with their old way of worship. Their * *Talmud*, like to *Augeas* his stable, is full of filth, amongst which but a few Grains of Corn do appear. It was not finished in lesse time then 100 years, being written with this design; to contain all the sayings of their *Elders* which were not expressed in Scripture, and was compleated (such a Fardel as it is) about 500 years after Christ. Yet speaking of that place of *Zechariah* (Chap. 12. vers. 10.) *And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*, after it hath reprehended a certain exposition of it, addeth, *Peace be to him who hath said that these things are to be understood of* Messiah *the son of* Joseph, *who is slain.* There is nothing in the whole *Talmud* more worthy of observation. For so we have him whom both the blessed Virgin her self, and *Nathaniel* calleth the son of *Joseph*, and whom the *Jews* put to death, to be the true *Messiah*, and to have been born about the 4000 year of the World.

* *Babylonia.*

Cap. 5. fol. 52. Videsis Jacobum Cappellum. In Hist. sacra & exotic. ad A.M. 3670.

Testimonies from the Heathen.

78. There are not wanting Testimonies concerning the truth of Christ, and his Doctrine from the *Heathen*. *Rhodiginus* and *Volaterran* deliver it as a matter of credit, that there was an Altar in *Egypt* Dedicated unto a Virgin that should bring forth a Child, and *Postellus*, that there was another inscribed *Primogenito Dei*, to the *first begotten of God*. Upon the Star which appeared at his birth (which some think the same mentioned by *Pliny*, and called *Stella crinita sine crine*) many meditating turned to the truth, as *Chæremon* amongst the *Stoicks*, and *Chalcidius* amongst the *Platonists*, who thereupon went into *Judea*, and became *Jews*. It is also reported that the *Romans* called their Temple which they had built to *Bacchus* for victory, *Templum pacis æternum*, the *everlasting Temple of peace*, because the *Oracle* at *Delphi* told them it should stand *dum peperit virgo*, *till a Virgin brought forth a Child*; but as soon as *Christ* was born it fell. The *Oracles* generally fell in the reign of *Tiberius*, when the time of *Christ* his preaching was come, who was the eternal word of his Father. *Plutarch* of this subject wrote a Tract, searching much as a Philosopher what the cause of this strange change should be. After his acute search after sundry causes, and accurate Philosophical disputes, he refers it partly to the *absence of the Demoniacal spirits*, which he thinks might die, or remove from place to place, either banished by others more potent, or upon some other dislike; and partly unto the *alteration of the soil* wherein *Oracles* were seated, which yielded not exhalations of such Divine temper as in former times it had done; for, with-

The Oracles silenced.

Lib. de defectu Oraculorum.

out a certain temperature of exhalations, or breathing of the earth, he thought that spirits could not give their Oracles, more than a Musician can play without an Instrument. Accordingly he expected, that Oracles should either come in use again in *Greece*, or else burst out in some convenient soil. But where have they thus burst out? Christianity chased them away wherever it came, and put those spirits to silence, which were afraid of the Christians in the primitive times, so, as those holy men could make them confesse they were *Devils*, and chase them out of such bodies as they had possessed, for the truth whereof *Tertullian* in his *Apology* appealeth to the consciences of the heathen themselves, and therefore he would not in so publick a defence produce an untruth which must have been notoriously known. Therefore the silence of the Oracles was not from any of those causes (which to one that hath opportunity are in themselves easie to be confuted); the truth was, the time was come wherein the strong mans house was to be entred, his goods spoiled, and himself bound; now the *Prince of this world* was to be cast out: Satan fell like lightning from Heaven upon the approach of that true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

79. That notable story which *Plutarch* bringeth for confirmation of his opinion, concerning the *Mortality of those Daemoniacal spirits*, maketh exceeding much for our purpose; if we consider the time thereof. *Thamous* the *Egyptian* Master, as he sayled, was requested by an uncouth voice uttered three times from land, to proclaim the news of *Great Pan's death*, as he passed by *Palodes*. *Thamous*, whose name was unknown to his Passengers, till he answered to it at the third call, was resolved to have let all passe as a fancy or idle message, if the wind and tide should grant him passage by the place appointed: but, the wind failing him on a sudden, at his coming thither, he thought it but a little losse of breath to cry out aloud unto the shoar, as he had been requested, *Great Pan is dead*. The words, as *Plutarch* relateth, were scarce out of his mouth, before they were answered with a huge noise, as it had been of a multitude, sighing, and groaning at this wonderment. Now, if these spirits had been by nature mortal, as the Philosopher thought they were, the death of their Chief Captain could not have seemed so strange: but that a far greater than the greatest of them, by whose power the first of them had his being, should die to redeem his Enemies from their thraldom, might well seem a matter of astonishment, and deep sorrow unto them. The circumstance of the time will not permit us to doubt, but that under the known name of *Pan* was intimated the great shepherd of our Souls, who had then laid down his life for his flock; not the feigned son of *Mercury* and *Penelope*, as the *Wise-men* foolishly resolved *Tiberius*, who having had the truth of the story confirmed to him by ear-witnesses, called a convocation of wise-men to resolve him who this great *Pan* lately deceased should be. The Scriptures set forth unto us the true cause, why both the wild goatish *Pan*, and all the rest of that Hellish crue should at that time howl and mourn, seeing by our great shepherds death they were become *Dead in Law*; no more to breath in Oracles, but quite to be deprived of all such strange motions as they had seduced the ignorant World with before. All the Antick tricks of *Fauns*, the *Satyrs*, and such like Creatures were now put down; God had resolved to make a translation of his Church; and for this cause the Devils were forced to dissolve their old Chapels, and seek a new form of their Liturgy or Service. These passages are pregnant enough, though we allege not what *Nicephorus* reporteth, that the Oracle at *Delphi* (perhaps not just then extinct) said that this *Pan* was Παῖς Ἑβραῖος, an *Hebrew Child*; and though we omit what *Suidas* writeth, that *Augustus* sending to *Pythia* to inquire who should succeed him, had answer, that an *Hebrew Child, Lord of the Gods, had commanded him to be gone down again to Hell, and therefore he must no more enquire there*. Whereupon *Augustus* erected an Altar in the Capitol *Primogenito Dei, To the first born of God*.

The great *Pan* that died was Christ the true shepherd.

80. But amongst other testimonies of the *Heathen* concerning Christ, that of

The Testimonies of the *Sibylls*.

of the *Sibyll's* must not be omitted. These women were indued with extraordinary gifts of Prophecy, as certain previous pledges, that the Gentiles should also drink of the true, heavenly, and eternal Fountain. Like to those was *Balaam* the *Midianite*, an Idolater, yet called a *Prophet* by the Scriptures, who amongst other things foretold that *a Star should rise out of Jacob, and a Sceptre from Israel*. There were many of these *Sibyll's* as we have already shewn, and several of them Prophecied of *Christ*. Their sayings were made much use of by such antient *Christians* as had to do with Pagans, and Heathen Philosophers. (a) *Justin Martyr* telleth such, that the old, and very antient *Sibylla*, of which *Plato*, *Aristophanes*, and others have made mention, *spake of one* God, and against Idolaters, as also of the coming of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, plainly, and manifestly, and of his works. (b) *Clemens* also writeth of *Hydaspes* an antient King of the *Medes*, who clearly foretold that the son of God should come. Concerning the Verses of *Sibylla Erythraea* many have written, and many of them are produced by *Eusebius* in the Oration (c) of *Constantine* to the *Clergy*, the *Acrosticks* whereof make up these words. * Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ, &c. *Jesus Christus Dei Filius, servator, crux*, and foretell the *last Judgement and Authority of Christ*. There are others also cited by (d) *Lactantius*, which speak of *Christ his * coming into unjust hands, his being stricken on the head, and wearing a Crown of Thorns; the giving of him Vinegar, the renting of the veil of the Temple, and his being dead three dayes*. Now some were of opinion of old, that these were feigned by Christians, as appeareth by what *Constantine* (or *Eusebius* for him) subjoyneth. *But there are many that give no credence*, saith he, *thereunto, although they confesse that* Sibylla Erythraea *was a Prophetesse: yea, they suspect that some of our religion not ignorant in Poetry, made these Verses, and that they are falsly inscribed, and reckoned among the Oracles of* Sibylla: *seeing they contain very profitable sentences, both to restrain the licentiousnesse of immoderate pleasure, and so perswade to a modest continency of life. But the truth of this matter doth manifestly appear, for our men have with great study so accurately compared the times, that none can suspect that this Poem was made, and came forth after Christs coming, and therefore they are convinced of falshood, who blaze abroad that these Verses were not made by this* Sibylla. *For it is manifest that* Cicero, *having read this Poem, did translate it into* Latine, *and joyned it to his works, who was afterward put to death by the* Triumvir Antonius, *and* Antonius *was overcome by* Augustus, *who reigned six and fifty years*: Tiberius *succeeded* Augustus, *in whose reign our Saviour came into the World, and the mystery of religion began to flourish, and the people were changed. Of which I suppose the chief of the* Italian *Poets hath thus sung.*

(a) *Justin Martyr Paraenet. p. 16, &c. ad 37. vide.*
(b) *Strom. l. 6.*
(c) *Cap. 18.*
(d) *L. 14. c. 18.*

* Ἰδρώτου χεῖρας ὀνείδεα, ξύλα τ' ἔσται. Ἥξει δ' ἐξαῦθις βασιλεὺς, &c.

* Εἰς ἑνδεκάς χείρας, &c.

Constantine confuteth such as accounted them forged.

81. He meaneth *Virgil*, whose Poem he reciteth concerning the *Golden dayes foretold by* Sibylla Cumaea (by which name the *Romans* called all the *Sibylls*, because of the old *Cumana* or *Cumaea*, whose Verses were burnt in the *Capitol*, in the 671 year of the Citie, and were supplied by other fetch'd from *Erythrae*, and elsewhere) as also concerning a *Child that was to be born*. He ascribeth to this Child such Divine things, as none can doubt, but that he must be above a man, whom *Sibylla* described by such expressions. Now that such Verses could be feigned by *Christians* none can affirm, but the grosly ignorant, who know not that *Virgil* died several years (*viz.* 18) before *Christ* was born. Neither can it be thought he feigned it on his own head, although we cannot say with *Constantine* or *Eusebius*, that *he did thus mystically involve, and cover the truth, lest the Emperour should be offended with him for writing that which was contrary to their Laws, and Statutes established, concerning their Gods*; or that we do believe that he *foresaw the happy and glorious mystery of our Saviours coming*: but *that he might avoid their cruelty, and speak his audience in the accustomed manner*. Some of late also have rejected the Poems ascribed to these women as feigned by *Christians*, because they seem to speak more plainly of Christ, than the true Prophets do, and exhibit rather an history of Christ already come, than a Prophecy of his coming.

Eclog. 4.

coming. They think it contrary to the Word of God, to think that these profound mysteries should be more clearly propounded to the *Gentiles* than to the *Jews*. This also much moveth them (for we will confesse the utmost) that they perceive many of the antients in the most primitive times, to have counted it the choicest work they could perform, to help the heavenly truth by their fictions, whereby the new doctrine might more easily be admitted by the *Pagan* wise men. And as they cannot but most grievously reprehend this thing, so not sufficiently can they admire the judgment of those *Fathers*, who with such facility received these writings, and as doubt not to produce testimonies from them, to underprop the heavenly truth.

Some of late have also questioned them.

82. But it is answered by way of utter denial, that there were many in the Primitive times, who sought to establish the truth by fictions and lyes, and by challenge made for them to produce any one lye or fiction made or used by the most antient Fathers, though for a good end. Certainly they which in their disputations with the *Pagans*, appeal to the testimony of the *Sibylls*, deserve great commendations for their prudence. And hence may it be proved, that those testimonies were not forged, because they in all conflicts more willingly had recourse to them than to any other. For, can we imagine them fools, with whom these Fathers had to do? They were as cunning and knowing as the best; they were *Philosophers, Rhetors, Professors of Arts, States-men*, and most commonly such *as enjoyed the greatest honours*. Where is it objected by any of these in the most Primitive times, that these testimonies were feigned by Christians? This answer would have been easie and ready; and such as would instantly have stopped the mouths of Primitive Saints. But the wisest and bittrest of the Enemies of Christians, do not make any such reply, in the most antient times, knowing well enough these Oracles, to which the *Romans* had ever recourse, and which were known sufficiently to the whole World, through which it ran for current, that in the Books of the *Sibylls* was held forth, that *one should reign who came out of the East*. The clearnesse of these testimonies concerning Christ, can make nothing against them; for *Esaias* spake not more evidently of Christ than *Balaam*, who said, that a *Star should rise out of Jacob*. Who dare prescribe to God a manner of prophecying? as if it were not free to him to speak plainly or obscurely to *Jew* or *Gentile*, or as if there were not in the Scripture most clear predictions concerning Christ. But grant that the *Sibylline Oracles* are clearer. Ought not those things which are predicted to the *Gentiles* concerning Christ to be clearer, because they wanted *Moses*, and the rest of that learning, which should direct them unto him, that what here was wanting might be supplied by the perspicuity of these Oracles? Although we ought not to judge of these Oracles, by that light which at present appeareth. *For what things are most evident to us after the accomplishment, were most obscure when they were predicted.* If any one had feigned them, he would have made them industriously more obscure, that they might seem written before the things were done, and like to those Prophecies which are contained in the Scriptures. These Heathen Prophets spake some times clearly, according to the intention of God, who overruled them; but often abruptly. It's thought they prophecied as of old *Balaam's* Asse spoke, and not otherwise did *Hydaspes* and the *Sibylls* speak clearly of the coming of Christ, the Holy Spirit moving them, and governing their tongues. It appeareth (*a*) from *Justin Martyr* that it was forbidden upon pain of death to read *Hydaspes, Sibylla* or the *Prophets*, lest the People should attain to the knowledge of good things. To these (*b*) *Clemens* bringeth in *St. Paul* himself referring the *Greeks*: *Take ye also the Greek Books, acknowledge* Sibylla *that she manifested one God, and things to come. Take ye also* Hydaspes, *read him; and you shall find the Son of God more clearly and openly described.*

But in vain.

(*a*) *In Apolog. 2. p. 82. totius operis.*
(*b*) *Strom. l. 6.*

83. To omit what might be (and by others hath been) produced out of * Heathen Writers concerning the blessed Trinity (for we may easily admit, that God, who was ever the God of the whole World, and designed to do the *Gentiles* good also in the knowledge of himself, might give to them such hints

* *Vide Augustin. de Civit. Dei. l. 10. c. 23. & Lud. vivem in Locum. Tertul. Apologet. c. 21.*

hints of the truth, as afterwards might be improved for their welfare) we shall come to the last testimony concerning Christ, and that such an one, as will reduce us to the course of our design. *After that Christ was risen from the dead, and had sent his Disciples about to preach and work miracles for the conversion of the World*, Pilate *who then governed in* Judæa, *reported his Passion and Resurrection to* Tiberius *and the Senate, with the miracles done by him, or by them in his name; and how the multitude of believers daily increasing, he was accounted a God.* Tiberius *hereupon reported the matter to the Senate, with his favourable suffrage, that Christ might be accounted a God. But the Senate because they were displeased that they had not first moved it, refused to canonize him, and by an Edict commanded that Christians should be banished the City; especially by reason that* Sejanus *the great minister of State most obstinately contradicted this Religion. But* Tiberius *by another Edict threatened death to the accusers of Christians.* These things thus related by (*a*) *Orosius*, are also witnessed by (*b*) *Eusebius, Tertullian*, and *Justin Martyr*, whereof, the testimonies of the two later are incontrolable; for in their *Apologies* they durst not mention such things, and cite such testimonies as they must needs know would be easily confuted.

Pilate made report unto Tiberius of the Person and Works of Christ.

(*a*) *Lib. 7. c. 4.*
(*b*) *Ecc. Hist. l. 2. c. 2.*

84. (*a*) *Tertullian* writeth, that *Tiberius referred it to the Senate, with the prerogative of his own suffrage, but they having not approved the thing, refused it.* Cæsar *notwithstanding remained firm in his resolution, and threatned such as should accuse the Christians.* This he openly asserteth in his Apology to the *Pagans*, writing also in another (*b*) place of the same excellent Work, that *Pilate, who in his heart believed in Christ, at the same time wrote all the History of him to the Emperour* Tiberius, *whereupon the* Cæsar's *themselves had worshipped our Master, if their Government in so doing had been consistent with the men of this World, and Christians permitted to have been saluted* Cæsars. He giveth another reason, why Christ was not at first worshipped as a God. *There was an antient Law that forbad introducing new ceremonies into Religion, as worshipping strange Deities, unless approved by the Senate: and this was an unviolable and unalterable Law, to which the Prince himself was subject.* He instanceth, that *Marcus Æmilius would have had divine honours rendred to his Idol, called the god* Albarnus, *but could not obtain it.* As for *Justin Martyr*, he maketh it more evident, telling plainly the *Pagans* in his second *Apology, that they may know these things thus to have been, in the* Acts *which were written under* Pontius Pilate, and again, that *they might know, that Christ wrought such miracles, from the* Acts (or Acts) *made under* Pontius Pilate. Now the word *Acta* signifieth sometimes the *Journal Book of the Senate*, then called *Acta Senatus*, and otherwhiles the *Records of the People*, or *of the Publick*, then named *Acta Publica, Diurna*, and *Urbana*. In the former sort was contained whatsoever was done or said by the *Fathers*. In the later things concerning the People, as Publick Judgments, punishments, Assemblies, buildings, nativities, the death of eminent persons, mariages, and divorces. These afforded matter for Historians to digest and adorn. Now *Justin Martyr* either meaneth those *Acta Publica*, wherein might be recorded what notable things hapned in the Provinces; and ser under the administration of the several *Deputies* or Governours: or rather those *Acta* which *Pilate* himself composed in his Province. For we cannot but imagine, that care would be taken for the recording of things memorable, as well in other places as in the City it self. The Provinces had their *Subcensors* and their Tables. And the *Presidents* and *Deputies* not onely certified by letters occasionally what happened, but, as we may easily apprehend, did refer in *Acta* all memorable things; which were sent to *Rome*, and there, it's probable, either transcribed into, or laid up with, the *Acta Publica*. But, thus much of the testimonies of *Jews* and *Heathens* concerning Christ.

(*a*) *Apologet. c. 5.*
(*b*) *Cap. 21.*

De Actis consulant omnino Tiberium Justum Lipsium in Comment. ad Tacitus Annal. lib. 5.

85. the *Lord Jesus* having risen the third day from the dead, and after his resurrection given commission and instructions to his Disciples, whom he ordained his Ambassadors to the whole World; forty dayes after he arose, ascended

The Aſcenſion of Chriſt.

aſcended into Heaven, and ſent down the Holy Ghoſt upon his Diſciples, according to his promiſe, for the furniſhing of them to the Work, ten dayes after his aſcenſion. Many being converted to the Faith, the Church increaſed, and living in Love and Unity together, they had all things common, none calling any thing his own which he poſſeſſed. About the end of the year, as is rationally computed, the *Greeks* or *Helleniſts* (*Jews* which living out of *Judea* ſpake *Greek* in a peculiar dialect, which is called *Helleniſtick*, and uſed the Scriptures in their Synagogues in that language) murmured againſt the *Hebrews* (or thoſe who both read and ſpoke *Hebrew*) for that their widdows were neglected in the daily miniſtration. Hereupon the Apoſtles committed it to the number of the faithful, to chuſe ſeven men who ſhould take care of what was gathered for the poor, and theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* call *Deacons*. About this time *James* the *Apoſtle* the ſon of *Alphæus* (who is alſo called *the brother of the Lord*, and was ſirnamed *Juſt*) was created the firſt *Biſhop* of *Jeruſalem*. For thus *Clemens* wrote in the ſixth Book of his *Hypotypoſeon*, as he is cited by *Euſebius*. Peter, *and* James, *and* John, *though they were preferred, after the aſcenſion of the Lord, contended not amongſt themſelves for glory and honour; but with one conſent appointed* James *the* Juſt *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. The ſame *Clemens* in his firſt Book, diſtinguiſhed thus concerning the two which bore the name of *James*. *There were two* James, *the one termed* Juſt, *who was thrown down headlong from the pinacle, and brained with a Fullers club, the other beheaded. Of him that was called* Juſt, Paul *made mention, ſaying: I ſaw none of the Apoſtles ſave* James *the brother of the Lord.* In the year following Chriſt's reſurrection, a great perſecution was raiſed by the *Jews* againſt the Church, wherein *Stephan* one of the ſeven *Deacons* and the *Protomartyr* was ſtoned to death, by the procurement eſpecially of *Saul* a *Jew* of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. But in this ſame year as this *Saul* was journying to *Damaſcus* to make havock of the Church, he was converted, and called to the *Apoſtleſhip*, after which he went from *Damaſcus* into *Arabia*, as he himſelf teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to the *Galathians*. *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon* placeth the converſion of *Saul* (afterwards called *Paul*) in the nineteenth year of *Tiberius*.

The ſeaven Deacons made.

James the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem.*

A. D 33. *Ol.* 203. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 787.

Saul converted.

Pilate making a ſlaughter of the *Samaritans*,

86. About this time it happened, that a certain man who ſought by all means the favour of the multitude, drew the *Samaritans* to *Mount Gerizim* (which they accounted holy above all other mountains) promiſing to ſhew them there the holy Veſſels buried in a certain place by *Moſes*. Many had gathered themſelves to the foot of the hill, where ſtaying for more company that they might aſcend all together, *Pilate* prevented them, and killing ſome, took many, diſperſed the reſt, and put to death the chief of thoſe he had taken. Hereof the Senate of *Samaria* complained to *Vitellius* Prefident of *Syria*, who ſent *Marcellus* his friend to take charge of *Judea*, and commanded *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, there to anſwer before *Cæſar* what ſhould be laid to his charge. Hereupon he departed, after he had governed *Judea* ten years, but ere he reached *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead. About the ſame time that theſe things hapned in *Samaria*, the *Jews* were baniſhed *Rome* by the Emperour upon this occaſion. A certain *Jew* flying his native Country for breaking of the Laws, came to the City, where he profeſſed himſelf an expounder of them, and drew to him two or three no leſſe reprobate than himſelf. They made a Proſelyte *Fulvia* the wife of *Saturninus* an honourable perſon, and perſwading her to ſend ſome Purple and Gold to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, converted it to their own uſe. *Saturninus* complaining of this to *Tiberius*, he thereupon commanded all *Jews* to depart *Rome*. Of theſe the *Conſuls* choſe out and liſted 4000 men, whom they ſent into *Sardinia*, and puniſhed many that refuſed to bear arms, upon no other account, than becauſe they would not tranſgreſſe the Ordinances of their Country.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. *c.* 5.

Is ſent to *Rome* to give an account of it.

The *Jews* baniſhed *Rome.*

87. About two years after the death of *Chriſt*, died *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, ſon to *Herod* the *Great*, a man of a modeſt and quiet diſpoſition, whoſe Principality, for that he died without iſſue, *Tiberius* laid unto the *Province* of *Syria*. By this time *Artabanus* King of *Parthia* proſpering againſt his neighbours,

Philip the Tetrarch dieth.

Idem ibid. & cap. 6.

neighbours was much puffed up, and deſpiſing the old age of *Tiberius*, when his ſon *Artamas* was dead made his other ſon *Arſaces* King of *Armenia* in his ſtead. He alſo reviled *Tiberius* by Letters, objecting paricide, murthers, lazineſſe, and luxury to him, and willed him by a voluntary death to ſatisfie the moſt juſt hatred of his ſubjects, as ſoon as poſſible. But many Noble men of *Parthia*, to eſcape his cruelty came to *Rome*, and deſired a King from *Tiberius*, who thereupon gladly named *Phraates* the ſon of *Phraates* that had been of a long time Hoſtage at *Rome*, and he dying in *Syria*, he commended to them *Iiridates*. *Mithridates* brother to *Pharaſmenes* King of the *Hiberi* was alſo ordered to get *Armenia*, who breaking into it joyned the *Albanians* to him, and procured the death of *Arſaces*; for the *Parthians* were eaſily overthrown, being diſcouraged by a falſe rumour of the death of *Orodes* their Captain, another of *Artabanus* his ſons. *Artabanus* having before this attempted *Cappadocia*, ſent alſo to demand the Treaſure which *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and that had been ſeized by *Tiberius*, * who with great perfidiouſneſſe killed the owner at *Antioch*; and he further demanded the antient Borders of the *Perſians* and *Macedonians*, bragging that he would invade whatſoever had been poſſeſſed by *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. But *Vitellius* the Preſident of *Syria* having drawn many of his ſubjects from their truſt, his mind ſo changed, that he fled away cowardly with a few to the confines of *Scythia*. *Vitellius* taking the opportunity carried *Tiridates* into the Kingdom, but he by delaying to ſeize on the chiefeſt places, and haſtning his Coronation, gave occaſion to ſome of the great ones again to fly unto *Artabanus*, who coming on, the other fled as faſt back into *Syria*; & that he recovered his Kingdom, with *Armenia*, and reſolved to ſet upon *Syria*.

The *Parthian* King revileth and diſpiſeth *Tiberius.*

Tacitus Annal. l. 6. *c.* 31.

Sueton in Tiberio c. 60.

* *Idem in Tib. c.* 49.

Tacitus ut ſupra cap. 41. *Dio l.* 59.

88. *Tiberius* hereupon wrote to *Vitellius* to make a peace with him. *Vitellius* about this time was come to *Jeruſalem* after the expulſion of *Pilate*, where he celebrated the *Paſſover*, remitted to the Citizens the Impoſt upon ſuch fruits as were ſold, and depoſed *Joſeph*, ſirnamed *Caiphas*, from the *High-Prieſthood*, to which he promoted *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas*. He met with *Artabanus* upon a bridge built over the River *Euphrates*, where they concluded a peace, and afterwards they were feaſted by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*. *Darius* the ſon of *Artabanus* was ſent an Hoſtage to *Rome* with many preſents. But *Tiberius* died before, (*March* 16) having ſince the death of *Seianus* cruelly raged againſt many, and lived diſſolutely from his retirement to the Iſland *Capreæ*, whence he never returned to the Citie, though he was twice on his way. The people ran up and down, overcome with joy upon the report of his death. Some would have had his body caſt into *Tiber*, and others prayed that no other place might be aſſigned him now dead than amongſt the wicked. He reigned 22 years, ſeven moneths and odd dayes, and died in the 78th year of his age, and the 790 of the Citie, *Cn. Acerronius Proculus*, and *C. Pontius Nigrinus* being Conſuls.

Caiphas depoſed.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 18. *cap.* 6.

Caiphas depoſed.

Sueton ut ſupra cap. 73. *&c.*

Tacitus Annal. l. 6. *c.* 50.

Tiberius dieth.

A. D. 38. *Ol.* 202. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 790.

CHAP. II.

From the death of Tiberius *to that of* Nero, *the laſt Emperour of* Cæſar's *family, containing the ſpace of* 20 *years.*

1. TIBERIUS left behind him a Grand-ſon of his own name by his ſon *Druſus*, yet he preferred before him *Caius* the ſon of *Germanicus*, either for ſome reaſon fetcht (*a*) from Aſtrology to which he was much given, or through the means (*b*) of *Macro* his *Freed-man*, and greateſt favourite, who being a looſe and vile perſon, *Caius* inſinuated himſelf into his favour by the procurement of his wife. With her *Caius* was wantonly fami-

(*a*) *Joſephus Antiquit. l.* 18. *c.* 8.

(*b*) *Sueton in Caligula c.* 12. *Tacitus Annal. l.* 6. *c.* 50.

Caius the ſon of *Germanicus* ſucceedeth *Tiberius.*

liar, and promised her marriage by an Oath, and under his hand, if he could compasse the Empire, wherewith *Macro* was well pleased, if so be he could but therewith purchase greater preferment. 'Tis reported that he helped his Master forward by stifling him in the bed-cloths. Others have thought (*c*) that a slow-working poyson was given him by *Caius*; some that meat was denied him, & others that when he demanded his Ring which they had pulled off from his finger, they choked him with the Pillow. However it came to passe, *Caius* succeeded him, and some (*d*) judged him willing that so it should be, because he knew he would prove a very bad man, and hoped that thereby the faults of his own reign might be something covered. He was received with great applause by all men. By the Army, for that he had been brought up continually amongst them. Some say he was born in the Camp; 'tis certain that the surname of *Caligula* he had for that reason, because he was wont (*f*) to wear that habit of the ordinary Soldiers. By the people he was gladly entertained out of their affection to *Germanicus*, and commiseration of his family so grossly used by *Tiberius*, whose cruelty he escaped meerly by his great dissimulation, and taking in good part every thing; so as it was said truely of him, that *never was there a better servant, nor a worse Master than* Caligula.

(*c*) *Sueton ut prius.*

(*d*) *Xiphilinus ex Dionc.*

(*e*) *Josephus ut supra.*

(*f*) *Sueton ut prius.*

2. *Caius*, within a few dayes after the sumptuous funeral of *Tiberius*, made *Agrippa* King of that Countrey whereof *Philip* had been *Tetrarch*. This *Agrippa* was the Grand-son of *Herod* the Great by his son *Aristobulus* whom he put to death, being begotten of *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome*. Having run through many straights for want of money by reason of his great profuseness, he became at length very dear to *Caius*, who restored him to liberty (being imprisoned by *Tiberius* for wishing his death, that *Caligula* might succeed him) and then set the Diadem on his head. He had a sister named *Herodias*, married to *Philip Herodes* (not *Philip* the *Tetrarch*) his, and her Uncle, and brother to *Philip Antipas* on the father's side, his mother being daughter to *Simon* the *High-Priest*. This woman *Herod Antipas* was so taken with, that though he had already to wife the daughter of *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petræa*, yet he divorced this, and married her, upon which account *Aretas* made War upon him, and defeated his forces, which * was taken by the people as a judgement of God upon him for putting to death *John Baptist*. Now *Herodias* envying exceedingly the promotion of her brother *Agrippa*, importuned her husband to go to *Rome* and beg, or buy the title of *King*. *Agrippa* smelling out their design beforehand, wrote to *Caius*, and accused him of having heretofore been of *Seianus* his conspiracy, and of favouring at present the party of *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, whereof he said his Magazines could testifie, being furnished with Provisions for 70000 men of War. This furniture he could not deny, and therefore *Caius* banished him to *Lugdunum* (now *Lyons*) in *Gall* (whither *Herodias* would needs accompany him) and gave his Principality and estate unto *Agrippa*. Thus were these two punished for the death of *John Baptist*; and so was *Pilate* for that of *Christ*. For, being also banished by *Caius* to *Vienna*, two years after he killed himself (whereof the *Gracians* are witnesses, saith *Eusebius*, who commit to memory in their Histories the *Olympiads* of times) and so became the revenger of his wickedness upon himself, as he who betrayed *Christ* into his hands had been before.

Josephus Antiq. l. 18. c. 8.

Preferreth *Agrippa.*

* *Idem ibid. cap. 7.*

Idem ibid. cap. 9.

Herod Antipas banished to Lyons.

Pilate killeth himself.

Eusch. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 7. & Orosius l. 7. c. 5.

3. Though the disposition of *Caligula* was from his Childhood tending to intemperance and cruelty, yet at his first coming to the Government he used much moderation and equity, as well towards publick as private persons. He would not hear any accusations, though said to be for his own safety, permitted free and antient Jurisdiction to Magistrates, attempted to bring in again the *Comitia*, and restore the privilege of suffrages to the people, payed the Legacies given by *Tiberius*, though his will was nulled, and those given by *Livia* also, though her son would never discharge them: he remitted part of the Taxes to *Italy*, relieved the necessities of such as received losses by fire, and to such Kings as he restored, he gave the Tributes collected in their absence.

Sueton in Calig. Capp. 15, 16, 17, &c. Josephus Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 9.

Caligula beginneth well.

sence. At first he appeared a great Patron of virtue, but degenerated into a Monster, so that as far as a man could go in luxury and cruelty he seemed to proceed, which made *Seneca* * say, that *nature seemed to have brought him forth to shew what the greatest vitiousnesse backed with the greatest power could be able to do.* We may be more favourable to this opinion, if we consider that the greatnesse of his estate made him so far surpasse the limits of all modesty, as challenging to himself the title of Divinity, he governed all things in contempt of God.

But turneth a Monster of men.

* *De Consolat. ad Albinam cap. 9.*

4. He thought at first to have taken a Diadem, and changed his Principality into a Kingdom, till by his flatterers he was told, that he was above all such titles. At length he began to take to himself Divine honour. For he caused the images of their Gods to be brought to *Rome*, whereof the heads being taken off, the image of his own was placed upon each in their stead. He would offer himself to be adored amongst his brother gods as he called them, and ordained Temples and Priests with sacrifice of no commoner things than Peacocks, Turkies, and Pheasants, which were to be offered every day; and he invited the Moon to his imbraces. He could not endure to be accounted the off-spring of *Agrippa*, because of his ignobility; but gave out that his mother was conceived of the incest of *Augustus* with his daughter *Julia*. He himself committed incest with all his sisters, and spared not the chastity of either Sex. So imperious he was, that he would make persons of greatest rank run by his Chariot, and stand girt with Towels when he was at meat. So cruel, that he killed his Grand-mother *Antonia* by unkindnesse, he murdered his brother *Tiberius*, though he had adopted him, with all his kindred except his Uncle *Claudius*, whom he preserved for a laughing stock; and he forced *Macro* and *Ennia* to kill themselves. As for others, he made havock of them, causing some to be knocked in the head with Clubs, if he were but disturbed in the shows. He would cast old men, or infirm, to wild beasts, and shutting up the Barns and Store-houses proclaimed a famine. Many of quality being first stigmatized he condemned to the Mines, or to repairing of High-wayes, shut them up like beasts in a Den, or sawed them asunder; and that for no greater matters than if they had not high thoughts of his gifts and shews, or had not sworn by his Genius.

Assumeth divine honours.

Sueton ut sup. cap. 22. &c.

His Vices.

5. He forced Parents to be present at the death of their Children. To one that excused himself by sickness, he sent a Litter to carry him. A certain Knight whom he cast to wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he caused to be taken out, and his tongue to be cut out of his head, after this to be cast in again. Demanding of one whom he had recalled out of banishment *what he did all that time?* upon answer that he *prayed for the death of* Tiberius, *and that he might succeed him*, supposing that all whom he had banished prayed also for his death, he gave command that they should all be killed. He would suffer none to be put to death but by degrees, that so as he said *they might feel themselves die.* He sorely afflicted the order of *Knights*, and being incensed against the multitude for favouring a party against him, he wished that the *People of* Rome *had but one neck.* He was wont openly to complain of the condition of his time, because not signalized by any publick calamity, and how by the serenity thereof he should be buried in oblivion (his being herein contrary to the disposition of *Phalaris*) in so much as he would wish for some overthrow of the Armies, some Famine, Pestilence, Fire, or Earth-quake. He purposed utterly to destroy the works of *Virgil* and *Livy*, and take away the Law. He took away honour from families, and when he met with any beautifull person made them as deformed as he could. He was so prodigal that he would drink most precious Pearls dissolved in Vinegar, and invent all sorts of delicacies, by which course he spent infinite sums in the space of three years, which *Tiberius* had hoarded up; and to recruit his Coffers raised unheard-of Tributes. Amongst other means for increasing his revenue he set up shews in his Palace, and some were sent about to invite all sorts of men to them, such as came being commended for increasing *Cæsar*'s revenues. He purposed to depart to *Antium*

Idem ibid. Capp. 27, 28, &c.

and thence to *Alexandria*, but first to kill all the chief both of the *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* rank; and answerably hereunto were there found after his death two Books, whereof the title of one was *Gladius*, or *Sword*; and the other *Pugio*, or *Dagger*, wherein were written the names of such as he intended to murder. A great chest also was found full of divers poisons, which being by *Claudius* his appointment cast into the Sea, the water is reported to have been so infected, that the fish was therewith killed, and was cast up by the tide upon the shoar. These things are reported by *Suetonius*, concerning which Author yet it is observed by some, that he *wrote the lives of the Emperours with as great liberty as they lived them.*

6. Many desired to have an hand in removing him, yet durst not attempt any thing. But *Cassius Chereas* the Captain of his Guard being grievously affronted by him (for ever when *Cains* gave him the watch-word, it should be some effeminate or obscene name, and he continually charged him with cowardize) fully resolved to kill him, and broke the business to others, whom he thought to have the same desire with himself. They killed him as he returned from the games of the Palace to refresh himself, *Chereas* giving him the first wound. His guard of *Germans* (which loved him exceedingly, because of the profit they reaped from the execution of his cruel commands) in a great rage killed all they could meet in the Palace, and with much adoe were kept from putting thousands to death, that were now assembled in the theatre. Nay the common People allured by his shows and largesses, endeavoured to find out the authors of his death, to whom *Valerius Asiaticus* (who had been *Consul*) coming forth whilst they were in an uproar, and every one inquired who had done the deed, O, said he, *I wish I had done it.* Being once advised to beware of a *Cassius*, he suspected *Cassius Longinus* the *Proconsul* of *Asia* (of the same family with *Cassius* one of the murtherers of *Julius Cæsar*) and sending for him, put him to death, never thinking that *Chereas* had also that name. Having reigned three years and ten moneths with eight dayes, and lived 29, he thus died, on the ninth before the *Calends* of *February*, in the 794 year of the City, and the 42 after the birth of Christ, hee *himself* the fourth time, and *C. Sextius Saturninus* being *Consuls.*

Josephus Antiq. l.19.c.1.

He is slain by *Cassius Chereas* the Captain of his Guard.

A. D. 42. *Ol.* 205. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 794.

7. The Senate now, as *Josephus* telleth us, thought of resuming the antient form of Government, though it was utterly impracticable, *Saturninus* the *Consul* especially stickling for it. But the Soldiers rightly judging, that such an Empire could not be ruled in a *Popular* way, and especially looking at their own advantage, resolved the contrary. *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*, brother to *Germanicus Cæsar*, and son to *Drusus* (by *Antonia* the younger, the daughter of *Antony* the *Triumvir* and of *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*) was yet living. Him they judging most fit to succed his Nephew, pulled him out of an hole where he had hid himself to save his life, and straight-way declared him *Emperour*. He was at first discouraged by the messages of the Senate, but again took heart, at the counsel and directions of King *Agrippa*, so that the Senators despairing of successe, gave over their enterprize, but not without (some of them) seeking the Soveraignty for themselves, which would have produced as great slaughters and desolations as ever, had any of them obtained liberty to prosecute their desires. The People were for *Claudius* his preferment, envying the Senate it's antient power, and making account by the Soveraignty of one to be sheltred from it's avarice. Hereby also they thought to avoid such Civil Wars as fell out amongst the great ones in the time of *Pompey*. The wiser sort knew that it was impossible the Commonwealth should subsist but under Monarchy: some one they were sure would establish himself, and that through desolations, confusions, and slaughters, they must come to it at last. Self-preservation therefore and publick interest easily led them to the next heir, who by his birth could challenge an interest. For *hereditary Monarchies, by preserving due reverence, excluding emulations and contests amongst equals, by preventing numerous pretensions, and the extravagant grandeur of divers families, can onely secure the Peace and prosperity of their Subjects.*

Vide Joseph. Antiq. l.19.c.2, & 3. & Sueton in Claudio c. 10.

Claudius his Uncle succeedeth him.

8. *Claudius*

Putteth to death *Chereas.*

8. *Claudius* promised the Soldiers a donative upon their taking an oath to defend his person and authority. Then put he to death *Chereas* and others that killed *Cains*, as a means to secure his own person; but in reference to the Senate buried all things in oblivion, and behaved himself moderately and civilly. He confirmed *Agrippa* in his Kingdom, and inlarged his dominions by an addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which hereto fore belonged to his grandfather. And he further bestowed on him *Abila*, and the Principality of *Libanus*, which had belonged to *Lysanias*; moreover upon his desire he granted to his brother *Herod* the Kingdom of *Chalcis*, and at the request of both, published favourable Edicts in behalf of the *Jews*, who groaned under the persecution of *Cains*. This *Agrippa* (called also *Herod* by St. *Luke*) labouring all manner of wayes to gratifie the *Jews*, killed *James* the brother of *John*, and shut up *Peter* in prison, intending to bring him forth to the People after the *Passeover*, but he was miraculously delivered by an Angel. A just punishment from God overtook *Agrippa* not long after: For having begun to build the walls of *Jerusalem*, when upon complaint of *Marsus President* of *Syria*, he was forbidden by *Claudius*, he descended to *Cæsarea*, there to celebrate games in honour of *Cæsar*. Being clothed with a robe of silver, which glittered exceedingly by the reflection of the Sun-beams, he rejected not the flatteries of those who ascribed to him divine honours, and was presently seized by a pain in his guts, and being eaten with worms, gave up the ghost within five dayes, after he had reigned seven years in all, and three over *Judæa*. His Kingdom was not committed to his son by reason of his youth (for he was but seventeen years old) and therefore *Cuspius Fadus* was sent to govern it.

Idem c. 11.

Inlargeth the Dominions of *Agrippa.*

Josephus ut supra c. 4,5.

Act. 12.

Whom vengence overtaketh for the death of *James.*

A. D 45. *V. C.* 797.

9. *Claudius* restored also *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his Kingdom, whom *Caius* had imprisoned. On another *Mithridates* (descended from *Mithridates* the *Great* King of *Pontus*) he bestowed the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* (giving one part of *Cilicia* to *Polemo* in requital) and another part of this Country to *Antiochus* with *Commagena*; for he had also been deprived of this his Kingdom by *Caius*. But the *Lycians* and *Rhodians* he deprived of their liberty. The former, for that they had raised a Sedition, wherein some *Romans* had been slain, and the later, because they had crucified some of them.

Claudius restoreth several Princes.

The *Britains* tumultuous.

About this time the *Britains* were very tumultuous, for the reducing of whom to obedience, he sent *A. Plautius* in his second year, with an Army out of *Gall.*

10. Since the time of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* had attempted nothing upon *Britain*. *Augustus* seemeth of purpose to have neglected it, counting it policy to keep the *Roman Empire* within it's bounds; to wit, the *Ocean*, the Rivers *Ister* and *Euphrates*, limits set by nature, to the end it might be a State *Adamantine* (for so he himself speaketh in *Julian*) or *invincible*, and not miscary through it's too great bulck and burthen. *Strabo* is of opinion, that he despised it, seeing no cause to fear, nor hope of much profit from the *Britans*; and yet it seemed that no small danger would be presented from other Nations lying about the said Island. But at length he departed from *Rome* with a purpose to transfer the War into *Britain*; but when he was come into *Gall*, the *Britains* pacified him by Ambassadors, and having obtained his amity, dedicated presents and oblations in the Capitol. They brought the Island now familiar to the *Romans*, and endured taxes and imposts, which saith *Strabo*, are now nothing grievous to them, being raised out of such marchandise and commodities as are shipped to and fro out of *Gall* and *Britain*: those be Ivory works, bits and bridles, chains and wreaches, Vessels of Electrum and glasse, with other base and common wares of like sort. And therefore there needs no Garrison for that Island. *For it would require one Legion at least, and some Horsemen, if tributes were to be levied from thence, and the said tributes would but countervail the charges of maintaining a Garrison there; for of necessity, by imposing a tribute, the revenues coming by tollage and poundage, and such like imposts, would be lesse: and if any violent course were used, some peril or other must be expected.* The year following

Lege Cambdenum.

This Island from *Julius Cæsar* his Expeditions, untouched by the *Romans.*

Augustus was diverted from it.

following also *Augustus* intended a second Expedition into *Britain*, because there was some variance about the Covenants: but by occasion of some insurrections made in *Spain* by the *Cantabri* and others, that journey was staied.

11. *Tiberius* nothing transported with an inordinate desire of inlarging the Empire, seemeth to have rested in that counsel of *Augustus*; For he brought out a Book written with *Augustus* his own hand, wherein was contained the *whole wealth and estate of the Commonweal, what number as well of* Roman *Citizens as Allies were in Arms, how many Navies, Kingdoms, and Provinces, what tributes and impostes belonged to the State, with a resolution annexed thereto of containing the Empire within the same bounds.* Which advise and resolution of *Augustus* contented him so well, that, as *Tacitus* reporteth, he would attempt nothing in *Britain*, nor maintain any Garrison or Deputies there. For, whereas *Tacitus* reckoneth up the number of Legions, and what Coasts and Countries they defended at that time, he maketh no mention at all of *Britain*. And yet it seemeth, that the *Britains* entertained amity with the *Romans*. For when as at the same time *Germanicus* sailed the *Ocean*, some of his Company being by force of Tempest driven to this Island, were by the Princes thereof sent back again. That *Caius Caesar* cast in his mind to enter this Island is certain: but by his shittle brain, sudden repentance, and wonderful attempts against *Germany* it came to nothing. For to the end that he might terrifie *Britain* and *Germany* (over which he hovered) with the fame of some mighty piece of work, he made a bridge between *Baia* and the *Piles* of *Puteoli*, three miles and 600 paces in length. But having atchieved no greater exploit, than received to grace *Adminius* the son of *Cynobellinus* King of the *Britans* (who being by his Father banished, had fled over Sea with a small power and train about him) he sent magnificent and glorious letters to *Rome*, as if the whole Isle had been yielded up into his hands: warning and wishing the Posts to ride forward directly into the *Forum* and *Curia*, and in no wise to deliver the said missives unto the *Consuls*, but in the *Temple of Mars*, and that in a frequent *Assembly* of the Senate.

Tiberius neglected it.

Caius his rare exploits

12. After this to the Ocean he marched, as if he minded to translate the War over into *Britain*. There upon the shoar he embattelled his Soldiers: he himself took Sea in a *Gally*, and having lanched forth a little from the Land, returned again. Then mounting an high scaffold, he sate him down, and gave his Soldiers the sign for battel, and commanding the Trumpets to sound, on a sodain charged them to gather Cockles, Muskles, and other small shellfishes. Having gotten these spoils he waxed proud, as if he had conquered the *Ocean*: and having rewarded his Soldiers, he brought some of these shellfishes to *Rome*, to shew the booty he had gotten. In token and memorial of this great atchievement, he caused to be built a brave high Turret, out of which as from a watch-tower, there might blaze all night long lights, and fires, for the better direction of Sea-men. The ruines hereof are some times seen at a low-water on the shoar of *Holland*, by the People inhabiting thereabouts, called *Britenhuis*, that is, the *British house*, who also find oftentimes stones ingraven with letters: of which one had these characters, C. C. P. F. which they expound thus, *Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit*, that is, *Caius Caligula made this* Pharus (*or* Watch-tower) so called, I suppose, from that notable one, and one of the Worlds wonders, built by *Ptolomy Philadelphus* in the Island *Pharos*, from which * some would have the ancient Kings of *Aegypt* called *Pharaohs*. It is probable, that this Watch-tower afterward being repaired by *Septimus Severus*, became a Granary for reception of Corn, which was brought out of *Britain*, whence it might take it's name of *Britenhuis*. For *Zosimus* writeth, saith *Cambden*, that Corn was wont to be brought out of *Britain* by ships to this place, and thence with barges and boats haled up the *Rhene* against the stream, to serve the *Roman* Garrisons: seeing that *Julian* the *Emperour* built Garrisons, as *Marcellus* saith, wherein might be inned and kept the Corn, that the *Britains* usually transported thither.

And great atchievement.

Britenhuis.

* *Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei l.16. c.ult.*

13. But

13. But, afterwards the inland parts of *Britain* wasted rather with Civil Wars and Factions than by the force of the *Romans*, came by little and little subjected to them. Some making choice of their protection swore allegiance to them, and practised by all means to subject their Native Countrey unto their government. The principal of these fugitives was one *Bericus*, who moved, and perswaded *Claudius* to give the attempt upon *Britain*, which none assayed to do since the time of *Julius Caesar*, and which then was up in a broil and commotion, for that the said Fugitives were not rendred again unto them. *Claudius* therefore in his second year ordered *A. Plautius* the *Praetor* to passe over out of *Gall*, who having by the means of *Narcissus* quieted the Soldiers that refused to make War without the compasse of the World, overthrew several times the sons of *Cynobellinus*. His Lieutenant was *Flavius Vespasian*, who behaved himself very gallantly in the service. But *Claudius* in his fourth year being very ambitious of a triumph (as not contenting himself with triumphal Ensigns decreed to him by the Senate) without a just cause pitched upon *Britain* as yet seditious, because their Fugitives were not restored. Sayling from *Ostia*, he was twice in danger of shipwrack, once near *Liguria*, and again near the Islands *Stechades* (four or five in the *French* Sea near *Languedoc* and *Provence*) wherefore from *Massilia* (now *Marseils* in *Provence*) he went by Land as far as *Gesforiacum* (now *Bologne*) and thence passing into the Island subdued part of it, and amongst other Towns (*amalduunum* (now *Maldon*) the regal Seat of *Cynobellinus*, with the *Orcades*. *Dio* writeth, that at his first landing he defeated the *Barbarians* in battel. But *Suetonius* saith, he performed these acts without a battel, and the losse of one drop of bloud. Having been divers times saluted *Imperator* (a thing directly saith *Dio* against the *Roman* custom; for lawfull it is not in one War to assume that title oftner than once) he disarmed the *Britains*, and committing as well the government of these, as the War with the other (not yet subdued) to *Plautius* he hasted to *Rome* in the sixth moneth, sending before him *Pompey* and *Silanus* his sons-in-law with tidings of the victory.

Claudius sendeth *Plautius* into *Britain.*

Passing thither himself subdueth part of it.

Sueton ut supra cap. 17.

14. So great a matter it was, and of such consequence to have Conquered even so small a parcel of *Britain*, that the Senate thereupon decreed in honour of *Claudius*, *yearly Games* with *triumphal Arches*, both at *Rome*, and also at *Gesforiacum* in *Gall*, and a most honourable and stately Triumph. To the beholding hereof Governours of Provinces, and some banished persons also were permitted to come to the Citie: a naval Crown was fixed on the toover of the Palace, as the Ensign of the *British* Sea subdued by him: the *Provinces* brought in Crowns of Gold, and *Gallia Comata* one above the rest weighing nine pounds: and the hither part of *Spain*, another of seven pound weight. He mounted up into the *Capitol* by the stairs on his knees, supported, and heaved up by his sons-in-law on either side. He entred in Triumphing wise the *Adriatick* Sea, embarked in a Vessel more like some exceeding great house than a ship. Unto his wife *Messalina* was allowed the highest place to sit in, as also to ride in a Carroch or hanging Coach. After this he set forth triumphal playes and Games, being made *Consul* for that purpose. The solemnities were exhibited at once in two Theatres, and many times when he was gone aside from the sight, others had the charge thereof. Horse races for the prize he promised as many as those dayes would admit. Howbeit, above ten there were not; for between every course of Horses Bears were killed, Champions performed their duties, and choice boyes sent for out of *Asia*, danced the warlike dance in Armour. Upon *Valerius Asiaticus*, *Julius Silanus*, *Sidius Geta*, and others, in regard of this Conquest, he heaped triumphal Ornaments. He suffered *Licinius Crassus Frugi* to follow after himself in this triumph, mounted upon a trapped Courser with a rich caparison, and arrayed in a Robe of Dare-tree work. Upon *Posidius* the Eunuch he bestowed a spear staff without an head: upon *C. Gavius* chains, bracelets, horse-trappings, and a Coronet of Gold; as is to be seen in an antient Marble at *Taurinum*.

Extraordinary expressions of joy at *Rome.*

15. In

15. In the mean time *Aulus Plautius* went on with the reliques of the War in *Britain*, and sped so well, that *Claudius* passed a decree that he should enter *Rome* in *Ovant Triumph*: and when he was entred into the Citie, he himself went to meet him, giving him the right hand all the way. *Vespasian*, partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plautius*, fought thirty battels with the Enemy; subdued also two most mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For those exploits he received triumphal Ornaments; and within a short space two Sacerdotal Dignities, with a *Consulship* which he bore the two last moneths of the year. *Titus* also served in quality of a *Tribune* under his father with exceeding commendations for his industry and valour (for he valiantly delivered his father when besieged) and no lesse repute of his modest carriage say some, as appeareth by a number of his images and titles to them annexed, throughout the *Provinces* of *Germany* and *Britain*. About this time a new Island appeared in the *Ægean* Sea named *Thia* near to *Hiera*, which 110 years before it first also sprung up: And both of them lay betwixt *Thera* and *Therasia*, which in like manner 130 years before the Original of *Hiera* were first seen amongst the *Cyclades*.

Plautius

And *Vespasian* prosper in *Britain*.

Sueton in Vespasiano.

Idem in Tito.

Orosius lib 7. cap. 6.
Plin. l. 2. c. 87.
A. D. 46.
V. C. 798.

16. Two or three years after this, *Claudius* being certified that his wife *Messalina* (the most unchast of all women) had openly married *C. Silius*, he animadverted upon her and her minions. About the same time *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* dying, he bestowed that Kingdom upon *Herods* Nephew *Agrippa* the younger, for *Judea* his father's Kingdom was still governed by Deputies. *Tiberius Alexander*, who succeeded *Fadus*, now gave place to *Cumanus*, under whom the *Jews*, being affronted at the *Passeover* by impudent and sawcy Soldiers, mutined, but now, as ever, came to the worst: and not long after their Countrey-men that dwelt at *Rome* were expelled thence by *Claudius*, and under their name as many think the *Christians* also. In the nineteenth year of his reign he married *Agrippina* his own Neice by his brother *Germanicus*, through the perswasion of *Pallas* his *Freedman*, which woman presently as soon as she perceived her strength procured his daughter *Octavia* to be given in marriage to *Domitius Nero* her son by her former husband *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*. The maid was formerly contracted to *L. Silanus* an eminent young man, but he accused by *Vitellius* was put out of his *Praetorship*, and the match was broken betwixt him and the Princesse, whereupon he shortly after killed himself. And a year after was *Claudius* perswaded by *Pallas* to adopt *Nero* his wive's son, though he had a son of his own, by name *Britanicus*, but two years younger. *Pallas* was so high flown in favour, that he procured his brother *Felix* to be sent Governour into *Samaria*, and afterwards got his power extended to *Judæa*, *Galile*, and *Peræa*, where he acted the part of a Tyrant, and having married several great Ladies, obtained also *Drusilla* sister to *Agrippa*. The *Parthians* now again at variance amongst themselves, and wearied with the Tyranny of *Gotarzes*, asked a Prince from *Rome*. *Claudius* sent them *Meherdates* the son of *Vonones*, and Grandson of *Phraates*; but he was presently betrayed into the hands of *Gotarzes*. At this time also the *Britains* rebelled.

Claudius animadverteth upon his wife *Messalina*.

Lege Tacit. Annal. l. 11. *c.* 26. *&c.*

Marrieth *Agrippina* his Niece.

Josephus Antiquit. lib. 2. *Capp.* 3, 4.
Orosius lib. 7. *cap.* 6.
Sueton ut supra cap. 25.
Tacitus Annal. l. 12. *c.* 1. *&c.*

Felix sent Governour into *Samaria*.

Stirs *in Parthia*.

17. Now was *P. Ostorius* Propraetor there, upon whose first coming the *Britains* grew confident, as contemning him for his want of experience. The Winter being begun they made excursions into the Territories of the *Allies* of *Rome*. He knowing that the first event would either incourage or amate them, set upon, and scattered them, then went about to disarm all such as he had reason to suspect; but the *Iceni* (inhabiting those parts now called *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgshire*, and *Huntingeonshire*) a strong Nation, refusing to submit, drew others in to them, and pitching upon a very convenient ground gave battel to the *Romans*, who by reason that they despaired of pardon, had much ado to overcome them. By this foil of the *Iceni*, others before unsesled were contained in obedience, and *Ostorius* led his Army against the *Cangi* (a people living towards the *Irish* Sea) and wasting their grounds had passed on well nigh to the *Irish* Sea, when he was recalled by the discord

Tacitus Annal. lib. 12. *Capp.* 31, 32, *&c.*

The *Britains* rebel.

discord of the *Brigantes* (people inhabiting the North part of that now called *England*) the Ring-leaders of whom, when he had taken off, the rebellion was extinguished. But the *Silures* (inhabiting *Southwales*) would by no means be either allured or discouraged from waging War, trusting to the strength of *Caractacus* the greatest Prince amongst the *Britains*, who excelling as well in policy as the knowledge of the Countrey, transferred the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices* (now *Northwales*) as more convenient for him by reason of the Mountains and Rocks. Here he made a speech to his Officers, putting them in mind how their Ancestors had repulsed *Cæsar* the *Dictator*, and willing them to behave themselves at this time as the beginning of their liberty or eternal slavery. Till they came to strokes the *Romans* had the worst of it; but afterwards breaking into the Rampires they easily routed the *Britains*, and got a great victory, wherein the wife and daughter of *Caractacus* being taken, his brethren yielded themselves.

Are reduced.

18. *Caractacus* committing himself into the hands of *Cartismunda*, *Queen* of the *Brigantes*, was treacherously bound, and delivered up to the Conquerours in the ninth year of the War, wherein he had got himself an exceeding great name. Being carried to *Rome*, the people was called together as to some famous show, and the *Pretorian* bands were placed along for the reception of him. The prayers of the rest were by reason of fear, base, and nothing favouring of Nobility: but *Caractacus*, neither hanging down his head, nor craving any mercy, when he stood before the *Emperour's* Tribunal spake to this purpose. *If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a friend into this Citie, than a Captive: neither would you have disdained to receive me with Covenants of peace, being a Prince descended of Noble Progenitors, and a Commander over many Nations. My present state is, as to me dishonourable, so to you magnificent. I have had horses, men, armour, and wealth: What marvel if against my will I have lost them all? For if you will rule over all men; it followeth that all men must abide servitude. If presently I had yielded, and been delivered into your hands, neither had my Fortune nor your glory been very remarkable: and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But if you save me alive, I shall be an example of your clemency for ever.*

Idem ibid. cap. 36. *&c.*

Caractacus betrayed is carried to *Rome*.

His speech to the Emperour.

He is pardoned.

19. Upon those words *Cæsar* pardoned him, his wife, and brethren. And they being all unbound did their reverence likewise unto *Agrippina* (who sat aloft not far off in an high seat to be seen) giving her the like praises, and in the same degrees of stile as they did the *Emperour* himself. Surely a strange precedent without any example, saith the Historian, that a woman should sit and command the *Roman* Ensigns. But she carried her self as a fellow and associate in the Empire gotten by her *Progenitors*. After this the Senate was called together, and the *Fathers* made long and glorious discourses, as touching the Captivity of *Caractacus*. Neither was this lesse honourable, as they affirmed, than when *Pub. Scipio* shewed *Siphax*, *L. Paulus*, *Perses*, or whosoever else exhibited Conquered Kings to the view of the *People*. As for *Ostorius*, it was decreed he should be honoured with triumphal Ornaments. But his Fortune soon changed, either for that he grew secure upon the Captivity of so considerable a man, or the Enemy was highly moved to revenge it. For a party left to awe the *Silures* was incompassed by the *Britains*, and if help had not presently come in from the adjoyning Villages and Fortresses, had been utterly cut off, besides, that the Commander in Chief with eight Centurions, and many others were slain. Not long after such as went to gather forrage, and several Companies sent in to their aid, were also roured, and the Enemy was hardly restrained at length by the help of the Legions. After this hapned many skirmishes, as they met by chance, or were desirous of booty, and two Auxiliary Cohorts were intercepted, with the spoils of which other Nations were drawn to revolt, and not long after *Ostorius* spent with care and pensiveness died. To his place *Claudius* preferred *A. Didius*, who

The *Britains* again are up.

Subdued.

found things but in a bad condition, through the boldneſſe of the *Silures*. But the *Britains* falling out amongſt themſelves were ſeveral times overthrown, and then kept under.

20. *Claudius*, the twelfth year of his reign ending, beſtowed on *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as alſo that of *Lyſanias*, taking *Chalcis* from him after he had governed it 4 years. After this he reſtored the *Rhodians* to their former liberty upon their repentance, and eaſed the Inhabitants of *Ilium* of all charges and tributes; as being the Authors of the *Roman* race. *Nero* pleaded the cauſes of both Cities, whoſe mother *Agrippina* now began to be diſcovered to her husband. He chanced in his drink to ſay that *it was fatal to him firſt to endure, and then to puniſh the wickedneſſe of his wives*, and he repented of his folly in preferring her ſon before his own. She bethinking her ſelf how to eſcape the danger, firſt gave him poiſon in Muſhrooms his beloved meat, but it paſſing through him, ſhe uſed the skill of *Xenophon* the Phyſician, who as it were to help him to vomit put ſomething down his throat dipped in a moſt violent poyſon, and ſo he died, who within a ſmall time upon a very ſmall account had put to death 35 *Senators* and 300 *Knights*. He was a man that before his coming to the Government was deſpiſed by his relations as ſome imperfect thing, and afterwards was but counted blockiſh, and deſpicable by others, yet ſometimes he would judge very wiſely and circumſpectly, and ſo far profited in liberal ſtudies (which he very much plied) that he wrote divers things, and amongſt the reſt a learned *defence of Cicero* in anſwer to the books of *Aſinius Pollio*. He was fearfull above meaſure, ſo that (amongſt other demonſtrations) when *Camillus*, who attempted a Rebellion, ſent to him a reprochfull, and menacing Letter, willing him to lay down the Government, he was in doubt, and ſeriouſly conſulted whether he ſhould not do it: and this made him put many to death upon idle and malicious accuſations. He was the very ſlave of his *Freedmen* (whereof *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* were chief) who rather reigned than he; for, they managed all things according to their pleaſure or luſt, beſtowing favours upon whom they pleaſed, and killing any, though never ſo worthy, or nearly allied to him. He excuſed his anger and peeviſhneſſe by a publick Declaration. He was ſo forgetfull that he would ſeveral times ask for ſuch as he had put to death. He would eat and drink at any time, or in any place: he was a great player at Dice, of which Art he ſet forth a book. He died on the third before the *Ides* of *October*, in the 64 year of his age, when he had reigned thirteen years, eight moneths, and twenty dayes, in the 807 year of the Citie, the 55 after the birth of *Chriſt*, *M. Aſinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being *Conſuls*.

Claudius poyſoned by *Agrippina* his wife.

His Character.

Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 5.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 12. Capp. 64, 67, 68.

A. D. 55. *V. C.* 807.

Sueton in Claudio.

21. Now that we may note briefly ſuch Eccleſiaſtical matters as fell out in the reign of *Claudius*. In his firſt year *James* the brother of *John* was, as we ſaid, put to death by *Agrippa*, and *Peter* being caſt by him into priſon was delivered by an Angel. In his ſecond, *Paul* returned out of *Arabia* to *Damaſcus*, whence he came to *Jeruſalem* to ſee *Peter*. Hence he went to *Tarſus*, and not long after to *Antioch*, being ſent for by *Barnabas*, who had been ſent thither by the *Apoſtles*. In his third year *Paul* preached for a whole year at *Antioch*, together with *Barnabas*. In his fourth, *Paul* carried the Almes of the faithfull from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem*, becauſe of the Famine foretold by *Agabus*. Thence returning to *Antioch*, he was ſent with *Barnabas* to preach the Goſpel in *Aſia*. In this fourth then, and the fifth year of *Claudius* he preached Chriſt in *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Piſidia*, *Iconium*, *Lyſtra*, and *Derbe*, and returned to *Antioch*. In the ſixth he was ſent from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem* to the Council with *Barnabas*, whence returning to *Antioch* he reprehended *Peter*, who came thither a little after him, for his diſſembling, and not long after went with *Silas* into *Aſia* to confirm the Churches he had founded. In the ſeventh of *Claudius* he preached Chriſt in *Crete*, and through *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Phrygia*, viſited the Churches, converted the *Galatians* to the Faith. In the eighth he came to *Troas*, and thence into *Macedonia*, where at *Philippi*, as alſo at *Theſſalonica*, at *Berea*, and then at *Athens*

Eccleſiaſtical matters in his reign.

thens he preached the Goſpel. About the end of the ninth year he came to *Corinth*, where he found *Aquila* and *Pricilla*, with whom he ſtuied half a year preaching the Goſpel, and thence wrote both his Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*. In the eleventh year he came from *Corinth* to *Epheſus* with *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, whom there leaving, he went to *Jeruſalem* to the *Feaſt*. Thence he returned to *Antioch* and *Epheſus* through *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, and the higher parts of *Aſia*. Being at *Epheſus* in the twelfth year, there he continued two years till the tumult raiſed by *Demetrius*. Hence he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; the former alſo to the *Corinthians*, and to *Titus*, but about the end of the following year; as alſo the firſt to *Timothy*. About the end alſo of the thirteenth year, or the beginning of the following, he came into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, to receive the collections to be caried to *Jeruſalem*. And hence (from *Corinth*) being to paſſe into *Aſia*, he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Romans* about the end of the following year. About the end alſo of the fourteenth year he was impriſoned at *Jeruſalem*. And being caried to *Cæſarea* was there kept priſoner by *Felix* for two years. Concerning the Chronology of theſe accounts, *Ludovicus Cappellus* is by Students to be conſulted, in his *Hiſtoria Apoſtolica Illuſtrata*.

22. *St. Peter* the *Apoſtle* is reported in the ſecond year of *Claudius* to have come to *Rome*, having been formerly *Biſhop* of *Antioch*, in which Sea he was ſucceeded by *Evodius* one of the 70 Diſciples, of whom alſo *Paul* maketh mention: ſome ſay that he continued *Biſhop* at *Rome* 25 years, *viz.* twelve under *Claudius*, and thirteen under *Nero*. Perhaps he might come to *Rome* at this time, but that he ſtaied there 25 years is but to be taken as a fable. For we read that *Claudius* baniſhed all *Jews* from *Rome*, and he being a *Jew*, muſt needs give place, or abide the danger. We do not find he had any trouble, and this was by reaſon of his abſence. It's probable that he went away when *Aquila* and *Pricilla* departed *Rome*, and met St. *Paul* at *Corinth*. *Euſebius* indeed often mentioneth his being at *Rome*, and writeth, that he ſuffered Martyrdom together with *Paul* under *Nero*. This might be at his ſecond return unto *Rome*, ſo that we may count 25 years from his firſt coming under *Claudius* unto the end of his Martyrdom under *Nero*; it being, to ſay truth, better thus to reconcile Writers, than flatly to deny all, or to ſay, he never was at *Rome*. Here he met with *Simon Magus* again, and confounded him, as it's reported. This man being a *Samaritan* of the Village *Gitton*, was baptized by *Philp* the *Deacon* in *Samaria*. He would have bought of *Peter* the gift of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and thence of him aroſe the word *Simony*. He came to *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*, where calling himſelf a *God*, he was honoured with an Image, having this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. He had to his yoke-mate one *Helene*, by *Irenæus* called *Selen*, a Witch and a common Harlot, whom he called the *Principal underſtanding*. He ſaid unto the *Samaritans* that he was the *Father*, unto the *Jews*, that he was the *Son* deſcended from Heaven, and unto the *Gentiles*, that he was the *Holy Ghoſt*. *Peter* foiled him in *Samaria*, whence for ſhame he fled, and leaving *Samaria* and *Judæa*, he failed from *East* to *Weſt*, and came to *Rome*, under *Claudius*, where *Peter* met him. *Peter* it's ſaid had much to do with him in the preſence of *Nero*. Some write that he had three conflicts with him, and in the end *Simon* ſeeing himſelf foyled, and his witchcraft not at all to prevail, told them he would leave their City, and flye up into the Heavens whence he came. Whereupon at a certain day appointed, he climbed up into the high Capitol; whence he took his flight by the means of witchcraft, and the ſpirits that bore him up in the air. The People at the ſight hereof was amazed. But *Peter* fell down and prayed God that his witchcraft might be revealed to the World. He had no ſooner ſpoke, but down came *Simon Magus*, and was broken to pieces, ſo that he there miſerably died. Now again to the courſe of our Hiſtory.

Of St. Peter his being at *Rome*.

Act. 8.
Euſeb. l. 2. c. 1.
Idem c. 12, 13, 14.
Irenæus l. 1. c. 20.
Epiphan. l. 1. tom. 2. hæres. 21.

23. The death of *Claudius* was kept private by *Agrippina*, till ſuch time as the Empire could be ſecured to *Nero* her ſon, who then, at noon time of the day, the doors of the *Palace* being opened ſodainly, accompanied with

Tacitus Annal. l. 12. c. ult.

Burrhus Captain of the Guard, went to the watch, by which at the instance of the Captain, he was received with lucky acclamations. Being put into a litter, he was thence caried to the Camp, where speaking as the time required, and promising a donative to the Soldiers, after the example of his Predecessors, he was saluted Emperour, and presently owned by the Senate, and in the Provinces. *Claudius* his testament he never published, lest the People should be moved by the injury offered to *Britanicus*, to whom his father was so superlatively unnatural, as to prefer his wives son before him. Indeed some of the Soldiers at first paused, and looking back, asked for *Britanicus*; but finding no body to stir in his behalf, joyned themselves to the multitude. *Nero* came to the Government, being seventeen years old, six years after he had been adopted by *Claudius*.

Nero succeeded *Claudius.*

Sueton in Nerone c. 7.

24. *Nero* at first caried it exceeding well towards People and Magistrates, governing according to the pattern of *Augustus*, whose prescript he professed he would observe. He omitted no occasion of shewing liberality, clemency, and mildness, insomuch that *Trajan* himself admiring his first five years, averred, that *All Princes came short of them.* Heavy tributes he either took off or lessened, distributed money to the People, gave annual stipends to impoverished Senators, and to the *Pretorian bands* Corn every moneth freely. Being desired to subscribe to the execution of a condemned person, *Oh*, said he, *I wish I knew not letters.* But this good beginning is rather to be attributed to *Burrhus* and *Seneca* (the later of whom, after his adoption, was his School-master) who being in power mutually helped each other. *Agrippina* thought by virtue of his name to rule indeed, and at the beginning poysoned *Silanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, and made away *Narcissus*; without his knowledge the former, and the later without his consent; and had gone further, but that *Burrhus* and *Seneca* interposed. Not long after, jealousies arose betwixt them, for he falling in love with *Acte* a *Freed-woman*, and disdaining such as she feigned upon, removed *Pallas* her Minion from publick imployment, which so far exasperated her, that she upbraided him with *Britanicus*, as most fit to enjoy his Fathers seat. This seat she told her son he now enjoyed by her means, and not sparing to lay open all the evils, as she said, of their unhappy Family, her own marriage and sorcery; she took it as happy for the gods and her, that *Britanicus* was living, and protested she would go with him to the Camp.

Idem c. 10.

All Princes came short of his first five years.

Aurelius Victor.

Tacitus Annal. l. 13. c. 1, &c.

His Mother and he fall at ods.

25. This, together with *Britanicus* his frowardnesse (who being fourteen years old, began to be sensible of his condition, and to move compassion towards himself) made *Nero* resolve to dispatch him out of the way, and for that he could not do it openly to his brother, he procured poyson to be given him, which working downwards without any great incommodity, he caused to be boiled to that height, that it instantly killed him the second time, whilst he himself sate at supper with him, as knowing nothing. He made him be buried the same, though a very rainy night, his mean funeral being provided beforehand. *Agrippina* very much troubled that her refuge was gone, was shortly after accused to her son, as intending by a mariage with *Rubellius Plautus* (who was as near to *Augustus* as *Nero* himself) so invade the Soveraignty. Being something gone in drink when he heard of it, he would have had her killed out of hand, which being hindred by *Burrhus*, the next day she stoutly denied any such design, and the wound of jealousie for the time was skinned over. After two years, *Nero* began to discover what his Nature prompted him to. Disguising himself in a servile habit, he ran about the City by night to Taverns and Stews, accompanied with such as himself, where taking away things by force, as also cutting and slashing such as they met, he himself came into danger of life.

Idem ibid. c. 15.

He poysoneth *Britanicus.*

Idem ibid. c. 25.

Beginneth to discover himself.

26. A little before those things, he sent *Porcius Festus* into *Judea* to succeed *Felix*, who being out of his office, was accused at *Rome* by such *Jews* as dwelt at *Cæsarea*. *Nero* pardoned him through the intercession of his brother *Pallas*, who was as yet in favour. About the same time hapned a great dissention betwixt the *Jews* of *Cæsarea* and the *Syrians*, which there inhabited

Josephus Antiquit. l. 20. c. 7.

Festus succeedeth *Felix.*

bited with them, about the right and privilege of the City. They pretended that *Herod* the founder of it was a *Jew*, and those answered, that ere he named it *Cæsarea*, it was called the *Tower of Straton*, at what time none of the *Jews* inhabited it: and the *Syrians* by a great sum of money procured *Beryllus* (who had been *Nero*'s School-master) to get them the Emperours letters, whereby was abrogated that Privilege which the *Jews* had formerly enjoyed with the *Syrians*. Herewith the *Jews* incensed, were still seditious till the beginning of the Warre. Great motions at this time fell out in the *East*. The *Parthians* had set upon *Armenia*, having driven away *Rhadamistus* nephew to *Mithridates*, whom *Claudius* had set over that Kingdom, and who was killed by the other, that he might succeed him. *Nero* sent to preserve that Country *Domitius Corbulo*, who for two or three years had little to do, because the *Parthians* deferred the War. But now *Tiridates* brother to *Vologesus* the *Parthian* being resolved to fight for the Diadem, the *Armenians* also inclining to him, *Corbulo* took several Forts, and besieged *Artaxata* the *Metropolis*, which, though the Inhabitants opened the gates, and for this were spared, yet because it could not be held for the greatnesse of it, was burnt and razed. *Nero* for these things was saluted *Imperator*, passing great honours were decreed to him, and a far greater stir was made by the flattering *Fathers* than was convenient.

Tacitus ut supra c. 34, &c.

Corbulo prospereth in the East.

27. The same year that these things were done by *Corbulo*, being the fifth of his reign, *Nero* fell in love with *Poppæa Sabina*, the daughter of *P. Ollius*, though she named her self after her Grand-father by the mother's side, because more eminent. He came first acquainted with her by the commendations of *Otho* her husband, who also had been too familiar with her in the dayes of her first husband *Rufus Crispinus*: She incensed him more against his mother, because she feared, that as long as she lived, he would not dismisse *Octavia* and marry her self. Sometimes she laid at him by divers criminations, as otherwhiles jeered him as a Pupil, who not not onely wanted command and authority, but also liberty. Some have suspected, that *Agrippina* sought to commit incest with her son. How true soever this was, he now began to be absolutely weary of her, to shun her company, and within a while resolved to make her away, though solicitous how to do it. At length *Anicetus* his *Freed-man* and General of the Fleet at *Misenum*, acquainted him that a ship might be so framed, as to break into pieces and let her fall into the Sea. This ship was thus made, and she brought into it by her son, under colour of doing her honour, but the upper part of the ship falling, chanced to misse her, though it killed one of her attendants. One of her maides knowing nothing of the design, cried out, that she was *Agrippina*, hoping thereby to save her self, and was thereupon killed by the Oars; but she her self being silent, escaped them, and swom to Land. Her escape struck *Nero* with great consternation, who called up *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to give their advice. Whether they knew of the thing before or no is uncertain. Some say, *Seneca* asking *Burrhus* whether the Soldiers should not be commanded to kill her, he answered, they would do no such thing to the daughter of *Germanicus*, and that *Anicetus* rather should perform his promise of dispatching her. This he readily undertaking, accompanied with two others, went to the Village where she lay. One of them first bruised her head with a club, another drawing his sword, she stretched out her belly and bad him strike *that*, and so died of many wounds. Some report, that her son viewed her dead body exactly, and passed his judgement upon every part. She had been a very lewd and ambitious woman, and now reaped the fruit thereof, according her own desire. For consulting on a time about the fortune of this her son, the *Chaldæans* told her, that He *should reign, but kill his mother*, to which she answered, *Occidat modo imperet: Let him kill me so he but reign.* After this wicked fact he was continually tormented in his Conscience, confessing often, that he was haunted by the Furies, which did beat him with fire-brands.

Tacitus Annal. l. 14. c. 1, 2, &c.

Now falleth in love with *Poppæa*, which incenseth him against his mother.

Sueton in Nerone c. 34.

He causeth his mother be made away.

A. D. 60. *V. C.* 812.

28. He excused himself to the Senate, laying great loads of heavy accusations upon her. But the *Fathers* not onely excused but commended the deed,

nay

The Senate and People flatter him.

nay to such sordidnesse of spirit was born Senate and People degenerated, that returning to the Citie, they met him with as great Pomp, as if he had come from some notable victory; for the several Tribes, and the Senate received him, their Wives and Children being placed according to their Sex and Age. Hereupon he grew excessive proud, as *Lord over so many slaves*, and presently unmasking himself, without any care of his actions, fell into such disorders, as he appeared rather a Devil incarnate than a man. He became a Stage-player, learning that art, and exercising himself therein in publick continually. He ordained Games to be solemnized at *Rome* every fifth year, in imitation of the *Greeks*, and called them *Neronia*; persons of all sorts, and degrees, being constrained to be actors. These being continued night and day, most horrid things were committed, *Prince*, *Senate*, and *People*, either through affection or fear, not onely giving way, but compelling to such filthinesse. *Corbulo* at this time prospering in *Armenia* had *Tigranocerta* yielded to him, and then placed in that Kingdom, *Tigranes* Grand-son to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, with whom having left a Guard, and settled matters, he departed into *Syria* to succeed *Vinidius* the Governour. The year following, being the 814 of the Citie, wherein *Cæsonius Paetus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* were *Consuls*, the *Romans* received a sad defeat in *Britain*.

Tacitus ut supra c. 12, 13.

His enormities.

Corbulo prospereth in *Armenia.*

29. Of late the Lieutenants of this Province had made but small progresse in their Conquests; *A. Didius Avitus* the Successor of *Plautius* contenting himself with what was done before, and *Verannius*, who followed him, making onely some excursions upon the *Silures*; for he was prevented by death from any further service. But now *Paullinus Suetonius* the Æmulator of *Corbulo* for Military glory, had the chief Command, and sought to equal the acts of the other in *Armenia*, by chastizing and taming the *Britains*. He set upon the Ile *Mona* (now called *Anglesey*) peopled with strong Inhabitants, and the receptacle of all Fugitives, where he was received with multitudes of men on the shore, & with women running about like furies with firebrands in their hands, having their hair spred about their shoulders; the *Druides* also, the antient Seat of, whom that Island was, powring out plenty of curses. The Soldiers something terrified at first, being exhorted by their General, easily broke through, and dissipated this furious Company: then placed he a Garrison in the Island, and cut down the Groves where they were wont to offer mans bloud, and consult their Gods by the entrails of some Captive. But whilest these things were adoing, news came to *Suetonius* of the revolt of his Province. For, *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, that his Kingdom and family might be freed from molestation, left *Cæsar* his Heir, together with his two daughters. But it hapned far otherwise, his Kingdom being wasted by *Centurions*, and his house by *Slaves*: his wife *Boadicia* (otherwise called *Boodicia*, *Boudicia*, *Voadica*, and *Bunduica*) was whipped, his daughters defloured, his chiefest subjects spoiled of their Goods and Lands, and his kindred counted no better of than slaves. Provoked by these things, and fear of worse when they should be reduced into the form of a Province, they took Arms, stirring up the *Trinobantes* to rebellion. Others also joyned with them, having heretofore combined to recover their liberty out of hatred to the old superannuated Soldiers, who being planted as a Colony at *Camalodunum*, committed grievous outrages against them, and these were rather cherished by the Army than otherwise, in hope of the like liberty for the time to come. But this Colony not being fenced by any fortifications, the founders having rather looked at the pleasantnesse of the situation than commodiousnesse of the ground, the *Britains* accounted it no great matter to destroy it.

Consule Tacitum ubi supra Capp. 29, 30, 31. *& Xiphilin. in Excerptis ex Dione.*

Suetonius in *Britain* subduing the *Silures.*

His Province revolteth.

A. D. 62. *Ol.* 210. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 814.

30. The *Camalodunians* being terrified by several prodigies, desired aid of *Catus Decianus* the Governour in *Suetonius* his absence. He sent them but 200 men, and those but meanly Armed, and they neglected still to raise any fortifications, their Counsels being confounded by such as were ingaged in the plot. Being then beset round by the Natives, all things were burnt and de-

Tacitus ut supra Capp. 32, 33. *&c. & Sueton. in Nerone cap.* 39.

Camalodunum the Colony destroyed,

And *Verulamium.*

destroyed, and *Petilius Cerealis* coming to their relief with the ninth Legion was utterly defeated, all the foot being cut in pieces, and the horse with himself glad to run away to the Camp; whereupon *Catus* passed over into *Gall*, having by his avarice been the great cause of this defection. The same defeat was given to *Verulamium* (out of the ruins of which rose St. *Albans*) a Town free of the Citie of *Rome*; for the *Britains* passing by Castels and places of defence, set upon such as were most obnoxious to their fury. At both places were massacred 70000 persons, none being taken or sold after the custom of War, but either put to the sword, hanged, burnt, or crucified as Malefactors. *Suetonius* passed through the midst of his Enemies to *Londinium* (now *London*) a Town not then notable in respect of the Colony, but for multitude of Merchants, and plenty of Traffick very famous. Perceiving it but badly provided of Soldiers, although he once thought to make it the seat of the War, he left it, being not prevailed with to stay either by the prayers or tears of the Inhabitants. For, resolving with the losse of one Town to preserve the rest, he took all along with him that could go, and all others, whom either Sex or Age, or the pleasantnesse of the places detained were destroyed by the Enemy. Having got together an Army of 10000 men, he resolved to venture a battel with all expedition; and for that purpose made his choice of convenient ground. *Boadicia* carrying her two daughters in the Chariot with her about to the Companies, told them it had been usual before for the *Britains* to fight under the conduct of women, but she was now in another capacity than her Ancestors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the ordinary sort to revenge her lost liberty, her own stripes, and the violence offered to her daughters. As for her self she said she was resolved to win the field, or die; as for men, they might live if they pleased, and be slaves. *Suetonius* on the other side considering the weight of the Enterprize, was not silent.

Tacitus ut prius Capp. 37, 38.

Suetonius defeateth the *Britains* in battel.

31. The *Romans*, though far inferiour in number, yet in Military knowledge and Discipline far exceeding the *Britains*, put them to the worst, and made of them great slaughter by reason of the difficulty of flight; for those having brought their wives to behold the battel, and be eye-witnesses of their valour, they had placed them in Waggons about the Army. Some reported that scarcely fewer then 80000 of the Conquered were slain, and of the Conquerors about 400. and *Boadicia* ended her life by poyson. Afterwards, the Army being increased by a great supply sent over by *Cæsar*, wasted the Countrey with fire and sword, which was also sorely oppressed by famine; for being intent upon the War, the *Britains* had neglected the sowing of Corn, hoping also to enjoy the Provisions of the Enemy. For all this they were not forward to ask Peace, being incouraged by *Julius Cassilianus*, who being sent to succeed *Catus*, disagreed so far with *Suetonius*, and so filled him to those at *Rome*, that he wrote they must not expect an end of the War till some one was sent to succeed him, attributing all mishaps to his unfitnesse, and all successe to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth. To view then the condition of *Britain*, was *Polycletus* the *Freed-man* of *Nero* sent over, who coming in with a great train seemed terrible to the *Roman* Soldiers, but ridiculous to the *Britains*, who burning with affection to liberty, and as yet ignorant of the power of such, wondred that the General and Army (which had put an end to such a War) would obey slaves. *Suetonius* was commanded to deliver up his Army to *Turpilianus*, who was even now out of the Consulship, and neither provoking nor being provoked coveted slothfull idlenesse, as *Tacitus* telleth us, with the specious, and comely name of Peace.

Turpilianus succeeding him is slothfull.

Albinus succeedeth *Festus.*

32. The year after was *Albinus* sent into *Judea* to succeed *Festus*, who died in his Government. About the same time *Agrippa* (who had power after his Uncle of *Chalcis* to bestow the *High-Priesthood* on whomsoever he pleased) gave it to *Ananus* son of that *Annas* or *Ananus*, who beyond example having himself enjoyed the Office, had five sons, who every one of them executed the same. This young *Ananus* being a *Sadduce*, as also very bold

Josephus Antiquit. lib. 20. *cap.* 8.

bold and cruel, conceiving he had got a convenient opportunity (*Festus* being dead, and *Albinus* not yet arrived) called a Council, and condemned *James* the *Just* killed by the procurement of *Ananus* the High-Priest. *James the brother of Jesus Christ*, as *Josephus* writeth, with some others, as guilty of impiety, to be stoned. *This act displeased*, saith the Historian, *all good men, and especially such as were most studious of the Law*, who desired of *Agrippa* that he would command *Ananus* to forbear the like for the time to come: some going also to meet *Albinus*, told him that the *High-Priest* had no authority to call a Council, whereupon he wrote to him very angrily, and threatned him, upon which account *Agrippa* the King removed him from his Office after the third moneth. At this time died *Burrhus* at *Rome*, not without suspition of poyson, and *Seneca*'s power was weakned by the losse of that conjunction, whereby they had mutually strengthned the hands of each other. *Seneca* was now backbited, and by *Nero* sleighted, of whom he desired leave to withdraw himself, having been with him fourteen years, and he offered to give up his great estate into his hands (for that had brought him so far into envy;) but *Nero* having learnt, and practised dissimulation, under colour of respect denied his Petition. Now did *Nero* marry *Poppæa*, whom all this while he had kept as his Concubine, and dismissed *Octavia* loaded with accusations of barrenness and greater Crimes; and when the people troubled at it grew seditious, he caused her to be put to death in that fatal Island *Pandateria*. The same year also as 'tis believed he poysoned the Chief of the *Liberti* or *Freed-men*, *Pergphorus*, because he was against his marrying *Poppæa*, and *Pallas*, for that living very long, he had scraped together a vast sum of money.

A. D. 63. V. C. 815.

Burrhus dieth.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 14. capp. 51, 52, &c.

Nero marrieth *Poppæa.*

33. At this time were the stirs renewed in *Armenia*. For *Vologeses* seeing his brother thus beaten off, and *Tigranes* set up in his stead, had invaded the Countrey to revenge the injury offered to the line of the *Arsacida*. *Corbulo*, though very warily, yet resisted and repelled him, when *Cesennius Paetus* was sent to defend that Countrey, who by his ignorance in Military matters and rashness undid all. Being besieged, he was glad to Covenant for his preservation to quit *Armenia*, and remove the Garrisons thence, which done, *Nero* was to be sent to. Yet so ridiculous and degenerate were they at *Rome*, as to erect Trophies over the *Parthians*, though they knew nothing of the successe, either one way or other. The *Parthian* Ambassadors came to *Rome* to desire that (as they hinted) which had been gotten by force, but without effect, for War was decreed against them to be managed by *Corbulo*; yet were they dismissed with gifts, so as there might be hope, that, if *Tiridates* himself would intreat for the Diadem, it should not be in vain. *Corbulo* again invaded *Armenia*, at which the *Parthians* affrighted came to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed that *Tiridates* laying down his Diadem at the feet of *Nero*'s Statue should not receive it without his leave. *Nero* now growing now worse and worse, broke out into most horrid impieties, well nigh beyond all belief.

Tacitus Annal. lib 15. capp. 1, 2, 3, &c.

The stirs in *Armenia* renewed.

34. The next year being the 817 of the Citie, the 65th after the birth of *Christ*, and of his own reign the 10. *C. Lecanius Bassus*, and *M. Licinius Crassus* being *Consuls*, acting the common Stage-player, and giving up himself to all luxury, and unheard-of pollutions, amongst the rest he married himself as a woman to one of his filthy crue, called *Pythagoras*, all things being provided and celebrated as at a marriage. He made himself also the husband of *Sporus*, from whom he took as much of the Male as possible, and ordered him to be brought to him in a Veil as a Bride. Being offended at the deformity of the old buildings, and the narrowness of the streets, or else to feed his cruel eye with so sad a spectacle as he had read to have hapned at the siege of *Troy*, he caused the Citie to be set on fire, which burning six dayes and seven nights, of the fourteen divisions four onely remained whole, the other being wasted, or defaced, with the fury of the flame. He beheld the fire from the Tower of *Maecenas*, and very merry at the beauty of it, as he termed it, in a Player's habit sung *the destruction of* Ilium. This calamity being generally attributed to him as the cause, he accused the *Christians* there-

Idem ibid. capp. 37, 38, &c.

Sueton in Nerone cap. 38.

Nero's wickedness.

A. D. 65. V. C. 817.

Idem ibid. cap. 16.

Tacitus ut supra cap. 44.

Setting *Rome* on fire, he accuseth and persecuteth the Christians. thereof, and raised the *First Persecution*, torturing them with most exquisite kinds of punishment. About this time he sent *Gessius Florus* into *Judæa* to succeed *Albinus*, who desiring to gratifie them of *Jerusalem*, for all the mischief he had done, ere his departure, brought out all the prisoners, whereof those that were commited for any capital offence he put to death, but the rest he fined onely and dismissed; whereby all the Gaols being thus emptied, the Country was filled with thieves more than before. The year following was discovered a conspiracy against *Nero*, which gave him occasion further to indulge his cruel humour.

35. Who was the Author of it is uncertain, as also upon what particular grounds it was hatched, though all the persons bore him malice, as they thought they had reason. But *Lucan* the Poet (who wrote the Civil Wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and was nephew to *Seneca* by his brother *Annæus Mela*) was aggrieved that *Nero* envied him the glory he had got by his Verses; and several others joyned with them out of love to *Cn. Piso* the head of the party. It was discovered by *Milichus* the *Freed-man* of *Sceninus*, who had commanded him to scour his dagger, and provide necessaries for wounds; whereupon some would have had *Piso* to have gone to the *Rostra*, and laid open the Tyrant to the People, to obtain their help; but he refused. The next after him that was put to death was *Annæus Seneca* the *Philosopher* and *Nero*'s School-master, not being convicted of any treason, though accused by one *Natalis*, as it's thought, to please *Cæsar*, such an earnest desire his Scholar had to dispatch him, having formerly without effect attempted it by poyson. Being commanded to dye, he did it very chearfully, though he was forced to seek for death several wayes. For, he had so starved himself with abstinence, that he could not bleed, and poyson would not work upon him; but at length entering into a bath he was stifled with the fume of it, having all this while discoursed, even to his last, according to his wonted elegancy, such excellent things, as being then taken from his mouth, came afterwards abroad. Such was the end of this excellent Philosopher, concerning the character of whom, Students are rather to trust to *Cornelius Tacitus* than to *Dio*, if *Justus Lipsius* be a competent Judge. *Dio* accuseth him of extortion, adultery with *Agrippina*, and what not? He maketh him a *Sodomite*, and to have taught his Scholar that wickedness, as also the cause and procurer of the death of *Agrippina*, *and a cart-load of other Calumnies*, saith * *Lipsius*, *doth the idle man heap upon him, contrary to the belief and mind of all men. What cause was there of this hatred? or what reward had he for lying? for* Seneca *lived so long before him, that he neither could injure him nor oblige him: I believe*, saith he, *it was a certain perversity of judgement and manners, which also set him keen against* Cicero *and all good men. I desire that youth may take heed, and so to gather the flowers of Antiquity from these fields, that they do not also gather poison. But as for what concerneth the riches and galantry of* Seneca, *see Reader, and read his excellent Treatise* De vita beata, *which he wrote with no other design, than to stop the mouthes of these Calumniators, especially from the seventeenth Chapter.* Thus hath *Lipsius* prevented us in our Apology for this excellent person, in whose vindication much might be said.

Idem ibid. cap. 49, &c.

A conspiracy against him.

Seneca his School-master put to death.

A. D. 66. V. C. 818.

Lipsius his Apology for him against *Dio*.

* *Quam consule in Comment. ad Taciti Annal. l. 14. & omnino ad l. 15.*

36. *Pompeia Paullina* the wife of *Seneca* (*Dio* calleth her a most noble woman, perhaps the daughter of *Pompeius Paullinus*, to whom *Tacitus* giveth the title of *Consularis*, and who was set over the publick customs or imposts) cut also her veins, that she might die with him, but *Nero* bearing her no malice as it happened, sent some to stop the bleeding, and recover her. *Seneca* had another brother besides the father of *Lucan*, who was also put to death. This was *Annæus Novatus*, otherwise called *Junius Gallio* from his adoptive Father, being also mentioned in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, and then Governour of *Achaia*. Their Father was *M. Annæus Seneca* a *Rhetorician* of *Coruba* in *Spain*, whose *Suasories* and Controversies are yet extant, joyned to his sons Works. *Nero* proceeded in his madness and cruelties. Acting the Stage-player still he was reviled at his return home by *Poppæa* his wife,

for which he kicked her great with child, and thereupon she miscaried. Then
Nero killeth *Poppæa.* raged he against many of greatest note, amongst whom was *Mela* the father of *Lucan* (who had formerly perished for the conspiracy) and this allaied the grief which was conceived for the death of many others, by the pestilence that now raged, because they seemed thereby well delivered from the fury and rage of the Prince, who now neither used choice nor measure in his slaughters. Being puffed up with the successe of his cruelty, he said, that *None of his Predecessors knew their power*, hinting also, that he meant to destroy the remnant of the Senators. It was believed he had a great desire to deliver up quick men to be devoured of an *Ægyptian*, a monstrous eater of raw flesh, or any other thing that was given him.

37. Neither was there wanting to him luxury and effeminateneſſe, suitable to his cruelty, nor any other vice, whereby the truth of that saying of *Domitius* his father might appear, who hearing of his birth, said, that *Of himself and* Agrippina *could proceed nothing but accurſed, deteſtable, and to the dammage of the Commonwealth.* For in him seemed to meet and be conjoyned not onely all the vices of his own family (which of late had been too pregnant of them) but all the corruption of his Country, from the beginning
The heighth of his wickedneſſe. to his very time. He lengthened his feasts from *Noon* to *Midnight*, accounting no use of riches but in the abuse of them. Such he thought to be sordid and base, as took account of their expenses, and he extolled and admired his Uncle *Caius*, for spending in so short a time so vast sums, as had been hoarded up by *Tiberius*. To *Tiridates* that came to *Rome* to take the Diadem from his hands, he allowed an incredible sum for his daily expenses, and as profusely gratified him at his departure. He put on no garment twice, plaid for vast sums at dice, fished with a golden net, when he journyed any whither, he never had lesse than 1000 Caroches in his train, and he caused his mules to be shod with Silver. But his house exceeded all belief, having built it out of the ruines of the City. For length, for pleasantneſſe of groves and fish-ponds it was incredible, garnished also with Gold and precious stones. To the madneſſe of this expence he was incouraged by one that made him fair promises of discovering a vast treasure in *Africk*, which *Dido* the *Queen* flying out of *Tyre* should thence bring with her. But being deceived, as was likely, with so foolish a project, he took such courses as became *Nero* to recruit his coffers.

Vide Sueton. in *Nerone c.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Idem ibid. c. 31, & 32. *Tacitus Annal. lib.* 15. *c.* 42.

38. When *Tiridates* was departed into *Armenia*, he went into *Greece*, there to act *Tragedies*, to sing, and run races in the Chariot. Running in the *Olympick Games*, although he fell from his Chariot, yet he was rewarded with a crown as Victor. He took from *Apollo* the *Cyrrhæan* Territory, and defaced the place whence they were wont to receive Oracles, killing men at the hole whence the blast came. He attempted to cut through the *Isthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, digging first himself, and carying out the first basket of Earth upon his shoulders: but with the same successe as others had before him. When he was in *Achaia* news came from *Ceſtius Gallus* President of *Syria* concerning the rebellion of the *Jews*. Being long vexed with the injuries of the *Deputies* and *Governours*, they could no longer contain themselves. Christ's blood lying heavy upon them, and crying for vengeance, they themThe *Jews* rebel. selves executed part of it. For such robberies in the Country, such and so many murders in the City were committed, and such delusions by false Prophets prevailed amongst them, as after a wonderful manner turned their estate upside down, drew upon them the malice of their enemies, and demonstrated the high displeasure of Almighty God. The particular occasion of their rebellion was from *Florus* their *Governour*, who through the insinuations of his wife into *Poppæa* having procured that Office, caried himself as worthy of such a Master. He slew to that height of impudence and wickedneſſe, as by
The occasion thereof. a publick Crier to give free leave to rob and steal through the whole Country, on condition that he might have part of the booty. It was his design to provoke them to rebel, that his impieties might thereby be covered. After he and the Townsmen of *Cæsarea* had grievously abused such *Jews* as there lived, he

A. D. 67. *V. C.* 819.

Vide Josephum de bello Judaico l. 2. *c.* 13.

he came to *Jerusalem* with an Army, rifled the *Forum*, plundred the houses, killed the Inhabitants, whipped and hung up several, who, though *Jews* born, were made *Knights of Rome*, and all under pretence that some had reviled him for his cruelty. Not content herewith, he perswaded the People of *Jerusalem* to go out to meet, in a courteous manner, certain Soldiers that were coming thither, to whom he sent, that they should not return their civility, that so they might be offended, and give out words, which advantage he commanded them to take, and fall upon them. This was performed, and many perished, whom the *Chief-priests* and others with lamentable intreaties had perswaded to go forth, hoping thereby to please the Tyrant, and prevent the mischief. From this violence sprung the War, in the twelfth year of *Nero's* reign, the seventeenth of *Agrippa*, the second of *Florus* his Government, the 819 of the City, and 67 after the birth of *Christ*, *C. Suetonius Paullinus* and *L. Pontius Telesinus* being *Consuls*.

39. Some of those that were most eager after rebellion, assaulted a Castle called *Massada*, and killing the *Romans* placed therein a Garrison of their own. And in the Temple *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias* the *High-Priest* Captain of the Guard and a forward young man, perswaded the People no more to offer the sacrifices which were wont to be offered for the good of the *Romans*. The *Chief-Priest* and Nobility dissuaded them all they could from rebellion, but profiting nothing, besought *Agrippa* and *Florus* to come and suppresse the sedition betimes. *Florus* glad to hear such news, gave no answer, *Agrippa* sent 3000 Horse, which being received into the upper part of the City, the Rebels took the lower part with the Temple, and after some adoe brake also into the upper quarters, burnt divers Palaces and publick houses, and then besieged the *Tower of Antony*, which having taken within two dayes, they put the Garrison to the sword. After this they laid siege to the *Kings Palace*, whither *Agrippa's* Souldiers being retired, upon their desire they were dismissed. But the *Romans* yielding upon the Faith of *Eleazar*, were all cut in pieces contrary to his word, except *Metilius* their Captain, who begging hard for his life, promised to be circumcized and turn *Jew*: and this was done on the *Sabbath*-day in *September*. On the same day were all
Great slaughters of them in several places. the *Jews* of *Cæsarea* massacred by the inhabitants, to the number of above 20000o, not one being left alive; for those that escaped were taken by *Florus*, and brought out bound to the People. Throughout all *Syria* the slaughters of the *Jews* were renewed. At *Alexandria* also a sedition being raised, 50000 *Jews* were slain in one day by two *Roman* Legions.

Idem ibid. c. 17, 18.

40. *Ceſtius Gallus* as soon as he heard of these motions, came with an Army into *Judæa*, wherein taking some Towns he sate down before *Jerusalem*, at the *Feast of Tabernacles*. But though he might easily with a little patience have taken the City, yet raised he his siege, having neglected many opportunities. He departed to *Antipatris*, losing many of his men by the way, that were cut off by the *Jews* who followed him close in the rear. With this successe the *Jews* being elevated, created two Commanders to govern the City, viz. *Joseph* the son of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the *High-Priest*: and
They chuse themselves Captains. they sent several Captains and Governours into the Country, amongst whom was *Joseph*, who wrote the history of this War. He fortified the several Towns of *Galile*, and indured as great a conflict as to his own person, with divers, both there and at *Jerusalem*, (who envying him the honour of his command, would have had him turned out) as he did afterwards with the *Romans*. But *Ceſtius* sent to *Nero* then in *Achaia*, as we said, to let him understand the state of affairs, laying all the blame of the rebellion upon *Florus*.

41. *Nero* deliberating whom he should send into *Judæa*, wanted *Corbulo* whom he had killed. At length he pitched on *Vespasian*, who having been trained up in Martial matters all his youth, he thought him onely capable of such a charge, though a little before grievously offended at him, for that he little regarded his singing (either departing from off the stage, or sleeping if there) he forbad him not onely his presence, but also publickly to salute

him. Hereupon he withdrew himself, and lurked out of the way in fear of his life; but *Nero* having now need of him, and not fearing him, because of the meanneſſe of his birth and name, gave him this imployment. *Veſpaſian* diſpatched away his ſon *Titus* to *Alexandria*, thence to bring forces into *Judæa*, and he himſelf paſſing the *Helleſpont* into *Syria* gathered together the *Roman* Soldiers with ſupplies from the *Princes*, and came to *Ptolemais*, where *Titus* reached him ſooner than was expected for the Winter ſeaſon. *Nero* returning towards *Rome* in Triumphant manner, after he had been two years in *Greece*, *C. Julius Vindex* a *Gall* by birth, but of *Senatorian* degree amongſt the *Romans*, incenſed his Countrey-men againſt him, for that they groaned under his intolerable exactions, yet ſtriving not for the Principality himſelf, he offered it to *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* an old Soldier, and now Governour of the *Tarraconian Province* in *Spain*, who, as well for his own ſafety, as to gratifie ambition, accepted of it. *Nero* being come to *Naples* heard of the conſpiracy on that day he had killed his mother, & was then little moved at it; but ſeemed rather to rejoyce for the occaſion that was thence offered to ſpoyl the rich Provinces of *Gall*. For though the *Mathematicians* had told him that he ſhould be forſaken, yet he interpreted it of the loſſes ſuſtained in *Britain* and *Armenia*; and ſome alſo promiſed him, though in this condition, the Empire of the Eaſt, and ſome by name the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; but moſt affirmed that things would go well at this time. He took nothing ſo ill in all the opprobrious ſpeeches of *Vindex*, as to be called an *unskilfull Muſician*, &, after the name of his family, *Æ nobarbus*; yet at length terrified by many meſſages he returned to *Rome*. Now had he moſt horrid projects in his head, as of killing the Captains and Governours of *Provinces*, with all the Exiles, and all of *Galliſh* Original at *Rome*; of poyſoning the whole Senate in feaſting, burning the Citie, and letting looſe wild beaſts upon the people, thereby to hinder the quenching of the flames. From theſe things he was thought to be terrified more by deſpair of accompliſhing them, than out of any repentance concerning his purpoſe. In preparing for his expedition his eſpecial care was for the choice of carriages wherein to convey his Concubines and inſtruments for the ſtage.

Veſpaſian ſent againſt them.

Vindex and *Galba* conſpire againſt *Nero*.

42. When he heard of the revolt of the reſt of the Armies, in a great rage taking ſome poyſon with him in a Golden box, he left his houſe, and ſending ſome of his truſtieſt ſervants to *Oſtia* to make ready ſome ſhips, moved the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* of his Guard about flying with him; but ſome ſtaggering at it and hanging backwards, others flatly refuſed it. Then he conſidered whether he ſhould not fly to the *Parthian*, or in an humble manner to *Galba*; or whether going to the *Roſtra* in a mourning habit, he ſhould not there ask pardon in as doſefull a manner as he could for what was paſt? but he was fearfull to be pulled in pieces ere he could reach the publick meeting-place; and put off thoſe thoughts till the next day. At night finding his Guards withdrawn, he ſtarted out of his bed, and ſending his friends about to their Lodgings, went alſo himſelf; but none would anſwer; ſo that he returned to his Chamber, whence his attendants alſo were now fled, having taken away the furniture, and removed out of the way the box of poyſon. Then deſired he that ſome one would kill him, but none attempting it, *Than*, ſaith he, *I have neither Friend nor Enemy*, and run down as to throw himſelf into *Tiber*. But ſtopping ere he came there, he deſired ſome lurking hole wherein he might recover his ſpirits, and *Phaon* his *Freedman* offering him his aſſiſtance, he went with him to a Village four miles diſtant in a diſguiſe, hearing as he paſſed the prayers of the people for his deſtruction. Here being called on to rid himſelf out of the way, and prevent the abuſes which elſe would fall upon him, he ordered things to be prepared for his dead body, weeping, and adding, *Qualis Artifex pereo? How excellent an Artiſt do I die?* Underſtanding at length that he was declared an Enemy by the Senate, and how he was ſought for to be puniſhed, *more majorum*, or *after the cuſtom of their Anceſtors*, and upon his enquiry hearing that this kind of death was *to be ſtripped, and having his neck made faſt in a Pillory to be whipped to death*, he

A. D. 69. Ol. 211. ann. V. C. 821.

he called for two Daggers, the points of which he onely felt, and put them up again, pretending that his fatal hour was not yet come: He bade *Porus* lament and weep, and wiſhed that ſome would help him by their own example to kill himſelf, chiding alſo himſelf for his backwardneſſe. Certain horſ-men now drawing near to fetch him alive, he at length effected it by the help of *Epaphroditus* his *Freed-man*, on the fourth of the *Ides* of *June*, having reigned 13 years, ſeven moneths, and 28 dayes, in the 32th of his age, and the 821 of the Citie, An. Dn. 68. *C. Silius Italicus*, and *M. Valerius Trachalus* being *Conſuls*. *Veſpaſian* asked *Apollonius what was* Nero's *overthrow?* He anſwered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well* (noting his exceſſive delight in that Inſtrument) *But in government ſometimes he uſed to wind the pins too high, ſometimes to let them down too low*. The unequal, and untimely Enterchange of power *Preſſed* too far, and *Relaxed* too much, deſtroyeth authority above all things.

He killeth himſelf.

Eccleſiaſtical matters in his time.

43. About the later end of *Nero*'s ſecond year St. *Paul* was ſent bound to *Rome* by *Feſtus*, where he continued in durance two years. In his third year living at *Rome* in free cuſtody, he wrote to the *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*. About the end of the fourth he ſeemeth to have been ſet at liberty, and thence to have returned into *Greece* and *Aſia*, where for five or ſix years he eſtabliſhed the Churches he had founded. In the eleventh year of *Nero* he is ſaid to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*. For, *Nero* having ſet the Citie on fire, accuſed the *Chriſtians*, as *Tacitus* writeth; and expoſed them to ignominious deaths. Some he cauſed to be covered with the skins of wild beaſts, that they might be devoured of Dogs, others to be Crucified, and others burnt alive, and that in the night, that they might give light to paſſengers. He offered his own Garden for this ſhow, and celebrated the Circenſian Games amongſt the common ſort in the habit of a Chariot driver, who could not have raged againſt Chriſtianity as *Tertullian* obſerveth, but that ſome excellency was in it. In this *Firſt perſecution*, beſides *Paul*, who was beheaded, and many others, *Peter* alſo was Crowned with Martyrdom; being Crucified as 'tis reported with his head downward, which kind of death himſelf deſired, becauſe he would die in a more diſhonourable ſort than his Lord and Maſter. But ſome will have St. *Paul* and *Peter* to have ſuffered Martyrdom in the laſt year of *Nero*'s reign, and that on *June* the 29. inſomuch that *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, that the day of *Pauls* death was more known than that of *Alexander*.

Conſule Lud. Cappellum in Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Illuſtrata. Tacitum Annal. l. 15. c. 44. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 25. & l. 3. c. 1.

44. After the Martyrdom of *James* ſirnamed *Juſt* the Firſt *Biſhop* of *Jeruſalem* (whom *Euſebius* (*a*) from *Clemens* reporteth to have been thrown down from a Pinacle of the Temple, and brained with a Fuller's Club) who governed that Sea thirty years, *Simon* (*b*) *Cleopas* the Lords Couſin German, one of the 70 Diſciples, and which ſaw Chriſt with his eyes, was choſen into his place by the Apoſtles, and Diſciples themſelves, being gathered together for this purpoſe. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, (*c*) *Linus* one of the 70 Diſciples, of whom *Paul* made mention, ſucceeded him in the Sea of *Rome*, where he continued *Biſhop* twelve years, though ſome place his Martyrdom alſo in the laſt year of *Nero*, and the ninth before the Calends of *Octobet*. *Evodius* one of the 70 Diſciples, whom St. *Paul* remembred in his Epiſtles, was *Biſhop* of *Antioch*, being by *Euſebius* ſaid to be the firſt known to govern that Church. Him ſucceeded *Ignatius* (*d*) the Diſciple of *John*, who wrote as they ſay to *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*, and *Mary* unto him again. He wrote unto *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and to *Polycarpus* his Diſciple. Beſides, he wrote ſundry other notable Epiſtles, yet extant, and in the eleventh year of *Trajan* was brought to *Rome*, and torn in pieces of wild beaſts, as will be ſhewn. *Euſebius* writeth that he was the *ſecond Biſhop by ſucceſſion* after *Peter* in the Church of *Antioch*. *When* Nero *had reigned the ſpace of eight years*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *firſt after* Mark *the Evangeliſt*, Anianus *took the government of the Church of* Alexandria, *a man both virtuous, and renowned in all reſpects.*

(*a*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 23.*
(*b*) *Idem l. 3. cap. 11.*
(*c*) *Idem l. 3. c. 2, 13, 19. & in Chron.*
(*d*) *Idem l. 3. c. 19, 32, & in Chron. Tritem.*

Lib. 3. 24.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the death of Nero *to that of* Domitian, *the last of the family of* Vespasian, *the space of 27 years.*

Galba succeedeth *Nero.*

1. GALBA after the death of *Nero* obtained the Principality, yet not long; for being *Emperour*, he maintained not the opinion which had been conceived of him whilest a private man; for that he gave way to a cruel and covetous humour, acting all things according to the will and lust of three men whom the people thence called his *School-masters*. But his severity towards the Soldiers, especially that speech *Legi à se militem non emi*, procured his ruin, who upon the revolt of the Armies in upper *Germany* betrayed him to *M. Salvius Otho*, notwithstanding he had adopted *Piso*. He was murdered by them in the Forum near the place where *Curtius* rode into the hole, and his head being cut off, for some time was carried up and down on a spear, till his Enemies had with the sight satisfied their flouting appetite, and then it was buried with the body. He died on the 17th of the *Calends* of *February*, in the 73th year of his age, having reigned seven moneths.

Tacitus Histor. lib. 1. *Sueton in Galba.*

Is murdered by his Soldiers.

Otho seizeth on the Empire.

2. *Otho* seized on the Empire by the help of his Soldiers, having resolved it after he saw *Piso* preferred before him. He was *Nero*'s great friend and companion, and now refused not to be called by his very name, suffered his Images and Statues to be restored, as also his Officers and Freed-men to their several places, and the first thing he subscribed to was for money to finish his golden house. But *A. Vitellius* was shortly after saluted *Emperour* in *Germany* by the Army there, being son to *L. Vitellius*, who governed *Syria*. Being sent into *Germany* by *Galba*, he denied nothing to the Soldiers, but granted them their wills, with impunity in all things, and for that was rewarded with this Election. Hereupon *Otho* desired the Senate that they would send to him, to acquaint him with his Election, and to perswade him to be quiet; but he himself by Letters offered to be onely partner with him in the Soveraignty, and to be his son-in-law. The Enemy drawing near, the *Prætorian* bands stood very faithfully to him, even so far, that with much ado, and with the slaughter of some of their Officers, were they kept from destroying the Senate, which they suspected to be false to him. His interest was to draw out the War in length, having the Enemy at advantage, who was straightned both for necessaries, and by reason of the narrowness of the passage: But he rashly and imprudently resolved on a battel, either for that *Vitellius* was not yet come, or urged by the earnestness of the Soldiers. They had four ingagements, whereof in the first three he had the better, but in the last at *Bebriacum* (a Village in *Italy* betwixt *Cremona* and *Verona*, now called *Labemein*) was worsted; yet so as he might without difficulty have recovered himself, though taken at unaware, and deceived by pretence of a parley. But being ashamed to seek his own establishment with the hazard of so many mens lives, rather than out of any desperation, he killed himself. He was much extolled for his generous death (as it was accounted) which rendred him so much more desirable than his life had done, that many thought him to have killed *Galba*, not so much out of the desire of rule, as to restore liberty so called to the Commonwealth. He died on the 12th before the *Calends* of *May*, in the 38th year of his age, and the 95th day of his Empire.

Idem ibid. *Tacitus Histor. lib. 2.* *Plutarch. in Othone.*

Being opposed by *Vitellius*,

He killeth himself.

3. *Otho* being dead, though *Vitellius* was detested by those at *Rome*, yet when they heard how things went they began to flatter, and gave him the title of *Emperour*. The Army of upper *Germany* which first mutined against *Galba* turning to him, he gladly received the surname of *Germanicus*, but deferred the title of *Augustus*, and utterly refused that of *Cæsar*. When yet in *Gall* he heard of the event of the battel at *Bebriacum*, he presently cashiered the *Prætorian* bands, as giving a bad example of revolt, and 120 which had demanded a reward of *Otho* for killing *Galba*, he commanded to be fought, and put to death. Hereby he much commended himself to the people,

Tacitus Histor. l. 2. c. 3. *Sueton in Vitellio.*

Vitellius owned as Emperour.

People, and gave hopes of an excellent Prince; but carrying on all things afterwards according to his natural inclination and former course of life, he deserved to be ranked amongst the worst of Governours.

4. He returned to *Rome* in a triumphant manner, and gave up himself to luxury and excesse, wherein he also tolerated his family and Soldiers, as in all manner of wickedness. Coming through the fields where the Armies fought, when many loathed the noisomness of the carkeises, he stuck not to say, *Optime olere occisum hostem, & melius civem*; that *A slain Enemy smells well, but sweeter a Citizen.* He drunk much wine in the place before them all, to prevent any hurt that might proceed from the stench, and caused this liquour to be distributed to the Soldiers, with the like vanity and insolence. Entring the City as into a field with trumpets sounding to the charge, with colours flying, and in his coat-armour, he fell more and more into the neglect of all Laws, divine and humane. He made himself *Perpetual Consul*, and that it might be seen after whose pattern he meant to govern, in the *Campus Martius* attended by a number of *Priests* he sacrificed for the Soul of *Nero*; and at a solemn feast commanding a Musician to sing something of *Domitius*, he leaped up and applauded the beginning of *Nero*'s songs. He governed State matters at the will and discretion of the vilest Player and chariot driver, especially of *Asiaticus* his *Freed-man*. He gave himself over to such luxury as he had been accustomed to in the dayes of *Caius* and *Nero*; especially to gluttony, the abhominable excesse whereof turned him into a very Monster. For, he would eat four or five meals a day, which that he might be able to bear, he used frequent vomiting; and inviting himself to the houses of his friends, he would, as *Nero* did, put them to incredible expenses. At his coming to *Rome* his brother made him a feast, wherein were served up 2000 several dishes of fish, the daintiest that could be found, and 7000 sorts of fowl. But he far exceeded this preparation at the *Dedication* of the *Great Platter*, which he called *Minerva's Target*, in which were mixed together the livers of *Guilt-heads*, brains of *Pheasants* and *Peacocks*, with the tongues of *Phanicopters*, and the small guts of *Sea-Lampries* fetched as far as the *Carpathian* Sea and the Straights of *Gibraltar*. He would also eat meat taken from the hearth in time of sacrifice, and fetched from Victualling houses, either smoaking, made ready the day before, or half eaten.

Is very vicious.

And cruel.

5. He was prone to the killing of any person and for any cause whatsoever: Noble-men, his School-fellows and contemporaries, he deceitfully made away by degrees. To one in a Feaver, desiring a draught of cold water, he gave poyson in it with his own hands. He scarcely ever spared any of his creditors or others that asked him the money he ought. One of them saluting him, he sent away to be put to death, and presently again calling him back (for which the by-standers commended his clemency) he caused him to be killed before his eyes, saying, that *he would satiate his eyes with the slaughter of him*; and another that interceded for him, he put to death with his two sons. A certain Knight whom he commanded to be slain, to save his life, told him he had made him his heir, whereupon he commanded his will to be produced, in which finding that the man's *Freedman* was made coheir with him, he caused them both to be put to death. He was most cruel towards *Mathematicians*, because they foretold his reign would be but short. And to compleat all, he was suspected to have killed his mother. These vices onely seemed to put him in mind of his condition, for else so great a stupidity had seized on him, that if others had not known him to be the Prince, he himself would quickly have forgot it. He accounted all sharp that was wholesom, liking of nothing but what was pleasant; and fortifying himself onely with mirth and sottishness against all dangers, he forgot all things past, and regarded nothing present or to come: not a word of Warre proceeded from him, the rumour and talk of which was forbidden in the City. But he was within a short time rouzed by the coming of the forces of *Vespasian*, who was by others put upon seeking the Empire, being then *Judæa*.

Vespasian put upon seeking the Empire.

6. *Vespasian* (that we may now prosecute the History of his actions in that Country)

His acts in *Judæa.*

Country) after *Titus* had brought the Army to *Ptolemais* out of *Ægypt*, with his forces united set upon *Galile*, and at the first onset took *Gedara*, which was burnt and destroyed. Thence removing to *Jotapata*, on the 21 day of *May* he took it by storm after 40 dayes, though stourly defended by *Joseph* the Historian. *Joseph* was taken and kept to be sent prisoner to *Nero*; but desiring to speak with *Vespasian*, foretold him that he should loose him out of captivity, but as *Emperour*. After this, bestowing his Armie at *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis*, to refresh the Legions, he himself went to *Cæsarea Philippi*, where he was entertained by *Agrippa* the King for twenty dayes. Then went he about to subdue *Tiberias* and *Tarichæa*, whereof the former yielded, and was spared at the request of the King, but the later was taken by force and destroyed. After this were *Gamala*, *Giscala*, and the Hill *Itaburium* taken, and all *Galile* being reduced, *Vespasian* and *Titus* returned to *Cæsarea*.

Josephus de bello lib. 3. *c.* 5. *&c.*

Idem l. 4. *c.* 1, 2, *&c.*

The *Jews* fall out amongst themselves.

7. The *Jews* were now imbroyled in civil dissentions, whilst some desired Peace, and others would not hear a word of it. Parties were made and fought in every City, and rash young men prevailed every where against the grave and elder sort, who foresaw the calamity. At first they robbed one another singly; but at length turned thieves, in whole troops committing such cruelties, as equalled the misfortune received from the *Romans*. At last the thieves loaded with plunder brake into *Jerusalem*, where they not onely consumed the provisions of the People, but filled the City with slaughters, rapines, and dissentions. They cast the principal of the Citizens into prison, and then put them to death unheard, pretending that they intended to betray the City to the *Romans*; yet for all this wickednesse they boasted of *zeal* for the Law of God, and customs of their Country, and thereupon were called *Zealots*. The People being about to rise against them, they betook themselves to the Temple, where they made one *Phanias* an ignorant fellow *High-Priest*, though he was not of the order of *Priests*; but they were opposed by *Ananus*, who procured the People to rise against them, and beat them into the inner part. Hereupon they sent to the *Idumæans*, accusing *Ananus* of an intention to betray their Counntry, and forasmuch as they fought for the liberty thereof, and now were besieged, they implored their assistance. Twenty thousand came, and being let into the City, together with the *Zealots*, committed horrid outrages against the Inhabitants. They slew 8000 the first night, and afterwards other 1200 of the chiefest, (amongst whom was *Ananus*) besides an infinite number of the common sort: then at length the *Idumæans* perceiving the wickednesse of the *Zealots*, and that they had falsely accused the Nobility, set at liberty 2000 which they had imprisoned, and returned home. After their departure the *Zealots* renewed their slaughters, and raged more cruelly than ever, especially against such as they had found attempting to flye to the *Romans*.

Idem ibid. c. 5, 6.

Horrid outrages committed by the *Zealots*.

8. But they presently after fell out amongst themselves, by reason of one *John*, who with a seditious party holding *Giscala*, pretended to receive the conditions given him by *Titus*, and stole away to *Jerusalem*. There becoming the great Incendiary, he now affected soveraign power; but he was withstood by such as before this had been equal to him. Though they thus disagreed, yet herein they consented, to spoil the People; and *Jerusalem* being thus filled with tumults, those that were without the City had liberty to rob and spoil, and those whose Towns were hereby destroyed, assembled together in the Wilderneſse, and uniting, brake into other Temples and Towns; so that there was no place in *Judæa*, which did not languish in an unheard-of manner together with the mother City. *Vespasian* excited by the seditious, and intreated by the fugitives to save their Country, prepared for the siege of *Jerusalem*, and that he might not leave an Enemy at his back, took in *Gadara* (where 13000 were put to the Sword) and all other places beyond the River, except the Castle of *Macheron*. He built Castles at *Jericho* and *Adida*, and made all things ready for the siege; but hearing of *Nero*'s death, and the succession of *Galba*, he deferred the Expedition, and sent *Titus*

Idem l. 5. *c.* 3, 4, 5, 6, *&c.*

All *Judæa* languisheth in an unheard-of manner.

Titus to know *Galba*'s pleasure. But as *Titus* sailed by *Achaia* he heard of his end, and *Otho*'s advancement, whereupon he returned to his Father. Uncertain what would ensue, and who should be Emperour, they neglected the Warre against the *Jews*, for they feared their own Country, and therefore thought it an unfit time to assault strangers. Yet he drew out his Army from *Cæsarea*, and subdued all forts of *Judæa* save three Castles, *Herodium*, *Massada*, and *Macheron*, which were kept by the thieves. Besides these *Jerusalem* onely remained to be conquered.

Vespasian subdueth all, except three Castles and *Jerusalem*.

9. *Vespasian* hearing of *Otho*'s death, and having compassion on the State, thought of freeing the Commonwealth from the tyranny of *Vitellius*; but for that it was now Winter, and he was at a great distance from *Rome*, he strove to conceal that indignation which he had conceived. But *Mucianus* President of *Syria* perswaded him to it very earnestly: certain Soldiers also who were removed out of *Syria* into *Mæsia*, giving him large commendations, the three Legions which proceeded as far as *Aquileia* to help *Otho*, resolved to proceed, notwithstanding his death, and put *Vespasian*'s name into their Colours. First of all others, *Tiberius Alexander* Governour of *Ægypt*, on the first of *July* swore the Legions to him, and two daies after the Army in *Judæa*, compelling him with threats to take the Government upon him, took the oath. The Armies then in several Provinces declaring for him, he sent *Mucianus* with forces into *Italy*, and went himself to *Alexandria*, to make sure of *Ægypt*. The *Mæsian* Legions hearing of *Mucianus* his coming, chose *Antonius Primus* an excellent Soldier (who had been banished by *Nero*, and restored by *Galba*) for their Captain, and hasted for *Italy*, that they might have the plunder of the Country. *Cæcina* (otherwise called *Alienus*) the General of *Vitellius*, made haste and got to *Cremona* before them; but considering the effeminateneſse of his Army, he hearkned to the friendly advice sent him by *Antonius*, and perswaded his Soldiers, by laying before them the weakneſse of *Vitellius*, and the force of his adversary, to revolt. They accordingly sware fealty to *Vespasian*, but presently repenting, cast bonds upon their General as a traytor, and exhorted even *Antonius* to imbrace the quarrel of *Vitellius*; then coming to blows, though they wanted a Leader, maintained a most sharp fight, both parties being possessed with such fury, as night it self could not sever them. They knew and talked to one another, nay intermitting the fight for some time, give victuals one to another, and yet after their repasts fell to it again. But in a morning the Soldiers of the third Legion saluting according to the fashion, the rising Sun, *Vitellius* his men thought *Mucianus* was arrived, and thereupon betook themselves to *Cremona*, where loosing *Cæcina*, they procured him to make their Peace, and the *Mæsian* Army entering the Town made great disorder.

Tacitus Histor. lib. 3, *&* 4. *Sueton in Vitellio*, *& Josephus de bello Judaico l.* 5. *c.* 10, 12, 13, 14.

The Armies in the East declare for *Vespasian*.

10. *Vitellius* hearing of this was amazed, and not knowing what to do, became ridiculous unto all men; for his affairs went down the wind in all places. He covenanted then with *Flavius Sabinus* the brother of *Vespasian* for his own safety, and presently after at the stairs of the *Palace*, before many Soldiers, professed he *would give up the Empire, which he had unwillingly taken upon him.* But the Soldiers crying out against it, he deferred the thing, and in the morning went to the *Rostra* in a mourning habit, where with many tears out of a paper he uttered the same words he had before spoken to the Soldiers, who again interrupting him, the People bad him be of good cheer, and promised him their assistance. Taking courage hereat, he forced *Sabinus* (who was Governour of the City) with others into the *Capitol*, which setting on fire he suppressed them, *Sabinus* being put to death, whose nephew *Domitian* (afterwards *Emperour*) was hid by the Priest of *Jupiter*'s Temple and escaped. Then would he have had the Senate send Ambassadors to the Enemy with the *Vestal Nuns* to beg Peace, or at least so much time as to consider what was to be done. But *Vespasian*'s Soldiers inraged at the report of the besieging of the *Capitol*, made haste. *Petilius Cerealis* being sent before with a thousand Horse set upon the City, but was forced to retreat. *Antonius*

Vitellius is to seek what to do.

Primus coming on with the reſt of the Army, many skirmiſhes hapned, till ſuch time as the Guards being beaten from off the bridge *Veſpaſian*'s men entred the Citie with great fury, wherein they committed grievous outrages. *Vitellius* was pulled out of an hole in the Palace where he lurked, at firſt unknown; but being diſcovered, he deſired he might be kept in priſon, for that he had ſomething to reveal, which concerned the ſafety of *Veſpaſian*. But his hands being tied behind him, and an halter caſt about his neck, he was dragged half naked into the Market-place, and abuſed in the way, both by many words and deeds, was killed with many blows, and caſt after the faſhion of Traitors into *Tiber*. This hapned in the 57th year of his age, after he had held the Government eight moneths, and five dayes. The day following *Mucianus* entred the Citie, and the Soldiers being hindred from any further ſlaughters, the Empire was by the Senate decreed to *Veſpaſian*, who hearing theſe things at *Alexandria*, receiving congratulatory Embaſſies from all quarters, and having ſetled affaires in *Egypt*, ere he ſet forward for *Rome*, ordered his ſon *Titus* to ſet upon *Jeruſalem*, and finiſh the War in *Judæa*.

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Idem Ibid. & cap. 2, 3, 4.

lemnity; and hereby all Provisions were consumed in a short time. The three factions upon sight of his great Army agreed to oppose it, and issuing out, made great disorder, forcing the *Romans* to forsake their Camp, and fly to the Mountains; but they were repelled by the great care and industry of *Titus*. But on the day of *unleavened bread* (*April* the 14) *Eleazar*, who kept the inward part of the Temple, opening the Gates to the people, which was desirous to sacrifize, *John* sent many of his party in amongst the rest with swords hid under their Cloaths, who killing *Eleazar*, and many of his faction, seized also on that part of the Temple, and thereby the number of the factions was reduced to that of two. That under *John* consisted of 8400. and the other under *Simon* of 10000 fighting men besides 5000 *Idumeans*. Notwithstanding the Enemy was at the Walls, and to oppose him, they a little joyned together; yet did they break out the one upon the other, and the poor people miserably suffered under both. *Idem ibid. & Tacitus Hist. l. 5. c. 12.*

16. The Citie being fortified with three Walls on every side, but where it was fenced with deep Valleys, *Titus* having with much opposition placed his Engines, battered the uttermost of them, and breaking, on the third of *May* into the Citie, possessed all the North part as far as the *Tower of Antonius*, and the *Valley of Cedron*. Five dayes after, he brake within the second Wall, though the besieged made divers sallies. They beat him out again, but the fourth day after he recovered the place, and prepared for the battery of the third Wall. Yet he sent *Joseph* the *Historian* to them, who exhorting them with many words to yield, was entertained onely with scoffs and reproaches. The people thinking to escape out of the Citie, *John* and *Simon* stopped up all passages; yet the famine increasing many came out, whom being taken *Titus* caused to be Crucified to such a vast number that room was wanting for Crosses, and Crosses for persons. On the 12th of *May* he began four Mounts whereon to place his battering rams: two near to the *Castle Antonia*, where he hoped he might take the Temple, and other two near the *Monument of John* the High-Priest, where he thought he should with most ease break into the upper part of the Citie. But *John*, whose part it was to oppose the *Romans* in the former place, cast down, and burnt them two; and two dayes after *Simon* did as much by the other, though seventeen dayes had been spent in making them all. He destroyed also many rams and engines, and brake into the very Camp of the *Romans*; but was repelled by *Titus* from *Antonia*, who in a Council of Officers resolved now to compasse the whole City with a trench, which with incredible diligence and celerity was finished in three dayes, with thirteen forts to hinder the flight of the besieged, and hinder the conveyance of relief into the City. *Josephus de bello l. 6. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*

Breaking into it.

17. The seditious were nothing herewith moved, though the famine not only raged amongst the common sort, but themselves also were pressed by it. A certain Noble woman sod her child to eat it, and such a mortality ensued, that from the fourteenth of *April* to the first of *July* were caried out to be buried at the publick charge 115080 carkeises of the poorer sort, as *Titus* was told by one *Mannæus*, who was appointed to pay the money. Divers Noble men that fled to him, certified him also that 600000 of the ordinary sort were cast dead out of the gates, and others that were dead besides, were innumerable; for because they could not cary all out, they laid them up in houses. A bushel of corn was sold for a talent, sinks and holes were raked to find old dung of Oxen to eat, which much moved the *Romans* to compassion, but the seditious were hereby nothing changed. For *Simon* not obstaining from murders and rapines, notwithstanding this lamentable condition, killed *Matthias* the *High-Priest*, by whom he had been let into the City, with his three sons, and sixteen others, pretending that they purposed to flie to the Enemy. *Judas* one of his own Officers hereupon weary of his cruelty, attempted to betray a certain Tower, whereof he had the charge, to the *Romans*; but being discovered, was put to death with ten others of his complices. *John* also being driven by necessity, converted the Golden Vessels of the Temple with the sacred Money to prophane uses, and was constrained to divide the Wine and Oil, ordained for Sacrifices, to his Soldiers.

Famine rageth.

18. *Titus* cut down all the groves within a great distance of the City, and causing more mounts or scaffolds to be erected within 21 dayes, on the first of *July* began to batter the wall of *Antonia*, *John* that opposed him being beaten back, and on the fift day broke into the Castle. At this time many false Prophets suborned by the seditious, told the multitude they must expect assistance from God, and therefore though *Titus* often exhorted them to yield, they flatly refused, boasting that they would rather endure all miseries. The conrest was earnest about the Temple. The wall of the inward part thereof was too strong for the battering rams, and the defendants valiantly resisted at the top: the foundation of the gates could not be undermined, and therefore *Titus* was constrained to set them on fire. Yet was it his intention to save the Temple, but on the tenth of *August*, a certain soldier without any command, (nay against the command of his General) moved as by an instinct from above, cast fire into the buildings on the North side, which catching the flame imparted it to the Temple it self, notwithstanding all that *Titus* could do to quench it, on the same day of the same moneth that it was formerly set on fire by the command of *Nebuchadnezar*. The Temple thus burning *Titus* was saluted *Imperator* by his Soldiers, and the *Tyrants* with their companions fled into the City. They now desired a parly with the General himself, who checked them much for their obstinacy, but promised them life if they would yield. But refusing to commit themselves to his fidelity, they required to depart the City with their wives and children, wherewith being greatly angred, he commanded to be proclaimed by a Crier, that They should not look any longer for mercy. *Idem l. 7. c. 1, &c.*

Yet the deluded defendants refuse to yield.

The Temple burnt.

19. He permitted his Soldiers to plunder and burn the City; but the seditious wretches got to the *King's house*, where many had depositted their wealth, and thence repelled the *Romans*. They also killed of their own Country People to the number of 6400, and rifling the money got them into the upper and strongest part of the City, called *Sion*, where for all this danger they still most cruelly tyrannized. *Titus* having considered the strength of the place, provided engines to batter the walls, and began so to do it on the seventh day of *September*. Part of the wall being broken down, the Tyrants were seized with great fear and amazement, not knowing what to do. Some said the East part of it was broken down, others that the *Romans* were entred, and that they saw them out of the Towers; so that the power of God appeared in the overthrow of these wretches; for they forsook the Towers which were their onely strength, and in vain seeking to escape, hid themselves in caves and privies. The *Romans* enrering, put all to the Sword, and burnt the houses with all that fled to them for safeguard. *Titus* commanded both the Temple and City to be utterly razed by a plow brought over them, according to the custom; onely the West part of the wall with three Towers for their strength and beauty he preserved, to bear testimony of the stateliness of the City to posterity. They would have crowned him as a Conquerour for this work, but he refused the honour, denying he was the author of it, for that he onely served God herein, who by it demonstrated his wrath against the *Jews*. To such an end came this famous City, on the eighth day of *September*, in the second year of *Vespasian*, he and *Titus* his son being *Consuls*, 38 years after the death of *Christ*, the Blood of whom now fell heavy upon them. It had been taken in all six times; by *Asochæus* or *Shishack* King of *Ægypt*, *Nebuchadnesar*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Pompey*, *Herod* and *Sosius*, and now by *Titus*; but twice onely was it destroyed, *viz.* by *Nebuchadnezar* and *Titus*. It was first built, saith *Josephus*, by *Melchisedeck* King of *Salem*, and afterwards inlarged by *David*. It was destroyed by the *Babylonians* 1468 years and six moneths after the founding of it, and 477 years and six moneths after it had been taken by *David* from the *Canaanites*. By *Titus Vespasian* it was destroyed 1179 years after *David* took it, but from it's first founding to it's last destruction intervened 2177 years. *Idem ibid. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.*

Titus commandeth the Temple and City to be utterly razed.

A. D. 71. *Ol.* 212. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 823.

20. *John*

20. *John* and *Simon* having hid themſelves were taken, and the former being condemned to perpetual priſon, the other was reſerved for a Triumph. The reſt of the thieves and ſeditious were diſcovered, one telling of another, and were all ſlain. Of thoſe which during the whole War were taken captives the number amounted to 97000, and of thoſe that periſhed in the ſiege to 1100000. So heavy was the guilt which lay on them for the death of Chriſt, and ſuch were the horrid enormities committed by them, that we have reaſon to agree with *Joſephus*, who thought, that if the *Romans* had delayed to come againſt them, the City would either have been ſwallowed up of the Earth, or have periſhed by ſome Deluge, or elſe by Thunderbolts and Lightning have undergone the puniſhments of *Sodom*, whoſe Inhabitants they exceeded in wickedneſſe. A year after was *Lucilius Baſſus* ſent Lieutenant into *Judæa*, who taking the Army of *Cerealis Vitellianus* took the Caſtle of *Herodian* and of *Macharun* beyond *Jordan*. Not long after *Veſpaſian* wrote to *Liberius Maximus* the Governour, to ſell all the Land of the *Jews*, upon whom whereſoever they lived he impoſed a yearly tribute to be paied into the *Capitol*, it being that they were wont to pay into the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. About a year after *Publius Sylva* ſucceeded *Baſſus* then dead, and finiſhed the War, taking the ſtrong Caſtle of *Maſſada* from *Eleazar*, who held it with 960 hackſters, who upon his motion ſet fire on the Caſtle and all their goods, and then killed themſelves. Many ſuch as theſe flying out of the Country came to *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, where they ſollicired the *Jews* to revolt, but were by them delivered up to the *Romans*, and thoſe of them that then eſcaped were afterwards taken. *Veſpaſian* hearing of their attempt, gave order to *Lupus* Governour of *Alexandria*, to demoliſh the Temple of the *Jews* (built in *Ægypt* in times paſt by *Onias* brother of the *High-Prieſt*) which he neglecting to do, onely ſpoiled it of ſome conſecrated things, and ſhut it up. But *Paulinus* his Succeſſor utterly bereaved it of all, and ſo ſhut it up, that he made it inacceſſible, and without any ſhew of Religion, 343 years after it was firſt built by *Onias*.

Lib. 6. c. 16.

Idem l. 7. c. 25, 26, 28, 29, & 30, 31.

The War finiſhed by *Sylva.*

The Temple of the *Jews* in *Ægypt* deſtroyed.

21. But the *Jews* of *Cyrene* were alſo infected with a diſtemper of madneſſe. There one *Jonathan* a Weaver led many of the ſimple ſort into the Wilderneſſe, promiſing to ſhew them ſigns and wonders; but by the chiefeſt of the *Jews* the matter being diſcovered to *Catullus* Governour of thoſe parts, he ſent Soldiers who ſlew moſt of them, and not long after *Jonathan* himſelf was taken. *Catullus* a coverous man procured him and others to accuſe many unjuſtly, whom having ſlain and ſeized on their eſtates, he caried him to *Rome*, where following the ſame trade, *Joſeph* the Hiſtorian was alſo accuſed; but *Veſpaſian* having found out the deceit, cauſed *Jonathan* firſt to be whipped, and then burnt alive. *Catullus* at preſent eſcaped through the mildneſſe of the Emperour, but not long after fell into grievous anguiſh of mind, imagining he ſaw the ghoſts of thoſe he had ſlain, and his bowels rotted away from him, that he died miſerably. Thus far hath *Joſephus* communicated to us the affairs of the *Jews*, who being kindly entertaind by *Veſpaſian*, was honoured with a Statue, and his Books were thought worthy of the publick Library. For the truth of his Hiſtory concerning the Wars, he had the teſtimony of the *Emperours*, *King Agrippa*, and others. *Titus* would have the certain knowledge of theſe Wars delivered unto the World by his Books onely, commanding them to be publiſhed with the privilege of his own hand. And *King Agrippa* wrote 62 Epiſtles, wherein he teſtified of the true Hiſtory delivered by him. But his *Jewiſh Antiquities* he finiſhed not till the thirteenth of *Domitian*, when he himſelf was 56 years old, as he teſtifieth at the end of that Work.

A ſedition of the *Jews* in *Cyrene.*

Vide Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 9, 16.

The end of *Joſephus* his Hiſtory.

Joſephus contra Apionem lib. 1. & Antiquit. l. ult. c. ult.

22. To *Veſpaſian* was renewed the *Lex Regia*, and the ſame power that *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and the reſt enjoyed was confirmed to him as hereditarr. A fragment of this Law (which evinceth that abſolute power we formerly proved to have been in the Emperours) is yet extant after this manner. *Let it be lawful for him to make a League with whom he pleaſeth, as it was lawful to* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius

The *Lex Regia* renewed in behalf of *Veſpaſian.*

The *Lex Regia* renewed to *Veſpaſian.*

Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, &c. *As alſo to hold the Senate, make reports, diſmiſſe, and* make Senatus Conſulta *by reporting and ſeparation, as it was lawful to* Divus Auguſtus, Tib. Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, Tib. Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, when as by his will, authority, command, or mandate, or he being preſent the Senate ſhall be aſſembled, it ſhall be effectual to all ends and purpoſes, as if the Senate had been aſſembled or held by Law. Moreover, whomſoever he ſhall commend to the* Roman *Senate and People that ſtand for any Magiſtracy, power, command, or charge, or to whomſoever he ſhall give or promiſe his ſuffrage, let them be conſidered beyond the uſual form in the Comitia. As alſo it may be lawful for him to inlarge the Pomerium if he think it convenient for the Commonwealth, ſo as it was lawful for* Tib. Claudius Cæſar Germanicus. *Moreover, whatſoever he ſhall think uſeful for the Commonwealth, or agreeable to the Majeſty of all things divine or humane, publick or private, let him have right and authority to act and do, ſo as it was lawful for* Divus Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, from what Laws and Plebiſcita it was ordained, that* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus *ſhould be looſed, from thoſe Laws and Plebiſcita, let the* Emperour Cæſar Veſpaſian *be looſed. And what things ſoever, by what Law or aſking ſoever* Divus Auguſtus, Tib. Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus *ought to do, let it be lawful for the* Emperour Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus *to do them all. Moreover, what things ſoever before the making of this Law were acted, done, decreed, or commanded by the* Emperour Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus, *or by any other, by virtue of his command or mandate, let them be held as juſt and valid, as if they had been done by command of the People or Commons.*

Ex tabula ænea in baſilica Lateranenſi alta palmos 9. lata 5, digitos 3 craſſa. in Inſcrip. Gruteri pag. 242. Et ex Antiq. Epigrammatum libro apud Hottomannum l. de Legibus Romanis.

The Sanction.

If any one by virtue of this Law hath done or ſhall do any thing againſt the Laws, aſking of Laws (rogationes) *Plebiſcita or Senatus Conſulta, or ſhall not do what he ought to have done according to any Law, aſking, Plebiſcitum or Senatusconſultum, and that by virtue of this Law, let no damnage thence light upon him; neither let him owe any thing to the People for this matter, neither let any have an action againſt him, neither let any one judge him, nor permit the matter to be debated before him.*

23. In the fourth year of *Veſpaſian*, *Cæſennius Paetus* Preſident of *Syria*, accuſed *Antiochus* King of *Comagena* and *Epiphanes* his Son, as holding correſpondence with the *Parthian*, whereupon order was given him to prevent what might enſue. *Paetus* then invaded *Comagena*, which *Antiochus* quitted, being loth to fight, and fled into *Cilicia*. His ſons alſo, after they had made ſome oppoſition, went to *Vologeſus* into *Parthia*. But *Paetus* procured *Antiochus* to be taken and ſent to him bound towards *Rome*, yet *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be looſed, and ſtay at *Lacedæmon*, where he allowed him a revenue to live like himſelf, and he afterwards ſent for both him and his ſons to the City, where they were magnificently entertained. About this time the *Alani*, who being *Scythians* inhabited about *Tanais* and the Lake *Meotis*, conſulted with the King of the *Hyrcanians* who was Maſter of the Straights to invade *Media*, which they entred and ſacked at their pleaſure, *Pacorus* the King being forced up into a ſtrong hold, and glad to redeem his wife and concubines with 100 Talents. From *Media* they paſſed into *Armenia*, and waſted the Country. *Tiridates* the King oppoſed them, but was near being taken alive in battel, for with his ſword he cut in pieces the rope that was caſt about his neck, as they were therewith drawing him amongſt his Enemies, and eſcaped. But they inraged at his oppoſition waſted the Kingdom, and carying great booty out of both Countries returned home.

Joſephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. c. 27.

Paetus gaineth *Comagena.*

The *Alani* invade *Media* and *Armenia.*

24. *Veſpaſian* took away liberty from *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Samus*, reducing them into *Provinces*, as alſo *Thrace*, *Cilicia*, and

Several acts of *Veſpaſian.*

Suetonius in Veſpaſiano.

and *Comagena*, the King whereof he ſent for to *Rome*, as we ſaid before. *Cappadocia* now began to be over-run with barbarous Nations, to reſtrain whom he added Legions, and placed one of *Conſular dignity* over it in room of a *Knight*. At length all Wars and tumults being ſuppreſſed both at home and abroad, he ſhut the Temple of *Janus* the ſixth time from the foundation of the City. It was his principal care firſt to ſettle and eſtabliſh the afflicted and tottering condition of the Empire, and then to adorn it. Whereas the City was very deformed by reaſon of the burning of it, he permitted any to build upon old plots, if the owners would relinquiſh them: he alſo re-edified the *Capitol*. *Oroſius l.7.c.9.*

His character. As to his perſonal quality, he was of much temper and clemency, eaſily paſſing by and forgetting injuries. The meanneſſe of his former condition he ſought not to hide, but ſometimes would profeſſe it openly. He took not the *Tribunitial power*, nor title of *Father of his Country* for ſome time. If any innocent perſon were puniſhed it was ſorely againſt his will, and for want of knowledge. He paſſed by the treaſon of many that had plotted his deſtruction, ſaying, *They were fools, and knew not what a weight and trouble the Empire was*: he weeped and groaned at the puniſhment of an offender. To *Vologeſes* King of *Parthia* who wrote to him thus: *Arſaces King of Kings to Fl. Veſpaſian*, without any reproof he directed his anſwer thus, *Fl. Veſpaſian to Arſaces King of Kings*. The onely vice reprehended in him was covetouſneſſe, and yet to that ſeeking earneſtly for money, he was conſtrained through the neceſſities of the State. Tis certain he uſed it well however gotten, being very liberal in feaſting, relieving impoveriſhed Senators, and others of deſert. Hee incouraged learning, and gave the firſt ſtipends out of the Exchequer to the Profeſſors thereof. He was *Conſul* eight times (beſides once before he was Emperour) and in his laſt *Conſulſhip* died of a flux, in the 69 year of his age, the tenth of his reign being compleared; in the 832 of the City, A. D. 79, he *himſelf* the ninth time and *Titus Ceſar* the ſeventh being *Conſuls*. *Xiphilinus ex Dione.*

His death, He was the firſt Emperour whoſe ſucceſſor was his own ſon. In his time flouriſhed *Pliny* the elder and writer of the Natural Hiſtory. Who alſo the ſame year that he died, whilſt he went to ſee what might be the cauſe of the burning of the hill *Veſuvius*, was ſtifled with the ſmoak thereof, and died, as *Pliny Junior* his nephew writes in his Epiſtle * to *Trajan*. Now alſo *Quintilian* and other learned men were famous.

And that of *Pliny.* * *Lib. 6. ep. 16.*

Titus ſucceedeth him. 25. *Titus* his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him (by whom *Jeruſalem* had been taken, and deſtroyed) on the eighth of the *Calends* of *June*. He was born that year wherein *Caius* was ſlain, and brought up with *Britanicus* the ſon of *Claudius*, being inſtructed in the ſame things by the ſame Maſters: he was thought alſo to have drunk ſome of the poyſon which *Nero* gave to that Prince, and that this was the cauſe of his want of health ſome conjectured. He performed the Office of Tribune both in the Wars of *Germany* and *Britain* with great commendations, and after that, being *Quæſtor*, came to have the command of a Legion in *Judea*. After his father came to the Government he was ſuſpected by ſome, when he was yet in *Ægypt*, as intending to eſtabliſh himſelf, whereupon he haſted to *Rome* to cut off all jealouſies. Taking then part with his father in the publick cares, he triumphed with him over *Judea*, executed with him the *Cenſorſhip*, *Tribuneſhip*, and ſeven *Conſulſhips*; nay taking as it were all upon him, he dictated letters in his fathers name, publiſhed edicts, ſpake in the Senate, and that in the room of the *Quæſtor*, and took on him the Government of the *Palace*, which never had formerly been diſcharged but by ſome *Roman Knight*; and this Office he executed with ſuch rigor, that he contracted much envy, and was accounted cruel. He was ſuſpected of luxury, for feaſting with voluptuous perſons till midnight; of incontinency alſo, being (amongſt other arguments) too familiar with *Berenice* the ſiſter of *King Agrippa*, to which Lady he is alſo ſaid to have promiſed marriage, but performed it not, becauſe of the diſtaſte of the People. Moreover rapacity was laid to his charge. Hee was both accounted and openly talked of as another *Nero*, and ſcarcely did any *Sueton in Tito. Eutrop l.7. Oroſius l.7.c.9. alii.*

A. D. 79. *V. C.* 832. *Titi* 1.

any ever came with more fear or leſſe favour to the Government.

26. But ſo contrarily to expectation did he behave himſelf, that his former cariage did but ſet him off with the greater luſtre; and ſo free was he from all vice, and adorned with ſo many virtues, that he became the *Love and delight of mankind*, and by an happy exchange was ſo called. His temperance he ſhewed in the moderation of his diet, the choice of his companions, and putting away *Berenice*: his moderation by abſtaining utterly from other mens goods, and refuſing often ordinary benevolences, although no man ever exceeded him in munificence. He was the *Mirrour of courteſy*, being wont to ſay, that *no man ſhould go ſorrowful from the preſence of the Prince*; and on a day having done no courteſie for any man, he ſaid, *Amici diem perdidi, My friends I have loſt a day*. Several ſad accidents hapned in his little time; ſo great a Peſtilence as ſeldom had been known. So great a fire there was in *Rome*, and kindled from Heaven, that it burnt three dayes together. *Veſuvius* alſo the hill in *Campania* burſt forth with great flames, and deſtroyed all round about it; all which miſeries he leſſened as much as he could, neither ſparing coſt nor pains to relieve the diſtreſſed. At the ſame time another War aroſe in *Britain*, wherein *Cn. Julius Agricola* harrazed all the Country of the Enemies, and firſt of all the *Romans* that we know of, ſaith *Dio**, knew that *Britain* was compaſſed about by the ſea. For certain Soldiers in a Sedition having killed their *Centurions* and *Tribunes* fled to their ſhips, and lanching out, ſailed about that part of *Britain* which lieth towaid the Weſt, being caried by waves and wind: when they had done this, and by chance light upon the other Camp of the *Romans* on the other ſide, *Agricola* ſent out others to hold the ſame courſe, from whom he alſo knew that it was an Iſland. Theſe things being done in *Britain*, *Titus* was ſaluted *Imperator* the fifteenth time. *Agricola* paſſed the reſt of his life in ignominie and poverty, becauſe he had done greater things than were ſuitable for a *Prætor*; and for that cauſe he was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, though by the permiſſion of *Titus* he had triumphed. But concerning theſe things *Tacitus* is rather to be conſulted in the life of *Agricola*.

His admirable virtues.

Several calamities in his time.

* *Apud Xiphil. in excerpt. l.66.*

27. *Titus* put down informers, uſually tollerated before. His mercy was too great; for he vowed he had rather periſh than deſtroy another, as according to the judgment of ſome it came to paſſe. Amongſt others that plotted his deſtruction, he not onely ſpared his brother *Domitian*, but had him in the ſame reſpect as from the beginning, and owned him as his partner and ſucceſſor; onely betwixt them two he beſought him with tears at length to relent to Love and Unity. He was a man of excellent parts, both outward and inward accompliſhments; but to the great loſſe of man-kind, was preſently taken away, whether by the treachery of his brother or no, is uncertain. In the beginning of his ſickneſſe he is ſaid to have look'd up to Heaven, as taking it ill he ſhould dye ſo ſoon, being not conſcious to himſelf of any ſin, ſave one, which as he did not expreſſe, ſo it is altogether unknown. He was with good reaſon ſadly lamented throughout the *Provinces*. He died in the ſame Village his Father had ended his dayes, near the Country of the *Sabines*, in the 42 year of his age, when he had reigned two years, as many moneths, and twenty dayes; in the 834 year of the City, A. D. 81, *M. Plautius Silvanus*, and *M. Annius Verus* being *Conſuls*.

He dieth.

28. *Domitian* (ſo called from *Domitilla* their mother) ſucceeded *Titus*, being more like to *Nero*, *Caligula*, or *Tiberius*, than either father or brother. His youth he paſſed diſgracefully enough. Doubting upon the death of his father, whether he ſhould not give a double donative to the Soldiers to obtain their good-will, he never feared to boaſt that he was left partner in the Empire by his father, but that his teſtament was corrupted. He never ceaſed to plot againſt his brother ſecretly or openly, and ere he was quite dead commanded him to be caried out as ſuch. In the beginning of his reign he reſtrained himſelf; for his cruelty was then imployed upon flies, which privately in a room hee was wont to catch and prick with a bodkin, ſo that one asking whether any body was within with *Ceſar*? it was not unfirly anſwered

Domitian his brother ſucceeded him. *Sueton & Eutropius.*

A. D. 81. *V. C.* 834. *Titi* 3.

At his beginning dissembleth his Vices.

swered by *Vibius Crispus*, *No not so much as a flie.* But though at present he strove to allay the fury of his vices by some forced virtue, yet within a while he let fall also this vizard, and became in appearance what inwardly his disposition inclined him to be.

Great difficulties in his time,

29. He undertook several Expeditions, as against the *Catti* and *Sarmatians* (People inhabiting the Northern parts of *Europe*) who had cut off a whole Legion. The *Dacians* also put him to much trouble, and grievously afflicted the *Roman* State, under conduct of *Diurpaneus* their King; for they overthrew first *Oppius Sabinus* a man of *Consular dignity*, and next *Cornelius Fuscus* Captain of the Guards, in several sore and bloody battels, insomuch that the Historians of those times, have thought fittest to passe over in silence the number of the slain; Yet at length he triumphed over them all. He was also struck at by a Civil War raised by *L. Antonius* President of upper *Germany*, whom he had incensed by the odiousnesse of his vices, and especially by uncivil language. This he finished absent with admirable felicity; for, that very hour the fight was to be, the *Rhine* swelled so high, that it hindred the Auxiliaries which were sent to *Antonius* from joyning with him. In the second year of his reign *Agricola* defeated the *Ordovices* in *Britain*, and took the Isle *Mona* about Autumn, and that upon his first coming into the Island. So that the years of the Expeditions which *Tacitus* afterwards relateth, are rather to be reckoned from the *Kalends* of *January* of the former year, as *Jacobus Cappellus* hinteth. Though *Dion Cassius*, as appeareth from *Xiphilin*, referred the discovery of that *Britain* an Island to the reign of *Titus*. Yet others unto the time of *Domitian*, who at length envying *Agricola* that great glory he had got in reducing *Britain*, recalled him under pretence of sending him into *Asia*; and he died two years after, on the tenth of the *Calends* of *September* in the 56 year of his age, *Pompeius Collega* and *Cornelius Priscus* being *Consuls*. Whether hee died of poyson or not, though there wanted not suspitions, *Tacitus* his son-in-law dareth not affirm.

Sueton in Domitiano. *Eutropius ut supra.* *Orosius lib. 7. c. 16.* *Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.*

Which yet he overcometh.

His cruelty.

30. *Domitian* having suppressed the rebellion of *Antonius*, grew extraordinarily cruel, putting men to death upon small and trivial accounts. Those of any note that were of his party he tortured to death by wayes unheard of, and confounded the cause of the innocent with that of the guilty, raging against the Christians with a second persecution. He arrived at that horrid arrogance, that he sticked not to say in the Senate, *that he gave the Empire to his father and brother*, who did but restore it to him; and (what was worse than this) he would be called *our Lord and God.* Being hereby rendred terrible and hatefull unto all, he wrought his own destruction, which fearing, and being foretold it by the *Chaldeans*, he grew timorous out of measure, and was ruined with the least suspition. Hence did he cause the place where he was wont to abide to be beset with the stone *Phengites*, that he might see if any one came behind him; and though he was sufficiently ambitious, yet did he refuse an extraordinary honour offered him by the Senate, *viz.* that *when he bore the Consulship, Knights should go before him with spears amongst the Sergeants.* Hence also he put *Epaphroditus* his Secretary to death, because it was believed that he had helped *Nero* in dispatching himself; and he killed *Flavius* his Uncle, though he had openly owned his two sons as his Successors, whereof the one he called *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*; which haftened his destruction. Eight moneths after he was slain by his own servants, of whom *Parthenius* the chief of his Chamber was principal, *Domitia* his wife being drawn in to the conspiracy, for that she feared to be poysoned for her kindnesse to *Paris*. *Longinus Proculus* then in *Germany* is said to have foretold the very day of his death, and *Apollonius Tyaneus* a famous *Magitian* (who being convented before him vanished out of sight) spoke of it that very hour, exhorting *Stephanus* as it were *to strike him home.* The people took his death indifferently, the Soldiers heavily, which they shortly after revenged upon the murtherers; but the Senate as it were triumphed, and ordered the memory of him to be abolished. The best thing we find concerning him was, that though he was no Scholar himself, he took care

His death.

A. D. 96. *V. C.* 849. *Domitiani* 15.

care for repairing of Libraries. He was murthered on the fourteenth before the Calends of *October*, in the 45th year of his age, and the 15th of his reign, in the 849 year of the Citie, A. D. 96. *T. Fulvius Valens*, and *C. Antistius Vetus* being *Consuls*. In his time flourished *Statius Papinius*, who beginneth the fourth book of his *Sylvæ* with the celebration of his 17th Consulship, which fell in with the 14th of his reign. *Juvenal* and *Martial* also flourished at this time; whereof the later was of *Equestrian rank*, though ever poor, as * he himself witnesseth.

* *Sum fateor semperque fui Callistrate pauper. Sed non obscurus nec male notus eques.*

Ecclesiastical matters in his time.

31. Now must we give a short account of Ecclesiastical affairs according to the course of time and matter. (*a*) *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* being by St. *Paul*, (who converted him to the faith) made *Bishop* of *Athens*, governed that Church in the time of *Nero* and afterwards. There are extant several works under his name, but suspected; and sundry Epistles, whereof one to *John* the *Evangelist* then in the Isle *Pathmos*, and another unto *Polycarpus*. *Linus* the Bishop of *Rome*, being Crowned with Martyrdom on the ninth of the *Calends* of *October*, in the last year of *Nero*, according to *Damasus*, *Cletus* or *Anacletus* succeeded him in that Sea. Some next unto *Linus* do place *Clemens*, then *Cletus*, and then *Anacletus*. But *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius* rank them thus: *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, *Clemens*; for he whom *Irenæus* and *Eusebius* call *Anacletus*, is by *Epiphanius* and *Damasus* called *Cletus*. This *Cletus* according to *Damasus* died in the 2 year of *Domitian*, on the sixth before the *Calends* of *May*, and was succeeded by *Anacletus*. But (*b*) *Eusebius* maketh *Anacletus* to have been *Bishop* twelve years, and in the 12th of *Domitian* to have been succeeded by *Clemens*, whom St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, calleth his *fellow labourer*. In the fourth year of the reign of *Domitian* (*c*) *Anianus* the first Bishop of *Alexandria* (having continued there 32 years) died, to whom succeeded *Abilius*. As for the *Bishops* of *Byzantium* afterwards called *Constantinople*, we have them in this order from (*d*) *Nicephorus* the *Patriarch*. The first was *Andrew* the Apostle, who having preached the word at *Byzantium*, and built an Oratory in *Argyropolis* ordained *Stachys* to be Bishop, of whom (*e*) St. *Paul* maketh mention. *Stachys* governed 16 years, after him succeeded in the year of our Lord 55 *Onesimus*, who governed 14. then *Polycarpus* ruled 17. and *Eleutherius* 7. who came to the Chair A. D. 85. in the second of *Domitian*.

(*a*) *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *l.* 4. *c.* 22.

Bishops.

(*b*) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 14.

(*c*) *Idem ibid. c.* 13.

(*d*) *Vide Joseph. Scaliger in Eusebianis pag.* 313.

(*e*) *Rom.* 16. 9.

St. *John* banished to *Pathmos.*

32. *Domitian* having raised the second persecution against the Christian faith, St. *John* the *Apostle*, who having continued at *Ephesus* 27 years, was in the ninth of his reign banished into the Island (*a*) *Pathmos* one of the *Cyclades*, where he wrote his *Revelation*. In this work he sheweth both *Christs* and his own hatred of the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; for several Heresies had by this time sprung up, as St. *Paul* had forewarned. (*b*) *Eusebius* maketh *Simon Magus* the first Author of Heresies, concerning whom we have already spoken, but as to his Heresies particularly, 1 He affirmed that he himself was Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that he was worshipped of all people by divers names. 2. That Christ did suffer no hurt from the *Jews*; for he was Christ. 3. That any man might ly with any woman, for this was no sin. 4. That the World was made by Angels, and that an Angel redeemed mankind. 5. He denied the Resurrection. 6. He thought that the gifts of the holy Ghost might be bought with money, and therefore that sin of him is called *Simony*. (*c*) *Nicholas* the Patron of the *Nicholaitans* was one of the seven first *Deacons*. He having a fair wife, and being accused of jealousie, permitted any to marry her, at which fact others taking occasion, thought it lawfull for any man to have the company of any woman whom they themselves could like. (*d*) *Epiphanius* writeth, that they taught Venery to be so necessary, that those men who used it not every week on Friday could not be saved. Besides these Hereticks, about the year 69 sprung up the Heresie of the *Cerinthians*. (*e*) *Cerinthus* was a *Jew* by birth. He taught that the World was made by Angels. 2. That *Jesus* our Saviour had for his Parents indeed *Joseph* and *Mary*, and that at his baptism *Christ* descended on him, who (saith he) is called the holy Ghost, by whom he did all his miracles; when *Jesus* was to be crucified

(*a*) *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 18.

(*b*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 13.

Hæreticks.

1 *Simon Magus.*

2 *Nicholaitans.*

(*c*) *Clemens Alexand. Strom. l.* 3. *& Euseb. l.* 3. *c.* 29.

(*d*) *Lib.* 2. *Tom.* 2. *Her.* 25.

3 *Corinthians.*

(*e*) *Irenæus Epiphanius Euseb. l.* 3. *c.* 28. *l.* 4. *c.* 14. *Philastrius.*

of the *Jews*, then Christ left him, and returned into Heaven. 3. That Christs Kingdom after the resurrection should be an earthly Kingdom, and men then should live in all fleshly lusts and pleasures together for 1000 years. 4. He denied the Divine nature of Christ, and said, that he had onely an humane nature; and that he was not yet risen from the dead, but should rise hereafter. 5. He affirmed that the old law, and all the old Commandments and Precepts belonging to it were to be kept, together with the new Law or Gospel, and that therefore Circumcision was necessary for every one that would be saved. *Epiphanius* writeth, that certain *Heretieks* called *Alogi*, affirmed *Cerinthus* to have been the Author of the *Revelation*.

Menander. 33. About the beginning of *Domitian* arose also the Heresie of *Menander* a *Samaritan*, and the Scholar of *Simon Magus*. He taught first, that the World was made by Angels, and that these Angels could be overcome by no means but by Art Magick. 2. He denied Christ to be true man. 3. He affirmed himself the Saviour of the World, and that he came from Heaven to save mankind, & that all who would be saved must be baptized in his name. Out of his Doctrine (that we may speak of these Hereticks briefly) budded that of *Saturninus* of *Antioch*, who not long after in like manner taught, 1 That the world was made by seven Angels, without the knowledge of God the father. 2. That Christ was but the shadow of a man, for he had neither the true Body nor Soul of a man, and thus he fulfilled the mystery of our redemption. 3 He said *Basilides.* moreover that marriage and procreation was of the Devil. *Basilides*, of whom were named the *Basilidiani*, agreed in several points with *Simon*, *Menander*, and *Saturninus*. He taught, that Christ did not suffer but *Simon* of *Cyrene*; that Christ taking the form of *Simon* laughed them to scorn. 2 He turned men away from Martyrdom, affirming that it was no sin to deny Christ in time of persecution. 3. That the Angels made 365 Heavens, and that these Heavens made the World. He wrote 24 books upon the Gospel, and feigned to himself Prophets, whom he called *Barcabas* and *Barcoph*. He commanded silence to his Scholars for the space of five years, after the manner of *Pythagoras*.

Euseb. l. 3. c. 26. & c. Irenæus, Epiphan. August. Philastr.

Euseb. l. 4. c. 7.

Carpocrates and the Gnosticks his Scholars. 34. *Irenæus* writeth, that in the time of these two *Carpocrates* lived, the father of the Heresie held by the *Gnosticks*, who thought good not to make known the Sorcery of *Simon* privily but openly, glorying of charmed love-drinks, of Devilish, and drunken dreams, of assistant and associate spirits, with other like illusions. They taught further, that who so would attain to the perfection of their mysteries must work such facts though never so filthy, otherwise could they not overcome (as they termed them) the secular Potentates, unless every one played his part after the same secret operation. These were the most vile Hereticks in filthiness of all others. They held 1. That the Soul was made of the substance of God, and that brute beasts have reason as man hath. 2. That there are two Gods, a good and an evil one, and that this evil God was the Creator of all things. *Carpocrates* also taught 1 That Christ was a meer man born of *Joseph*, and not of the blessed Virgin, that he was a good man, and therefore after he was Crucified his Soul went up into Heaven, but his body is still in the Grave. 2. That the World was made by Angels. 3. That there is no resurrection. 4. He rejected the *Old Testament* as not *Canonical*. Besides these, at this time arose the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, so called from *Ebion*. He taught, that Christ was but a meer man. *Ebionites.* 2. That when *Jesus* was 30 years old there descended on him, and dwelt in him another person called *Christ*, and thus *Jesus* and *Christ* dwelt, and were united together. 3. He agreed with *Cerinthus* in the rest of the Heresies, touching Circumcision, and keeping all the Law of *Moses*. He denied the *Epistles of Paul*, accusing him that he fell from the Law. The *Jewish Sabbath*, and other Ceremonies he observed together with the *Jews*, onely the *Sunday* he celebrated as we do in remembrance of the resurrection. 'Tis reported that St. *John* hearing *Ebion* was in the Bath refrained his company, and having seen and allowed the three Gospels published by the other *Evangelists*, wrote his own to confute the Heresies of *him*, *Cerinthus* and *Menander*.

Irenæus, Epiphan. August. Philastr.

Epiphan. Hæres. 30. Euseb. l. 3. c. 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the death of Domitian *to that of* Pertinax, *and the exposing of the Empire to publick sale by the Soldiers, the space of 97 years.*

1. IT is reported of *Domitian*, that not long before his death he dreamed, *that a golden neck and head was grown up on his shoulders*, and that he was fully assured, that after him *were thereby portended golden dayes to the Commonwealth*. This truly came to pass through the abstinence, moderation, and excellent government of the six succeeding Princes, during the reign of whom the *Roman Empire* (for temporal respects) enjoyed more happiness, than ever before or after, Strangers affording that, which the Natives of *Italy* would not contribute to their own Country.

Golden dayes after Domitian. *Sueton in Domitian. Eutropius. Xiphilinus ex Dione.*

2. *Cocceius Nerva*, an old man, and born in *Crete* (say some, though others make him a native of *Narnia* in *Italy*) after the death of *Domitian* had the Empire put upon him, by the Legions which then quartered amongst the *Sequani* in *Gall*. After his assuming the Government, a strong rumour went abroad, that *Domitian* was yet living, which somewhat perplexed him, till by *Parthenius*, and *Petronius*, Captains of the guards, he was put out of doubt; and afterwards his election was confirmed by the Senate. He took down the golden and silver Statues erected to *Domitian*, whereof was raised a great sum of money, and forbad any to be set up to himself. He recalled such as his predecessors banished, and amongst others the *Christians*, so that St. *John* the *Apostle* returned out of *Pathmos* unto *Ephesus*. *Calpurnius Crassus* by vast promises attempted to draw the Soldiers from him; but being happily discovered, he onely banished him to *Tarentum*. He eased the Commonwealth of the grievous impositions laid upon it, and having conjoyned these two things, in the times of some of his Predecessors insociable, viz. *Soveraignty* and *Liberty*, although he had kindred of his own, yet he adopted *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, a *Spaniard* born, who then ruled *Germany*, preferring herein the publick good before private respects. He lived with him but three moneths. For falling out with one *Regulus* a *Senator*, he was in so great a passion, that it drove his natural heat into a Feaver, whereof he died on the sixth before the *Calends* of *February*, having lived 65 years, and reigned one year, four moneths, and nine dayes, in the 851 year of the City, A. D. 98, *he himself* the fourth, and *Trajanus Cæsar* the second time, being *Consuls*.

Aurelius Victor.

Nerva succeedeth him.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 21.

Tacitus in Agricola.

Adopteth Trajan and dieth.

3. *Trajan* succeeded him, and took the Ensigns of the Empire at *Agrippina* a Colony in *Gall*. He presently reduced all *Germany* beyond the *Rhine* into it's wonted condition, brought under also several Nations beyond the River *Danubius*. But *Diurpanes* (or *Diurpanis*, *Decebalus*, or *Decibalus*, for he hath several names) King of the *Daci*, who had formerly forced *Domitian* to pay tribute, held him stiffly to it for the space of five years, with the expence of so much blood, that there wanted linnen to bind up the wounds of the Soldiers, and the Emperour tare his own robe to supply the defect thereof. But at length he brought them under, and planted Colonies in that Country. He reduced *Armenia*, having killed him that seized on it, conquered *Parthia* (whence he was called *Parthicus*) and passing over *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, invaded *Persia* and *Assyria*; and got into his hands *Seleucia*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Babylon*. Considering *Trajan* as an *Heathen Prince*, in excellency of Government he was second to none. He extended the Empire further than any of his predecessors; so that now it reached from the *Irish Ocean* beyond the River *Tigris*: from the *Atlantick* Sea to the *Persian Gulf*; from the *Mount Atlas* to the *Calidonian Forrest*: as also as far as the River *Albis*, and beyond *Danubius*. He had in his intention to invade *India* with a Fleet, which he ordered to be provided in the *Red Sea*. He was saluted

Orosius l. 7. c. 12.

Trajan succeedeth him.

A. D. 98. *V. C.* 851. *Trajani* 1.

His Wars.

He extendeth the Empire further than ever.

saluted *Optimus* by the Senate. His moderation was exceeding great, being backed with such a confidence of his own innocence, that giving a dagger to *Saburanus* according to the custom, when he made him *Captain of his Guard*, he bade him use it in his behalf if he did well, but imploy it against him, if he found him to transgresse the bounds of Law and equity, for as much as he that ought to look to others, should most of all look to himself. He so used his Subjects *as he himself* (he said) *would desire his Prince should use him, were he a private person.* Though he was not learned himself, yet he much favoured humane and secular Learning, conversing very familiarly and often with the Professors thereof, whom he also preferred to publick Offices.

A moderate person in civil matters,

4. *Humane* and *Secular Learning* he favoured, and that onely. For he raised the third persecution against the Heavenly Doctrin and the Church of *Christ*, to which cruelty the worldly wise men seem most of all to have contributed. Being puffed up with the Victory he had obtained over the *Daci* and *Thracians* (after the ending of the *second Dacian War*, in the ninth year of his reign, *Decebalus* having killed himself) as he was maching against *Osroes* or *Chosdroes* the *Parthian* King, and the *Armenians*, having commanded all that would not worship his false gods to be put to death, *Ignatius* the Scholar of St. *John* the *Apostle*, and *Bishop* now of *Antioch*, was brought before him, whilst he lay (in his passage) in this City. *Ignatius* standing in his presence, he said, *who art thou* Devil (Cacodæmon) *who makest haste to transgresse our Commands, and perswadest others to destroy themselves?* *Ignatius* answered, *No body calleth* Theophorus a Cacodæmon, *for Devils flie from the Servants of God. But I know thou so callest me because I molest them. For I confesse I have Christ the heavenly King; and dissolve their councils.* *Trajan* demanded *who is* Theophorus? *Ignatius* replyed, *He who hath Christ in his breast.* *Trajan* said, *Dost not thou think we have the Gods in our breast which assist us against our Enemies?* *Ignatius* answered, *In that thou esteemest the Devils of the Gentiles to be gods, thou erreſt. For there is one God, who made Heaven, and Earth, and Sea, with all that are in them; and he hath one onely begotten Sonne Jesus Christ, whose friendship I have obtained.* *Trajan* then said, *Thou speakest of him that was crucified by* Pontius Pilate: *Ignatius* replyed, *Of him who crucified sin and the inventor of it; and who approveth not of him that serveth Idols, but who in his heart wisely understandeth this.* *Trajan* added, *Dost thou then carry Christ in thy self?* *Ignatius* said, *Yea, for it is written, I will dwell and walk in them.* *Trajan* concluded thus, *I award that* Ignatius, *who saith, he beareth in himself* the Crucified, *be conveyed in bonds by Soldiers to the great City* Rome, *there to be devoured of beasts for a show to the People.* This was accordingly executed upon the most holy Marty, on the 20 of *December*, as it is recorded in his *Acta* or the *Memorials* of him collected by *Philo*, *Gaius*, and *Agathopes*, who followed him from *Syria* to *Rome*; concerning which, as also three Epistles which go under his name, the Dissertations of the most Reverend and Learned Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* are to be consulted.

But persecuteth the Church.

His discourse with *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*,

Whom he causeth to be cast to wild beasts at *Rome*.

5. *Ignatius* being vexed by a tedious journey, that his constancy might be shaken, when he came to *Troas* (or new *Troy*, built not far from the place where that of *Priamus* stood) understood that Peace was restored to his Church of *Antioch*. This came to passe whilst *Trajan* still continued there, consulting about the *Parthian* War, as appeareth from *Malela* the Historian of that City. For *Tiberianus* the *President* of the chief Nation of *Palestine*, moved the Emperour to moderation by this letter: *I am wearied with punishing and putting to death the* Galilæans *(who come before us under the name of Christians) according to your Commands, yet they cease not to reveal themselves for the slaughter. And although I have laboured both by exhortation and threatnings, that they might not dare to make known themselves to me as professors of that doctrine; yet being prosecuted, they do not cease. I desire therefore that what your pleasure is in this kind, your Majesty would please to*

consule Usserium in notis ad Epist. Ignatii ad Philadelphenos.

Tiberianus his letter to *Trajan*.

to certifie me. * *Suidas* mentioning also this message of *Tiberianus* unto *Trajan*, addeth, that the Emperour forbad all his Subjects to punish the *Christians*. Yet that this indulgence was not so universal, but that it most especially concerned *Palestine*, *Syria*, and other parts of the *East*, where the Emperour then resided, appeareth from *Ignatius* his deprecation, that the persecution might cease, when he was even to be brought into the *Amphitheatre*: as the *Acts* or *Memorials* concerning him relate. But besides this Letter of *Tiberianus*, there is extant another of *Pliny* the younger, who was moved to write to the *Emperour* upon the same occasion, and for the same end.

* *In voce* Τραϊανός.

Mitigateth the Persecution.

6. For being *Proprator* of *Bithynia*, the *variety of cases in those that were accused troubled him; although, to comply with the iniquity of the times, he declareth, that such as stood out his threatnings thrice, he commanded to be led to punishment.* He signifieth, that out *of such as had formerly been Christians, but now worshipped the Images of the Emperour, and the gods, and blaspheмed Christ, he could not get any confession of any other fault or error, than that they were wont on a day appointed, before it was light, to meet together, and sing an hymn to Christ; and bound themselves by a* Sacramentum *or religious oath, not for any wickedneſſe, but that they should not commit robbery, theft, or adultery, that they should not break promise nor cheat. Which being done, they were wont to depart, and meet again to eat, promiscuously but innocently. To get out the truth he tortured two women servants, but could not find any thing justly chargeable, though through his Ethnick gravity and desire to please the Emperour, he termeth the faith* Superstitio prava & immodica, or a naughty and immoderat superstition. He addeth, that *it seemed to him a thing worthy of serious consideration; especially for the number of those that were in danger: for many,* saith he, *of every age and order, and of both Sexes, are brought, and will be brought into danger. For not onely hath the contagion of this superstition gone through Cities; but also Villages, and fields, which as it seemeth might be stopped and corrected. To be sure, it's clear enough, that the Temples which were almost desolate begin to be frequented, and the sacrifices of long time intermitted to be restored, beasts for that use now going off, which till now scarcely any would buy. Whereby it is easie to guesse, what a multitude of men might be reclaimed, if there were but place for repentance:* Thus *Pliny*, to whom *Trajan* answereth (that we may onely repeat the sum) *that Christians are not to be sought for, but if accused and convicted, except they recant, to be punished*; concerning the absurdity and injustice of which Sentence, *Tertullian* excellently argueth in his * *Apology*, most worthy to be read of all Christians.

Plin. Epist. 97. l. 10.

As also the letter of *Pliny Junior*.

* *Chap. 2.*

The death of St. *John* the Apostle.

7. In the reign of *Trajan* died St. *John* the Apostle, the time and manner of his death being uncertain, though all agree as to the place, which was *Ephesus*. (a) *Jerome* referreth his death to the 68 year after the Passion of Christ, which fell in with the third of *Trajan*, and the 27 of *December*, on the first Feria. (b) Others place it in the 71 after Christs Passion, and the sixth of *Trajan*. *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre* (in his tract written concerning the lives, ends, and Martyrdoms of the *Prophets*, *Apostles*, and 70 *Disciples*) writeth, that being *120 years old, yet living* (*the Lord would so have it*) *he buried himself.* (c) *Jerome* alleged out of *Tertullian*, that in the time of *Nero* (though others say in the reign of *Domitian*) he was thrown at *Rome* into a tun of hot boyling oil, yet thereby took no harm, but came out after this trial purer than he went in. (d) *Augustine* calleth him *a Martyr by will*: *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* (as (e) *Eusebius* allegeth) sticketh not to call him a *Priest*, a *Martyr*, and a *Doctor*. But that which (f) *Augustine* writeth of his end, is strangest of all, and let the credit thereof rest in the choise of the Reader. How *John* caused at *Ephesus* his grave to be made, and in presence of divers went in alive, and being no sooner in and to their seeming dead they covered him. Which kind of rest saith he, is rather to be termed a sleep than death. For that the earth of the grave bubleth or boyleth up after the

(a) *In Jovinian. l. 1.*
(b) *Arabica Kirsteni apud Jacob. Cappellum ad A.D. 103.*
(c) *ut supra & in Mat. c. 20.*
(d) *In John tract. 124.*
(e) *Lib. 3. c. 31.*
(f) *ubi supra.*

the manner of a Well, by reason of *John*'s resting in it, and breathing: a sign of his slumbring therein. Though he died at *Ephesus*, yet was not the succeeding *Bishop*, much lesse any other, Heir of that Authority, which for so many years he had obtained in the Church, as having many years outlived the rest of the Apostles. For to the Apostles succeeded not Apostles nor universal Messengers of Christ, of which sort *John* was for many years, and he alone, but Bishops, every one circumscribed within his own limits. In the dayes of *Trajan*, and this third persecution was Crucified (g) *Simeon Cleophas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, being 120 years old. *Justus* a *Jew* succeeded him, after whom some place *Zachaus*, *Tobias*, *Benjamin*, and *John* in the 19th. and last of *Trajan*. In the eleventh of his reign was *Euaristus* Bishop of *Rome* Crowned with Martyrdom on the sixth of the Calends of *November*, and *Alexander* succeeded him, who also being Martyred in the 19th year, on the fifth before the *Nones* of *May*, (h) *Cistus* had his seat according to *Damasus*. And we must not forget that *Heros* succeeded *Ignatius* in the Sea of *Antioch*.

(g) *Euseb. l. 3. cap. 32.*

(h) *Euseb. l. 3. cap. 35.*

Gods judgements upon *Trajan* for his persecuting Christians.

8. The persecution of the Christians drew down heavy judgements upon the Empire in the time of *Trajan*. In the later end of his reign hapned most grievous Earth-quakes in several places, by which four Cities in *Asia*, three in *Greece*, and three in *Galatia* were overturned. *Antioch* also whilest he wintered there was grievously shaken, whereby multitudes, which for his sake had flocked thither, perished by many sorts of deaths. He himself was by an unknown hand drawn out of a window, and continued in the open air till the Earth-quake ceased, not daring to venture himself in any house for many dayes. He was now marching towards the East, and not being removed from his purpose, proceeded, crossed *Tigris*, subdued *Adiabene*, and peirced as far as *Ctesiphon* and *Babylon*: but presently it came to passe through the fickleness of such as had revolted to him, that he, who had already devoured the whole East, was forced to retreat to defend his own. For the *Jews* 1 supposing him intangled in an inextricable Warre. 2. Perswading themselves that by the Earth-quake was portended the ruin of the *Roman Empire*. 3. Thinking that from the first of *Cyrus* to this present had but passed 483 years, and consequently but one of *Daniels* weeks to be unfulfilled, entred into a conspiracy, and made incredible slaughters of the *Romans*, using

Orosius lib. 7. cap. 12. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4.

The *Jews* rebel.

in several Countreys several Captains, whereof yet *Barcocab* was chief. The fury of this rebellion fell upon *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Cyprus*. The manner of the outragious Massacres they practised both upon *Greeks* and *Romans* was as hainous as the facts themselves; though these hainous beyond all belief, if not related by most credible, and most impartial Writers. They ate their flesh, besmeared themselves with their bloud, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill one another, &c. Besides the particular butcheries which they committed throughout *Egypt*; about *Cyrene* they slew 200000. and in *Cyprus* 250000. *Trajan* resolving to pursue them throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies or Rebels of the Empire, but as Creatures noxious to humane society, with revenge suiting their former outrages, sent *Marcus Tubero* with a great power, both by Land and Sea.

Dio l. 68.

9. He neither in a short space, nor without long, and cruel hostility finished the War; but he slew many Myriads of the *Jews*. Partly for the better security of the *Cyprians* in time to come, partly in memory of their former misery, and the infamy of the *Jews* it was publickly enacted: That *no Jew, though driven by Tempests thither, should presume to set foot within their Coast, upon pain of present execution, as already condemned by his very appearance on that soil, which had been tainted with the deadly venom of his Countrey-men*. Their carriage in the West made the *Emperour* suspect their brethren in *Mesopotamia*, whereupon he commanded *L. Quintus* to banish them that Countrey, and he joyning battel with them slew also a great number. In the time of *Trajan* was *Nero*'s golden house burnt, and also the *Pantheon* by Thunder; not the *Pantheon* of *Agrippa*, as *Scaliger* and *Cappellus* more, but perhaps that of *Jupiter Ultor* or *Minerva Medica*. At length

Trajan

Trajan dieth.

Trajan died in *Cilicia* of a flux in *August*, having reigned 19 years, six moneths, and 15 dayes, in the 64th year of his age, the first of the 224 *Olympiad*, of the Citie the 870. A. D. 117. *Quintius Niger*, and *T. Vipsanius Apronianus* being *Consuls*. He was first of all Emperours buried in the Citie, being so beloved, that in succeeding times the people in their acclamations to their Princes would wish them the *felicity of Augustus*, and the *goodnesse of Trajan*. In his time flourished *Plutarch*, *Lucian* first a Christian, and then an Atheist; *Plinius Secundus*, *Suetonius*, *L. Florus*, *Cor. Tacitus*, and others.

Euseb. in Chron.

Hadrian.

10. *Ælius Hadrianus*, or *Adrian*, succeeded *Trajan*, being the son of his Cousin German, and born also in *Spain*, in the Citie *Italica*, near to *Civil*, the birth-place of *Trajan*. He was more ingaged to *Plotina* the Empresse than to her husband for his succession; for she, ere his death was published, signed the Testament whereby he was made Heir; and the Soldiers standing to him, he took upon him the government in *Syria*, where he was *Præsident*. At his first beginning he cut off all he suspected, and restored Discipline to the Army. He crossed the Seas into *Britain*, where he reformed divers things, and caused a Wall 80 miles in length first to be made to sever the *Barbarians* from the *Romans*. He took the greatest pains of any Emperour in visiting the *Provinces*, for coming into *Britain* out of *Gall* and *Germany*, he also went into *Spain*; then did he visit *Mauritania*, *Parthia*, *Asia*, and *Greece*; and by *Sicily* returned to *Rome*. After this he went into *Africk* again, and thence returning into the Citie, once more into *Greece*, thence into *Arabia*, and so into *Egypt*. He ever travelled on foot, and without any thing on his head, either in heat or cold. For this travelling *Florus* the Poet twirted him, to whom he as wittily answered.

Xiphilinus ex Dione. Aurel. Victor. Spartianus. Festus Rufus.

11. He overthrew the *Sauromatæ* (or *Sarmatæ* inhabiting the Countreys now called *Russia* and *Tartary*) but the greatest conteſt was with the *Jews*. The principal cause of their rebellion was, for that he built a new Citie, and therein a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where *Jerusalem* stood, and called the place after himself *Ælia Capitolina*, and he forbad them to be Circumcised. They were confirmed in their sedition by one who pretending he came down to them as a light from Heaven to save them from slavery and bondage, saying, he was the Star foretold by *Balaam*, whence being called *Barcocab*, he was first worshipped as the *Messiah*, and anointed at *Bitter*, a Citie in *Africk*, but afterwards proving to be an Impostor, they called him *Barcozba*, or the son of a lye. *Dio* wrote, that the whole World was in a manner shaken with this Commotion of the *Jews*. *Hadrian* sent the best Captains he had against them, whereof the chief was *Julius Severus*, who at this time governed *Britain*. Albeit in the end he had the victory, yet would he not have wished for many Triumphs at the same rate. For very many of the *Romans* fell; insomuch that *Adrian* writing to the Senate, used not that beginning which other Emperours were wont: *Si vos liberique vestri valetis, Bene est*; *Ego quidem & exercitus valemus*. But the extraordinary strength which now appeared in the *Jews* was given them for their destruction. The greater danger their mutiny had occasioned to the Empire, the greater was the Emperours severity in punishing their rebellion past, the greater his care to prevent the like in time to come. In battels & skirmishes were slain of them 580000. besides an infinite number consumed with famine and diseases, during the time of this lingring War, protracted of purpose by the *Romans*, not willing to try it out in open field with such a forlorn desperate multitude; *Dio*, who lived not long after this time, emphatically notes, that they were left *few in number, their Land laid waste, fifty of their strongest Munitions utterly razed*, and 985 of their Chief, and most populous Towns sackt, and consumed by fire. *Adrian* after this strange desolation, by Publick Decree ratified by the Senates consent, prohibited any *Jew* to come within the view of *Judæa*. Before this overthrow they had manifest signs foreshewing their desolation. *Solomon*'s Sepulchre which they held in greatest honour, saith *Dio*, a little before this War fell asunder of its own accord; Wolves and Hyænaes

Lib. 69. p. 793.

howled throughout their ſtreets, and devoured them in the fields. Such *Jews* as *Adrian* took Captive, he baniſhed into *Spain* his own Countrey (this was their 10th Captivity ſaith *John* * *Vaſæus*) where they had their Synagogues, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, and *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. * *Chron. Hiſp.* A. D. 137.

12. The State of the *Jews* from this time untill the expiration of the *Roman Empire* cannot eaſily be gathered from any *Roman* writers, who ſeldom vouchſafe the *Jews* or *Chriſtians* any mention, unleſſe inforced thereto by ſome famous war or mutiny, or by ſome other event redounding to the *Roman* glory. *Judæa* after this time was not famous for any tumult till the ruin of *Romes* greatneſſe; the *Jews* wanted ſtrength, and the *Chriſtians* willing minds to procure the Emperours glory by Seditions. Hereupon whatſoever calamity either of them ſuffered by the *Romans*, was paſſed over by *Roman* writers, as private wrongs not worthy regiſtring in their *Annals*. Upon this account 'tis no wonder they took no notice of our Saviour, or his Acts, all tending to Peace and Loyalty. For as *Tacitus* notes, *Judæa* was moſt quiet in *Tiberius* his time, which was the beſt news the *Romans* cared to hear thence. Yet the general eſtate of the *Jews* between *Adrians* and *Honorius* his time, as * one obſerves, may be gathered out of the reverend *Fathers* of the Primitive Church; who uſually ſtopped the mouths of *Heathens*, or blaſphemous Atheiſts, by propoſing their condition, then known unto all the World, for ſuch as our Saviour had foretold it. Thus much of the *Jews* untill the ſeries of time and affairs reduce us to them. * *Dr. Jackſon* B. 1. *Chap.* 27. *pag.* 114. upon the Creed.

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15. *Adrian* firſt adopted *L. Verus*, who died the year before him, on the firſt day of his ſecond Conſulſhip, and the *Kalends* of *January*. He had a ſon named *Lucius*, and was commanded to adopt *Marcus*, but they being both young, *Hadrian* adopted *Pius*, and commanded him to adopt *Lucius* and *Marcus*. *F. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus* for his goodneſſe ſirnamed *Pius*, the ſon of *Aurelius Fulvius*, and born in *Gall* within the *Alpes*, ſucceeded *Adrian*. There was little ſtir in the Provinces during his reign; onely ſomething was done in *Britain* againſt the Natives by *Lollius* his Lieutenant, and ſome bickering with the *Jews*, the laſt and weakeſt ſtruglings of a dying Nation. Now was another wall of turf made in *Britain*, and for the Victories obtained by *Lollius Urbicus*, the Emperour was ſaluted *Britanicus*, who as * *Pauſanias* telleth us, fined the *Brigantes* part of their grounds, becauſe they had fallen with War upon the *Genunii*, the Allies of the *Roman* People. And at this time ſaith *Cambden*, as we collect out of *Jabolenus*, *Seius Saturnius* was *Archigubernus* of the Navy in *Britain*. But whether by this title he was an Admiral of the ſaid Navy, or a principal Pilot, or the Maſter of a ſhip, I would have the Lawyers to tell. *Antoninus* ruled with ſuch care, moderation, and humanity, that he was called another *Numa*, all things flouriſhing in calmneſſe and tranquility. He repaired ſeveral Cities that had been overturned with Earthquakes, in which and other reſpects *Pauſanias* giveth him large commendations. He was excellently learned; a ſubtil and deep Philoſopher. He was rendered favourable to Chriſtianity by the Apologies of *Juſtin Martyr*, and the ſupplications of others in behalf of the faithful in *Aſia*, which were grieved with all ſorts of contumelies practized againſt them by their Provincials. He graciouſly ſent a conſtitution in their behalf unto the body of *Aſia*, which was read at *Epheſus* in the audience of this great Aſſembly, and yet is preſerved to our ſight in the end of *Juſtin Martyr* his ſecond Apology, and by *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, according to this tenour. Antonius Pius. * *In Arcadicis.*

16. *The Emperour* Cæſar, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, Auguſtus Pius, Pontifex Maximus, *fifteen times enjoying the power of* Tribunes, *four times* Conſul (*not thrice, as it is corruptly written in* Euſebius) *Father of the Country, to the People of* Aſia *Health. I know the gods are careful to diſcloſe hurtful perſons. For they puniſh ſuch as will not worſhip them more grievouſly than you do thoſe whom you bring in trouble, confirming that opinion which they have of you to be wicked and ungodly men. It's their deſire in Gods quarrel, rather to die than live. So that they become conquerours, yielding their lives unto the death, rather than to obey Edicts. It ſhall ſeem very neceſſary to admoniſh you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen amongſt us, that being therewith moved, you may compare our eſtate with theirs. They have more confidence to Godward than you have, you during the time of your ignorance deſpiſe other gods, contemn the Religion of the immortal God, baniſh the Chriſtians which worſhip him, and perſecute them unto the death. In the behalf of theſe men many of the Principal Preſidents have written heretofore unto our Father of famous memory, whom he anſwered.* His edict in behalf of the Chriſtians.

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He dieth.

* *Animula vagula blandula hoſpes comeſque corporis, Quæ nunc abibis in loca Pallidula rigida nudula, Nec ut ſoles dabis jocos?*

15. *Adrian* firſt adopted *L. Verus*, who died the year before him, on the firſt day of his ſecond Conſulſhip, and the *Kalends* of *January*. He had a ſon named *Lucius*, and was commanded to adopt *Marcus*, but they being both young, *Hadrian* adopted *Pius*, and commanded him to adopt *Lucius* and *Marcus*. *F. Aelius Fulvius Antoninus* for his goodneſſe ſirnamed *Pius*, the ſon of *Aurelius Fulvius*, and born in *Gall* within the *Alpes*, ſucceeded *Adrian*. There was little ſtir in the Provinces during his reign; onely ſomething was done in *Britain* againſt the Natives by *Lollius* his Lieutenant, and ſome bickering with the *Jews*, the laſt and weakeſt ſtruglings of a dying Nation. Now was another wall of turf made in *Britain*, and for the Victories obtained by *Lollius Urbicus*, the Emperour was ſaluted *Britanicus*, who as * *Pauſanias* telleth us, fined the *Brigantes* part of their grounds, becauſe they had fallen with War upon the *Genunii*, the Allies of the *Roman* People. And at this time ſaith *Cambden*, as we collect out of *Fabolenus*, *Seius Saturnius* was *Archigubernus* of the Navy in *Britain*. But whether by this title he was an Admiral of the ſaid Navy, or a principal Pilot, or the Maſter of a ſhip, I would have the Lawyers to tell. *Antoninus* ruled with ſuch care, moderation, and humanity, that he was called another *Numa*, all things flouriſhing in calmneſſe and tranquility. He repaired ſeveral Cities that had been overturned with Earthquakes, in which and other reſpects *Pauſanias* giveth him large commendations. He was excellently learned; a ſubtil and deep Philoſopher. He was rendered favourable to Chriſtianity by the Apologies of *Juſtin Martyr*, and the ſupplications of others in behalf of the faithful in *Aſia*, which were grieved with all ſorts of contumelies practized againſt them by their Provincials. He graciouſly ſent a conſtitution in their behalf unto the body of *Aſia*, which was read at *Epheſus* in the audience of this great Aſſembly, and yet is preſerved to our ſight in the end of *Juſtin Martyr* his ſecond Apology, and by *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, according to this tenour.

Antoninus Pius.

* *In Arcadicis.*

16. *The Emperour* Cæſar, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, Auguſtus Pius, Pontifex Maximus, *fifteen times enjoying the power of* Tribunes, *four times* Conſul (*not thrice, as it is corruptly written in* Euſebius) *Father of the Country, to the People of* Aſia *Health. I know the gods are careful to diſcloſe hurtful perſons. For they puniſh ſuch as will not worſhip them more grievouſly than you do thoſe whom you bring in trouble, confirming that opinion which they have of you to be wicked and ungodly men. It's their deſire in Gods quarrel, rather to die than live. So that they become conquerours, yielding their lives unto the death, rather than to obey Edicts. It ſhall ſeem very neceſſary to admoniſh you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen amongſt us, that being therewith moved, you may compare our eſtate with theirs. They have more confidence to Godward than you have, you during the time of your ignorance deſpiſe other gods, contemn the Religion of the immortal God, baniſh the Chriſtians which worſhip him, and perſecute them unto the death. In the behalf of theſe men many of the Principal Preſidents have written heretofore unto our Father of famous memory, whom he anſwered.*

His edict in behalf of the Chriſtians.

in writing again, that they were not to be longer molested, unlesse they had practized treason against the Roman *Empire. And many have informed us of the same matter, whom we answered as our Father did before us. If any therefore hereafter be found thus busied in other mens affaires, we command that the accused be absolute and free, though he be found such an one, I mean as faulty, and that the accuser be grievously punished.* That this Edict was proclamed at *Ephesus* in the hearing of the great Assembly of *Asia*, witnesse is *Meliton* (saith *Eusebius*) Bishop of *Sardis* (who flourished at that time) in his profitable *Apology* for our doctrine, delivered unto the Emperour *Verus*. But *Antoninus* died on the *Nones* of *March*, after he had reigned 22 years, seven moneths, and 26 dayes, in the first year of the 235 *Olympiad*, the 914 of the City, A. D. 161. In his time flourished besides many excellent Lawyers, and *Justin* the Christian Philosopher (the son of *Priscus Bacchius*, and born in *Flavia* a new City of *Palestine*, as he saith himself) *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna*, *Galen* that excellent Physician, and *Ælian* Writer of the natural and various Histories.

Bishops. 17. In the first year of *Pius* died *Telesphorus* Bishop of *Rome*, on the *Nones* of *January*; the See was vacant seven dayes (both the terms being excluded) and then *Hyginus* the ninth Bishop succeeded on the *Ides* of *January*, and the first feria. In the fifth of *Pius* died *Hyginus*, on the third of the *Ides* of *January*, and *Pius* succeeded him, when *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, as *Damasus* will have it, were Consuls, which if it be true, the See was vacant four years. In the thirteenth of *Pius*, died *Pius* the Bishop, on the fifth of the *Ides* of *July*, and his seat being vacant fourteen dayes, *Anicetus* the eleventh succeeded him on the 25 of *July*, the first feria. (*a*) From the Passion of our Saviour till the eighteenth year of *Adrian* there were fifteen Bishops in the Church of *Jerusalem* all *Jews*. In the which year after the utter overthrow, the siege and conquering of the City under the said *Ælius Adrianus Jerusalem* was called *Ælia*, and began to be inhabited of strange Nations. Until (*b*) wellnigh this time this Church was called a pure and uncorrupted Virgin, for till about the year 110 there was no false doctrine sown there. Of the Gentiles (*c*) *Marcus* was the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*. After *Abilius*, (*d*) *Cerdo* was Bishop of *Alexandria* in the first year of *Trajan*, where he continued thirteen years. Him succeeded *Primus*, who continued in the Sea twelve years. After *Primus* was (*e*) *Justus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, where he continued eleven years. After *Justus*, (*f*) *Eumenes* was Bishop, and so continued thirteen years. He was succeeded by *Marcus*, who governed that Church ten years. Then followed (*g*) *Celadion*, who continued fourteen years. And in the Sea of *Antioch* (that we may still continue the series of Bishops formerly began) after *Heros* (who succeeded *Ignatius*) (*h*) *Cornelius* was Bishop about the twelfth of *Adrian*.

Damasus.

(*a*) *Euseb. l. 4. c. 5, 6.*

(*b*) *Idem l. 4. c. 22.*

(*c*) *Idem l. 4. c. 6. & l. 5. c. 11.*

(*d*) *Idem l. 3. c. 21.*

(*e*) *Idem l. 4. c. 4, 5.*

(*f*) *Idem l. 4. c. 5, 11.*

(*g*) *Idem l. 4. c. 11, 20.*

(*h*) *Idem l. 4. c. 20.*

Hereticks. 18. After the *Bishops* and Fathers of the Church, it's convenient to continue the series of *Hereticks* formerly laid down. About the year 110, (*a*) *Thebulis* was the first *Heretick* in the Church of *Jerusalem*. It's said, that he fell from the Faith because they would not chuse him Bishop after *Simeon*. About the same time were certain Hereticks called *Ophite*, who worshipped a Serpent, and thought that the Serpent which deceived *Adam* and *Eve* was Christ: they kept a living Serpent, which with opening of the chest and charming of the Priest came forth, licked the bread upon the altar, and wrapped it self about it. Their manner was to kisse the bread, and so to eat, believing verily that the Serpent had consecrated it. They defended themselves that the *Nicolaitans* and *Gnosticks* delivered them this service. About the same time there were certain *Jews*, which believing in Christ, called themselves *Nazarai* of *Nazareth*. In confessing *Jesus Christ* to be the Son of God they contraried the *Jews*. But they erred in Christian Religion, in that they addicted themselves wholy to the whole Law. There were other *Hereticks* which honoured *Cain*, and took him for their Father, whence they were called *Cains*. They highly esteemed of *Esau*, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and

(*a*) *Euseb. l. 4. c. 22.*

Epiphan. hæres. 37.

August. l. de hæretib.

Epiphan. hæres. 89.

Idem hæres. 38. Aug.

and *Abiram*, with the *Sodomites*. They called *Judas* the Traitor their *Cosin*, honoured him for betraying of Christ, affirming that he foresaw how great a benefit it would bring to mankind. They read a certain gospel written, as they said, by *Judas*: they reviled the Law, and denied the Resurrection. There were others called *Sethiani*, who derived their pedegree from *Seth* the son of *Adam*, whom they honoured, and called *Christ* and *Jesus*; they held that in the beginng of the World he was called *Seth*, but in the latter dayes *Christ Jesus*. *Epiphanius* saith, that he disputed with some of them in *Ægypt*, and that the last of them were in his time. *Cerdon* the *Heresiarch* came from *Syria* to *Rome* when *Hyginus* was Bishop there. He taught that God preached by the Law and Prophets, was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. He said, that Christ was known, the Father of Christ unknown. He denied the Resurrection, and the Old Testament, he held other things with the *Manichies*; and *Marcion* was his Scholar.

Epiphan. hæres. 39. Aug. Euseb. l. 4. c. 10, 11. Epiphan. hæres. 41.

19. In the time of *Hyginus*, *Valentinus* the Heretick came to *Rome*, lived under *Pius*, and continued till *Anicetus*. He taught 1. That Christ brought his flesh with him from Heaven, and took no flesh of the blessed Virgin, but passed through her as water through a conduict-pipe. 2. That there are two beginnings of all things, *Profundum*, i. e. the *Deep*: and *Silentium*, i. e. *Silence*: these being maried together, had issue *Understanding* and *Truth*, which brought forth 300 *Æones* or *Ages*, and of these were the Devil and others born, who made the World. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcion* also the Heretick began to teach, living in the time of *Justin Martyr*, who wrote against him. He was native of *Pontus*, first a Stoick, then a Christian, he followed *Basilides*, *Cerdon*, and *Valentinus*, in their Heresies. Meeting *Polycarpus*, he said, *Knowest thou us? Polycarp* answered, *I know thee for the first born of Satan*. *Epiphanius* writeth, that being a Bishops son, when he had defloured a Virgin, he was by his own Father excommunicated, and afterwards flying to *Rome*, because they there admitted him not into the Church, he began to preach detestable doctrine. He taught, that there were three beginnings, *Good*, *Just*, and *Evil*: that the New Testament was contrary to the Old. He denied the Resurrection. He baptized such as died without Baptisme, saying, that *Paul* bade him do so. He taught that mariage was unlawful, and that it was a great sin to marry. That *Cain*, the *Sodomites*, and all wicked men were saved, because they met Christ when he descended into hell, but the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* are still in hell, for not meeting Christ; for they thought (said he) that Christ came to tempt them. Under *Anicetus* also came to *Rome* *Marcellina*, a woman which infected many with the Heresie of *Carpocrates*, who called himself γνωστικὸς. She is said to have kept and offered incense to the Statues and Pictures of Christ (which the *Gnosticks* said, had been made by command of *Pilate*) as also to others of St. *Paul*.

Tertullian contra Valentinianos. Epiphan. hæres. 31. Philastrius. Euseb. l. 4. c. 11, 14. Epiphan. hæres. 42. Theophyl. Historiæ. cont. Jovinian. Irenæus l. 3. c. 4, 29.

20. About the nineteenth year of *Antoninus Pius*, the beginning also of *Montanus* his Heresie is placed by *Epiphanius*; but from *Eusebius*, *Cappellus* would gather, that the original of it was fifteen years before, because the Historian writeth, that *Apollinaris* wrote against *Miltiades*, and *Montanus* the Hereticks, under the Proconsulship of *Gratus*, who seemeth the same with him, whose Consulship is by *Cassiodorus* cast into the fourth of *Pius*. He thinks therefore, that in the nineteenth year some new thing might be attempted by *Montanus*; as he might this year institute his *Prophitesses*. These were his two Country-women, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, born at *Pepuza* a City of *Phrygia*, upon which account he called *Hierusalem* by that name. *Cappellus* further observeth, that of such things as are attributed to *Montanus*, some were truly his, some after his death were added by the *Montanists*, and some falsely ascribed to them. *Montanus* really held, that the promise of sending the Holy Ghost was deferred till his time, and in himself fulfilled, because the Church heretofore could not bear the yoak of more severe and holy discipline, which he indeavoured to bring in, by appointing the eating of *dried meats*, *fasting*, and *Monogamy*, or single mariage. The *Montanists*, after

Hæres. 48.

after their number was increaſed did thoſe things which *Hierome* mentioneth, *viz.* they appointed themſelves *Patriarchs*, 2 *Cenona*, which word ſeemeth of *Phrygian* Original, and 3 *Biſhops*. That is falſly imputed to them, which *Jerome* ſaith others did attribute, but he would not believe, *viz.* that they pricked an Infant, and with his bloud made up the *Euchariſt*. If this opinion may be attributed to any Hæreſie, or if this prejudice did not ariſe from the imputation of this kind of cruelty by the *Heathen* to Chriſtianity it ſelf, the *Carpocratians* rather than the *Montaniſts* were guilty of it. But becauſe both ſorts were called *Gnoſticks* (as ſwelling with an opinion of knowledge) what was acted but by one, might eaſily be attributed to the other. So becauſe *Montanus*, as full of the Holy Ghoſt called upon men in the name of the Father, he was believed to confound the perſons of the *Trinity* into one, which was the invention of the *Sabellians* 100 years after. 'Tis further ſaid of him, that he baptized the dead, and not allowing of ſecond marriages permitted married perſons to be ſeparated when they themſelves would. That he took away repentance, affirming that ſinners could never have their ſins pardoned by repentance. And that the Apoſtles and Prophets underſtood not any thing they had written, but were *Arreptitii*. Now to return to civil matters.

Ad Marcellum com. 3. *ep.* 9.

M. Aurelius, Antoninus, Philoſophus, and L. Verus.

21. *Pius* being dead on the *Nones* of *March*, *Marcus* the ſon of *Annius Verus* ſucceeded, who was firſt adopted by *Catilius Severus* his great Grandfather on the mother's ſide, the ſecond time by *Lucius Commodus*, and the third by *Pius*. He made *Lucius* the ſon of *Lucius Commodus*, by whom he was adopted the ſecond time, partner with him in the Empire, as his brother, and ſix moneths after having a ſon born to him on the *Calends* of *September*, named him *Commodus*, after his ſaid adoptive father. *Marcus* and *Lucius* were the firſt two that ever joyntly, and with equal power and authority ruled the Empire, being very contrary in diſpoſition, though through the goodneſſe and prudence of the former they maintained concord betwixt themſelves. *Marcus* notwithſtanding his publick place was ſo in love with the liberal Sciences, that he would frequent the Lectures of Philoſophers: *Lucius* having little capacity, and leſſe affection for ſuch matters, gave himſelf up to luxury and idleneſſe, onely ſo far reſtraining himſelf as his intereſt compelled him to comply with his Collegue, although he might have been diverted from ſuch courſes by the Wars. For *Vologeſus* King of *Parthia* brake into *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Syria*, laying all waſte before him, overthrew the *Roman* Army, and put to flight *Attidius Cornelianus*, who at that time governed *Syria*. Againſt him *Lucius* was ſent, and by his Captains did very great things, not onely for the recovery and relief of thoſe places, but alſo in *Aſſyria*. For, he therein took *Seleucia*, ſituate upon the River *Hidaſpes* with 400000 perſons, for which he triumphed with his brother. But after they had reigned eleven years *Lucius* died of an Apoplexy as he rode with his Collegue in the ſame Chariot.

22. As for the diſpoſition and carriage of *Marcus*, both as a (Heathen) Man, and a Prince; he ſcarcely ever had his Superiour in goodneſſe and virtue. Being extraordinarily learned (upon which account he was ſirnamed *Philoſophus*) he abounded according to the dictates of right reaſon, with moderation, juſtice, and clemency. For the maintenance of his Wars, that he might not be burthenſom to his ſubjects, he ſold ſeveral things to raiſe money. The head of *Avidius Caſſius*, who having rebelled againſt him was ſlain in the Eaſt, being ſent to him, he cauſed it preſently without any inſulting language to be buried. *Aurel. Victor* telleth us that in his time the freedom of the Citie was promiſcuouſly given to all; ſo that *Cambden* ſeemeth miſtaken, who writeth that by the ordinance of *Pius*, as many as were in the *Roman* World became Citizens of *Rome*. This freedom of the Citie was wont to be given either with privilege of ſuffrage or without. The firſt that had it without ſuffrage were the *Cærites*. *We underſtand*, ſaith *Gellius*, *that the* Cærites *were firſt made* Municipes *without the right of ſuffrage: and that it was granted to them, that they ſhould receive the honour of the* Roman Citie, *but be freed*

Marcus giveth the freedom of the Citie to all.

Lib. 16. *cap.* 13.

freed from buſineſſe, and burthens, for that they received, and kept the ſacra (or idols) in the Gallick *war*. *Paterculus* alſo telleth us, that in the Conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Veturius Calvinus*, *Campanis data eſt civitas partique Samnitium ſine ſuffragio*, and in the ſame place *M. Curio & Rufino Cornelio Coſ. Sabinis ſine ſuffragio data civitas*. What *Municipium* was, and who *Municipes*, is worthy of conſideration. In the time of *Gellius* it appears from him that thoſe words were much in uſe, but nothing underſtood. For ſuch as were of Colonies would call both themſelves and their Countreymen *Municipes*, which, ſaith he, *is far diſtant from reaſon and truth. Even ſo what* Municipi *are, and how much they differ from a Colony, we are ignorant, and we think that Colonies are in a better condition than they.*

Freedom of the Citie various.

23. Of this opinion ſo full of errour *Adrian* the Emperour learnedly diſcourſed in his Oration which he made in the Senate concerning the *Italicenſes*, or Inhabitants of *Italica* in *Spain*, (as they were called) from whom he himſelf deſcended. He wondred that the *Italicenſes* and other antient *Municipia* (amongſt whom he named them of *Utica*) when they might live according to their own cuſtomes and laws, were tickled with a deſire to be changed into the condition of Colonies. He ſaid that the *Præneſtines* earneſtly deſired of *Tiberius* to be altered from the ſtate of a Colony to that of a *Municipium*, and that the Emperour granted it, in conſideration that under the Walls of their Town he had recovered from a deadly diſeaſe. *Municipes* therefore (ſo *Gellius* concludeth) are *Roman* Citizens of the *Municipia*, uſing their own freedom and Laws, onely partakers of honourable imployment (*Muneris honorarii*) with the *Roman* people, from undertaking which imployment (*à quo munere capeſſendo*) they ſeem to be named, being bound by no other neceſſities, nor by any Law of the *Roman* people, for as much as their Land never belonged to it. Then proceedeth he to diſtinguiſh in the matter of the *Cærites*, betwixt ſuch *Municipes* as had right of ſuffrage, and not, for if there had been no ſuch diſtinction he would never have ſaid, *The firſt* Municipes *we underſtand to have been made without right of ſuffrage were* Cærites. For a more clear diſcovery of the relations of other places unto *Rome*, we ſhall obſerve this four-fold diſtinction of privileges.

The ſeveral ſorts of Privileges.

There was 1 *Jus Civitatis*, 2 *Jus Municipii*, 3 *Jus Coloniæ*, 4 *Jus Latii*. *Jus Civitatis* was freedom of the Citie, and we find in *Paterculus* that it was *cum ſuffragio & ſine ſuffragio*. *Jus Municipii* we find in *Gellius* to have alſo been freedom of the Citie, for *Municipes* were alſo called *Cives Romani*, and were named *Municipes*, a *muneribus capiendis*, or *capeſſendis*; there was alſo as appeareth from *Gellius* *Jus Municipii cum, & ſine ſuffragio*, *Jus Civitatis* therefore & *Jus Municipii* ſeem to have differed little; the former was larger, reſpecting ſingle perſons ſometimes abſolutely conſidered without relation to any place that was related to *Rome* as a *Municipium*. For ſingle perſons (Ambaſſadors or others) have had the freedom of the Citie beſtowed on them primarily without reſpect to any place at all, who perhaps could not be called *Municipes*, becauſe ſuch ſeem to have been proper, and onely Free-men of *Municipia*, and not otherwiſe than mediately to have been free of *Rome*. The power or right of ſuffrage will not ſuffer us to imagine that, becauſe *Gellius* calleth the imployment of the *Municipes*, *munus honorarium*, therefore it was but titular. For by the right of ſuffrage they had power to aſſemble in the *Comitia*, and Vote in their *Tribes*, *Centuries*, and *Curiæ*, as the occaſion required: and hence doubtleſſe were capable of honorable Offices. And the word it ſelf, though ſometimes it may be expounded *Titular*, as the *Conſuls* after *Conſtantines* time (or rather *Conſulares*, as they are called in * *Caſſiodorus*, and their Office *Conſulariter*) are termed *Conſules Honorarii*, being but *Titular Conſuls*; yet it alſo reſpecteth *authority* and *power* as well as meer *Title*, in that the Law of the *Prætor* (whereof we have formerly ſpoken) is called *Jus Honorarium*.

Jus Civitatis & *Jus Municipii*.

* *Lib.* 6. *epiſt.* 20.

24. As for the *Jus Coloniæ*, it is ſo termed by *Tacitus* alſo in thoſe words: *Atin Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli Jus Coloniæ & Cognomentum à Nerone adipiſcuntur*. *Gellius* diſtinguiſheth it from the *Jus Municipii*, after this manner. *But of Colonies there is another relation or alliance* (neceſſitudo.)

For

For they do come extrinsically into the City, neither do they stand on their own roots; but are as it were begotten by the State, and have Laws and Institutions, not of their own, but those of the Roman *people. Yet this condition, although it be more obnoxious and lesse free, is accounted better and more excellent, for the amplitude and Majesty of the* Roman *people; whereof these Colonies seem to be certain Images and resemblances: and also because the rights of the* Municipia *are obscure and obliterated, which by reason of ignorance the owners cannot use.* From this it appears that *Colonies* were free of the Citie, in which respect *Patet culus* giving us account of the several *Colonies* that were planted till the time of *Marius*, mixeth with them such places as to which freedom was given, making it as it were the same thing. If it had been otherwise, there would not have been any comparison as to privilege betwixt *Municipia* and *Colonies*, and it would have saved *Gellius* the labour of proving against the common belief that the *Jus Municipii* was greater. Now as for the *Jus Latii*, *Suetonius* distinguisheth it from *Jus Civitatis*, for speaking what *Augustus* did to several Cities, he hath this expression amongst the rest: *Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Spartianus* in the life of *Adrian* saith, *Latium multis civitatibus dedit.* And *Tacitus* (coming up to our Term) saith of *Nero*: *Eodem anno* Cæsar *nationes Alpium maritimarum in Jus Latii transtulit.* The *Latines* were ever counted of the kindred of *Rome*, the *Romans* having descended from them, and upon this account there was a stricter League and Alliance with them than any other people, which injoyed not the freedom of the Citie.

Jus Coloniæ. *Lib. 1. c. 14, 15.* *Cap. 47.* *Annal. l. 13. c. 32.* *Jus Latii.*

25. The *Latines* envying the rising fortune of *Rome* their Colony, laboured to suppresse it, but still were worsted, and ever forced to submit. *Servius Tullius* the sixth King of *Rome* breathing after glory in future times, in imitation of the Council of the *Amphyctiones* in *Greece*, and other publick conventions (as we have formerly said) perswaded both Nations to build at *Rome* a *Temple* or *Asylum* out the common expense, *where the Cities meeting yearly, should sacrifize, hold a fair at certain times, and if any contention hapned amongst them, it might be composed in a religious manner by their fellow Cities.* Gathering money he built the Temple of *Diana* in the *Aventine* Mount (the most eminent in the Citie) and wrote down the conditions of the League, with the manner of observing the Feast and Mart. And that they might not be abolished by the injury of time, he ingraved the Decrees of the Council in a pillar of brasse, and the Cities which were partakers of this society, which pillar continueth till our age, saith *Dionysius*, dedicated in the Temple of *Diana*, inscribed with such Characters as *Greece* antiently used, which is no light argument that *Rome* was not built by Barbarians. *Tarquinius* the last King, and Successor of *Servius*, renewed this League, and taking in the *Hernici* and *Volsci*, appointed another place in the midst of all those Nations, viz. a Mount near to the *Albanians*, called also *Mons Albanus*, where yearly *Feriæ* (or a Festival) were to be celebrated, and for that time, in respect of the religion of the place, and the Law made for that purpose, they were all to abstain from all manner of violence, and in common sacrifize to *Jupiter Latialis* and Feast together; it being appointed how much each people should contribute and receive. Of these *Feriæ*, and this sacrifice were partakers 47 people, and *in our age*, saith the Historian, *the* Romans *observe these Ferlæ* (called *Feriæ Latinæ*) *and some contribute Lambs, some Cheese, some a certain quantity of Milk, and others Cakes or Wafers made up with Milk. The sacrifice is one Bull for all, of whose inwards a certain portion is given to every people. They sacrifize for all in general, and the* Romans *preside at the sacrifice.* Those *Feriæ* at first consisted but of one day, which *Tarquinius* appointed. After his banishment the people added another. And about six years after, when Peace was composed betwixt *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, after the Creation of the *Tribuni Plebis* and *Ædiles*, a third was added; at what time the League was also renewed with the *Latines*, because that after the Peace made with them at the end of the War with *Tarquinius* (whose part they

Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 4.

The strict League and Alliance betwixt the *Romans* and *Latines.*

took) they had continued peaceable and faithful to the *Romans* during their confusions and seditions.

26. * *Dionysius* mentioning the renewing of this League, giveth us the substance of it, by which description our design is accomplished as to the *Jus Latii*. These things were contained in the League; *Let there be mutual Peace betwixt the* Romans *and* Latines, *as long as the Heavens and Earth keep the same Station: and let neither make War upon the other, nor procure others to do it, nor give free passage to such as would, but to the utmost help each other infested by War, and equally divide the prey and spoils. Concerning private contracts, let the controversie be judiciarily decided in the Forum of that People where the contract was made. Let nothing be added to the conditions of the League, nor taken away, without the consent of the* Romans, *and all the* Latine *People.* To this purpose a League was established betwixt the parties, and sworn to by all sacred things. This near confederacy is to be taken as explanatory of the *Jus Latii*, including such a strong alliance as was not made with any, but afterwards according to this prescript. In processe of time the *Latines* came to have the freedom of the City. When this freedom was given to them is somethimg obscure. *Dionysius* so relateth the story of *Cassius* (in whose second Consulship, according to him, this League was renewed) as if at the same time was given to them the freedom of the City; for *Cassius* to curry favour with the *Hernici* gave them the same league, and when he would have in his third Consulship the *Agrarian* to passe, he caused the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be present at the *Comitia*, to cary it by the greater number of voices. But if any such thing were, it was done rather by his over forwardnesse to gratifie them, and without the consent of the State, as those Privileges were which he bestowed upon the *Henrici*. However, it appeareth that they had not the freedom till this time; for *Cassius* in his flattering speech to the multitude concerning the excellent acts performed by them in his three Consulships, saith, that in his third the sedition being appeased, the Commons were reduced home: the *Latines* kinsmen of the *Romans*, but emulators for glory and Empire, *were received into friendship and into the City*, that afterwards they might esteem *Rome* as their Country, and not as an adversary. Though formerly there was a League with them, yet it seemeth they were not received into the City till now, and that rather by *Cassius* his flattery, so that neither they nor the *Hernici* retained this privilege, and we do not find that they were admitted into any Tribe, or gave thenceforth their suffrages in the *Comitia*. This confirmeth what we say, that * *Florus* declareth the cause of their revolt afterwards, to have been an emulation for Empire and Magistrates, and that contemning the *Romans* after the burning of the City, they required *Jus civitatis* amongst other things.

* *Lib. 6.*

The Contents of the League.

Dionys. l. 8.

* *L. 1. c. 14.*

27. This they did not now obtain, being subdued and reduced by War to obedience, and punished several wayes. However the antient League seemeth to have been renewed; at least with most of them, who were still called *Socii nominis Latini*. Often the *Jus Civitatis* was promised them, but still deferred and put off by the *Fathers*, who alone knew the secret of Empire, till at length they broke out into the *Social* War, and yet then were they subdued again, and brought under by force, and then was given to them conquered, what they could not obtain by strong hand. After this, the hedge being broken down from about the *Roman* State, and through the variety of the interests of *Roman* Citizens parties and factions arising, Freedom came to be given to other places, one after another, though when, to whom, and by whom, we now must not inquire. *Augustus* was very sparing in the grant thereof; but succeding Princes spred this privilege far and wide, till at length *Antoninus Philosphus* communicated it to the whole body of the Empire, it being now nothing material, seeing that the multitude met not together in the *Comitia*, to give their suffrages, which had by variety of interests, humours, and inclinations confounded all things. Now again to our matter.

28. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, like a good *Patriot*, or rather *Pater Patriæ*, did not satisfie himself in providing for the publick good for his own

time only. For he took special care for the good education of his son *Commodus*, committing him to the most eminent men he could obtain for money to be educated in good literature and manners. To *Lucius* rather than him, is to be imputed the fourth persecution, which in their time raged throughout the Provinces. Herein suffered *Polycarpus* that famous Bishop of *Smyrna*, as is testified in the Epistle written by his Church unto the brethren in *Pontus*. He was ordained Bishop by St. *John* and other Apostles, with whom he conversed, and his Scholar he was, as *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, and several of the Antients do testifie, and had served Christ 86 years, for he was older by much than thus, as Reverend * *Usher* hath evinced. He caused meat to be set before those who apprehended him, and with wonderful alacrity and resolution underwent his Martyrdom by fire, on the seventh of the Calends of *April*, the ninth of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and the 169 of the ordinary Æra of *Christ*, which was the same wherein *Lucius* died, as some Inscriptions of *Gruterus* do testifie. Now suffered also *Justin Martyr*, who after he had published his second Apology for the Christians, through the malice of *Crescens* the Cynick (whom railing against Christianity he had taxed for his filthy kind of life) as he even foretelleth in his *Apology*. The Churches of *Lugdunum* and *Vienna* in *Gall* were especially exercised in this fiery tryal, as is to be seen in the History of *Eusebius*.

The fourth persecution.

* *Quem consule de Polycarpo in Dissert. de Scriptis illius & Ignatii.*

Euseb. l. 4. c. 15, 16, 17. & l. 5. c. 1.

29. It may without curiosity be observed, that usually the persecutions of Gods People were followed with judgements upon the adversaries, as it now through Gods providence came to passe. For so great a Pestilence fell upon the Provinces, that Villages, Towns, and fields in *Italy*, were left without Inhabitant or Tiller, and *Galen* the Physician ran away from it from *Rome* home to *Pergamus*. This was followed by a War with the *Marcomanni*, which could not be caried on without new levies, wich for three years together the Emperour made at *Carnutum* (now *Chartres*) in *Gall*. For besides the *Marcomanni* (a People inhabiting that now called *Merhern*) the *Quadi* (whom some will have the same with the present *Austrians*, others with the *Saxons* and *Silesians*) the *Vandalls* (inhabiting in the now Kingdom of *Sweden*) *Sarmatians*, and *Suevians*, and almost all *Germany* were up in arms, and invaded *Pannonia*. The *Roman* Army resisting these motions, peirced into the borders of the *Quadi*; but there were beset by their adversaries, and encountred by a greater Enemy, being all ready to perish by thirst. At this time the Soldiers of the Legion called *Melitina* being *Christians*, fell upon their knees in presence of their fellow Soldiers, and in the name of *Christ* so far prevailed with Almighty God, that presently abundance of rain fell, and the Enemy was defeated by Thunder and Lightning. This Legion was thence called *Fulminatrix* or *Thundering*, and the Emperour confessing the Victory to have proceeded from the prayers of Christians, was thenceforth favourable to such, and owned the deliverance in a publick instrument or letter to the *Roman* People and Senate. Herein, after he hath related the story, and improved it in the behalf of Christianity, he commandeth such as accuse Christians meerly as such, to be burnt alive, and no constraint to be used towards the faithful. This his constitution he would have confirmed by a *Senatusconsultum*, and proposed to be seen and read in the Forum of *Trajan*. He ordereth *Verasius Pollio* to take care that it be sent into all the Provinces, and that any one that pleaseth may take a copy of it.

Orosius l. 7. c. 15.
Eutrop. l. 8.

Vide Tertul. Apolog. c. 5.
Euseb. Hist. l. 5. c. 5. & in Chron.
Orosium ubi supra.
Paul. Diacon. l. 8.
Xiphil. ex Dione Julium Capitolinum.

The Emperour's letter in behalf of Christianity.

30. This letter is published at the end of *Justin Martyr*'s second *Apology*, together with those of *Antoninus* and *Adrian*. It could not be added by *Justin* himself, for ere this time he had suffered Martyrdom. *Perionius* thinketh, that onely that of *Adrian* was added by him, and the other two by some other, who saw them pertinent for the place. But *Eusebius* in his History mentioneth that of *Antoninus* as well as that of *Adrian*, in the * words of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, who wrote an Apology to the Emperour, and also * exemplifieth the Epistle it self. This letter also of *M. Antoninus Philosophus*, is extant in the most antient Copy of the *Vatican* library, in the end of *Justin Martyr*'s works, added by some studious and well-affected person, first

* *Lib. 4. c. 25.*

* *c. 13.*

first translated into *Greek* out of *Latin*, and again into *Latin* out of *Greek* most accurately, as we are informed by *Sy burgius* in his Annotations upon *Justin Martyr*. But the Emperour being called into *Pannonia* for the finishing of the War there, and passing into *Sarmatia*, fell sick. Hereupon seriously bethinking himself what might happen to the Empire in the minority of his son, these parts being not fully reduced to obedience, especially in case he should degenerate from the worth of his ancestors, and give himself up to luxury and cruelty, he called his friends together, and seriously commended him unto them, to be advised and assisted for the best. After this he lived but one day and a night, to the grief of all men. He died at *Vendebona* the 17 of *March*, in the 58 year of his age, and of his Empire the 19, the 932 of the City. A.D. 180. *Arrius Præsens* the 2 time and *Ælius Gordianus* being *Consuls*.

M. Aurelius dieth.

31. *Commodus* his son (for whose sake *Dio* maketh the Physicians to have killed him) succeeded him, having two years before been made a Consul, through a dispensation with the *Lex Annaria*, as *Lampridius* writeth, although it seemeth something strange, that this Law could take place upon those, to whom the title of *Augustus* was not denied. Being owned by the Army, for some time he governed according to the direction of his Father's friends, but being obnoxious to flatterers by reason of his youth, who sought to make their own ends out of him, he shotly after, contrary to the judgement of his best Counsellors, made a dishonourable Peace with the Enemy, and away he went to enjoy the pleasures of *Rome*, where he was joyfully received for his fathers sake, his beauty also much commending him to the eye. For a time he here also harkned to his fathers friends, but making one *Perennius* an old Soldier Captain of his Guards, he being excessively covetous, allured him at first by pleasures to idleness and neglect of business, then governing all himself, he falsely accused them and others of the richer sort, that he might seize on their estates. This his design was furthered by *Lucilla* the Emperour's sister, who grudging that *Crispina Commodus* his wife should take place of her, entered into a conspiracy against her brother, and ingaged one *Quadratus* a young Noble man therein, who perswaded *Quintianus* to kill *Commodus*. But he meeting him, had no power to do the deed, onely shewing his dagger, said, The *Senate sends thee this*, and so was apprehended and put to death with his complices. These words concerning the Senate thus foolishly spoken, never went out of the Emperours mind, but made him suspect all the Fathers, which advantage *Perennius* took, and perswaded him to kill all the chiefest of them. This being performed, this man affected the Soveraignty, but was in good time discovered, both he and his sons, whom he had sent into *Illyricum* to draw the Legions to revolt, and received their reward.

Commodus.

Herodianus l. 1. Olymp. 239. an. 4. V. C. 932. A. D. 180.

His difficulties.

32. *Commodus* to prevent the too great power of one man, put two into his place, *Cleander* and *Niger*, for the time to come; and yet presently after had more plots laid for his life. There was one *Maternus*, who practising the trade of robbery, got a great company of Highway-men together, and making himself Captain of a considerable Army, wasted *Gall* and *Spain*, and thence repelled, resolved to venture for the Soveraignty it self. Having but little hope to obtain it by force, because of the People, and the Pretorian bands, he betook him to his wits. At that time the Annual solemnity was kept in honour of the mother of their gods, wherein it was lawful for Soldiers or any other to imitate Magistrates or their Officers. Taking this opportunity, he sent some of his Soldiers privily armed to get amongst the Sargeants and Officers of the Emperour, and so to kill him; but being betrayed by his own party, he and his plot both miscaried. After this succeeded a terrible Pestilence, accompanied with a Famine, which *Cleander* a *Phrygian*, one who from a slave came into greatest power, made an occasion to advance himself. He bought up all the Corn, thinking by a largesse thereof to purchase the Empire of the Soldiers and People, but these rising against him, as the cause of the Dearth and Plague too, after that with great difficulty, by reason of his power, the matter was revealed to *Commodus*, he also received

his reward. Theſe things cauſed the Emperour to be jealous of all men, to caſt off all care of State affaires, and giving ear to every back-biter, to kill any. Hence alſo no perſons of worth being admitted into his preſence, he was ruled by diſſolute companions, and fell more and more into diſorder.

33. He turned chariot-driver, and ſpent his time in killing beaſts with darts, and other unworthy exerciſes. He was the beſt markeſman that ever was known, ſcarcely ever miſſing any mark he aimed at. He publickly killed multitudes of wild beaſts upon the theatre, amongſt the reſt a Panthere, which juſt being about to devour a man, he hit and ſlew in the nick of time, as ſhe was about to ſeize on him. In ſtead of *Commodus the ſon of Marcus*, he commanded himſelf to be called *Hercules the ſon of Jupiter*. Caſting off the uſual Robe of Princes, in complyance with that name, he would lye on a Lyons skin, and have a club in his hand; yet he would wear purple garments and cloath of Gold. To his former title he added *Amazonian* and *Conquerour*; *Rome* he ſtilled *Immortal* and *Fortunate*, and the World *His Colony*. A great fire hapened in the City, which burned that excellent Library gathered by his Prædeceſſors, with the Temple of *Peace*, and other buildings, which accident as the People accounted an ill omen, ſo they laid the guilt upon him, knowing well his practices, which he never ſtrove to conceal. Though his throwing of darts upon the theatre much derogated from the Imperial Majeſty, they were indifferently pleaſed with it; but when he came naked upon the ſtage and acted the common fencer, it ſeemed intolerable. At length at the Feaſt of *Janus* reſolving not to proceed from his Palace as *Emperour*, but as a *Fencer* from the fencing School, attended with ſuch like to the view of the People, this occaſioned his end.

Idem ibid. *Oroſius l.7.c.16.*

His cariage.

34. For, this his reſolution being known to his Friends, *Martia* his beloved Concubine, *Lætus* his General, and *Electus* his Chamberlain, laboured with all intreaties to divert him from ſo ſhameful a thing. He herewith extreamly diſpleaſed, betook himſelf to his Chamber, where in a roule he wrote down the names of ſuch as he would have killed, and amongſt them thoſe three in that order we mention them had the firſt places; them followed a great number of Senators, the goods of whom he intended to diſtribute amongſt the Fencers and Soldiers, to purchaſe mirth and jollity from them, and defence from theſe. This writing he laid upon his bed, where he did not ſuſpect that any would come at it. But a little boy with whom he was wont to play, coming thither, took it up, and went out with it in his hand, whom *Martia* meeting, and taking up in her arms, fearing it might be ſomething of conſequence, read it, and thereby diſcovered the matter, which ſhe preſently imparted to the other two. They all concluding that haſte was to be made, *Martia* gave him poyſon, and when that ſucceeded not, they hired one *Narciſſus* to ſtrangle him. So *Commodus* died, who by his Lieutenants overthrew the *Moors* and *Dacians*, and bridled *Pannonia*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, which would have thrown off the yoak. He died on the laſt day of the *Julian* year; the 32 of his age, when he had reigned almoſt 13 years. A. V. C. 945. A. D. 192, he himſelf the ſeventh and *Helvius Pertinax* the third time being *Conſuls*.

Lege Herod. uſq; ſupra. *Eutrop. l. 8.* *Xiphil. ex Dione.* *Aurel. Victor.*

He is murdered.

35. The Conſpirators did not make known his death, till they had made means for a Succeſſor, and then gave out that he died of an Apoplexy, which was eaſily believed, becauſe of his voluptuous life. He upon whom they pitched was *Helvius Pertinax*, an old Soldier, who had done good ſervice in *Britain*, where he was near killing by his Soldiers, but ſeverely corrected their inſolence. He had been thrice Conſul, yet being thus delivered from the danger he was in by *Commodus*, conſidering the meanneſſe of his birth, he would have declined the burthen, but it was put upon him by the Senate, and the Army acknowledged him. He gave great hopes of an excellent Prince, behaving himſelf modeſtly and ſuitably towards all men. He reſtrained Promoters, took away divers tolls and gabells lately impoſed, and reſtrained the rapines and inſolence of the Soldiers. This troubled the guards exceedingly, who being ſo much the more ſenſible of the change brought upon them by ſtrict

Herodian. l.2.

Helvius Pertinax.

Olymp.242.an. 4. *V.C. 945.* *A.D. 192.*

ſtrict diſcipline, as they remembred the liberty given them by *Commodus*, reſolved to make tryal of another, and an end of *Pertinax*. In the ſtrength of this reſolution they ſet upon and killed him, though he had like ſo excellent a perſon gravely and ſtourly admoniſhed them of their duty. He died in the 85 day of his reign, and the 69 year of his age. *Q. Sofius Falco*, and *C. Julius Erucius Clarus* being *Conſuls*.

Biſhops.

36. Now, that we may briefly carry on the ſeries of Eccleſiaſtical matters, whence we left them. In the ſecond year of *M. Aurelius Philoſophus* died *Anicetus* the Biſhop of *Rome* and *Soter* being the 13th of this Sea ſucceeded him, according to *Damaſus*. In his 10th year *Soter* died, and was ſucceeded by *Eleutherius*. In the 6th of *Commodus* died *Eleutherius*, on the 7th before the *Calends* of *June*, *Maternus* and *Bradua* being *Conſuls*, in which year *Commodus* and *Cleander* to overturn the power of the Conſulſhip created 25 Conſuls, for which *Cleander* was afterwards puniſhed, being carried to *Rome* amongſt the worſt ſort of ſlaves. In the following year *Eleutherus* was ſucceeded by *Victor* an *African*, *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Glabrio* being Conſuls. Touching the purity of the Church of *Rome* at this time *Ægeſippus* thus wrote. (a) *When I came to* Rome *I ſtayed there till* Anicetus *was choſen Biſhop, whoſe Deacon was* Eleutherius, *whom* Soter *ſucceeded, & after him* Eleutherius. *In all their ſucceſſions, and in every one of their Cities its no otherwiſe than the Law and the Prophets, and the Lord himſelf preached.* *Irenæus* alſo wrote: Now (b) Eleutherius *was the* 12th *Biſhop from the Apoſtles, after the ſame order, the ſame Doctrine and Tradition of the Apoſtles truely taught in the Church at this day continued in our time.* From *Marcus* the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* from amongſt the *Gentiles*, ſome reckon 13 Biſhops unto *Narciſſus*, of whom are many things reported. He (c) was accuſed of an hainous crime, and although he was innocent, yet left he his Church, and fled into the Wilderneſſe, where he continued a long time. In the mean while his accuſers were wonderfully plagued from above to the example of all perjured perſons. After his departure *Dios* was Biſhop unto the reign of *Severus*, as is gathered from *Epiphanius*. After *Cornelius* was (d) *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, he wrote of Elemental Inſtitutions, and dedicated them to *Autolycus*. Alſo againſt the Hereſie of *Hermogenes* and *Marcion*. After him followed *Maximinus*, and then (e) *Serapion*. After *Celadion* in the Church of *Alexandria*, (f) *Agrippas* was Biſhop about the 8th year of *Marcus*, and governed 12 years. Him ſucceeded (g) *Juſtanus* in the firſt of *Commodus*, and governed 10 years. Then followed (h) *Demetrius*, who continued 43 years.

(a) *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 22.*

(b) *Euſeb. l. 5. cap. 6.*

(c) *Idem lib. 5. cap. 11. lib. 6. c. 8, 9.*

(d) *Idem lib. 4. c. 20. 24.*

(e) *Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22.*

(f) *L. 4. c. 20. l. 5. c. 9.*

(g) *L. 5. c. 9. 20.*

(h) *L. 5. c. 22. l. 6. c. 26.*

Councils.

37. During the reign of *Commodus* were ſeveral *Synodes* or *Councils* held againſt the Hereſie of *Montanus*, and about the *Celebration* of *Eaſter*. Becauſe before this time *Councils* were but few, we would not give any account of them in a ſcattered manner; but now ſhall briefly recite from the firſt of all ſuch as hapened untill the end of *Commodus*. The (a) *Apoſtles* immediately after the aſcenſion of our Saviour returned from Mount *Olivet* to *Jeruſalem*, and there aſſembled together for the election of one to ſucceed in the room of *Judas* the Traitor, where they choſe *Mathias*. This is the firſt Council. The (b) ſecond was ſummoned of the *Apoſtles* and Diſciples at *Jeruſalem*, about removing the tumult riſen betwixt the *Gracians* and *Hebrews* about their Widows, wherein they choſe ſeven *Deacons* as they are called by *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers. The (c) third was held by the *Apoſtles*, *Elders*, and *Brethren* at *Jeruſalem*, concerning circumciſion and obſervation of the Law, where it was reſolved, that the *faithfull ſhould abſtain from blood, from that which is ſtrangled, and from fornication*, the which they publiſhed by their Letters unto the Churches of *Antioch*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*. The fourth was held by *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Paul*, and the Elders at that Citie alſo, where for removing of ſuſpition, and winning of the brethren, it was decreed, that *Paul ſhould clear and purifie himſelf according to the Law, yielding for ſome time to the Ceremonies of it*. After the death of *James* the *Apoſtles* from every quarter (e) gathered themſelves together at

(a) *Acts 1.*

(b) *Acts 6.*

(c) *Acts 15.*

(d) *Acts 21.*

(e) *Euſeb. l. 3. cap. 11.*

Jeru-

Jeruſalem for the Election of a *Biſhop*, and choſe *Simon Cleopas*. In an aſſembly of the *Apoſtles*, certain Canons were agreed on, and publiſhed by *Clemens* as 'tis ſaid. But (*f*) thoſe that now go for them are corrupt, the corruption of the *Apoſtolical conſtitutions*, and of *Ignatius* his Epiſtles having proceeded from the ſame hand, as reverend *Uſher* ſheweth in his Diſſertation concerning the ſaid Epiſtles, who as to this matter is therein moſt worthy to be conſulted. About the time of *Nerva* the Emperour were two (*g*) Synods ſummoned in *Aſia* for reformation of the Churches, and Conſecration of Biſhops, where St. *John* the *Apoſtle* being ſent for was preſent. About the beginning of *Marcus Antoninus* was a Synod at (*h*) *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, where the figments of *Montanus* were confuted by *Apollinarius*. And there were held in *Aſia* ſundry Synods in which *Montanus* was excommunicated, and his Hereſie condemned. The brethren in (*i*) *France* alſo aſſembled together, and cenſured the opinions of *Montanus*, writing to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he would maintain the Peace of the Church there againſt ſuch Hereticks. (*k*) *Serapion* alſo Biſhop of *Antioch* held a Synod there about the middle of *Commodus* his reign, where together with many other Biſhops he condemned the *Montaniſts*, or their Hereſie called the *Phrygian* Hereſie, becauſe *Montanus* was of that Countrey. Not long after was held a Council at (*l*) *Rome* by *Victor* the Biſhop about the Celebration of *Eaſter*, in *Paleſtine* alſo, in *Pontus* and *Gall* were Synods called about the ſame matter.

(*f*) *Concil. tom.* 1.

(*g*) *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 23.

(*h*) *Idem l.* 5. *cap.* 16.

(*i*) *Lib.* 5. *c.* 3.

(*k*) *Lib.* 5. *c.* 19.

(*l*) *Idem l.* 5. *cap.* 23.

Controverſie concerning *Eaſter.*

38. This controverſie about *Eaſter* is mentioned by *Euſebius* not till the laſt year of the 243 *Olympiad*, which fell in with the fourth of *Severus*; but *Appellus* thinketh it firſt aroſe in the firſt of the 242 *Olympiad*, and the tenth of *Commodus*, wherein this feaſt was celebrated by the *Jews*, and the Churches of *Aſia Minor*, at a wrong time, as *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* thought, viz. by the *Jews* on the fifteenth of *Niſan*, March 20. but by the Chriſtians of *Aſia* on the fourteenth of *Niſan*, March 19. on the fourth *Feria*, three dayes before the *Vernal Æquinox*. *Theophilus* ſuppoſing that the *Æquinox* hapned on *March* the 25. and that ſo it ever did, and for this cauſe that the Sun was on that day created, and that Chriſt aroſe again the ſame day, as alſo that the Lords Supper was inſtituted on the 22 of *March*, contended that is was utterly againſt reaſon to prevent the *Epoche* of the *Æquinox* ſo many dayes, and the day whereon the Lords Supper was inſtituted. Wherefore he procured the Fathers of *Paleſtine* aſſembled in a Synode, to make theſe Canons. 1. *That never, except after* March 21. 2. *That never but after the fourteenth Moon.* 3. *That never after* April 24. 4. *That never except on the Lords day Eaſter ſhould be celebrated; on that day which next followed the fourteenth Moon hapning next after* March 21. Hereby he hoped it would come to paſſe, that *Eaſter* would ever be obſerved within the moneth of *Aries*. In the Synode of *Paleſtine* where theſe Canons were made, the aforeſaid *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Narciſſus* of *Jeruſalem* preſided. Of that at *Rome*, *Victor* the Biſhop was Preſident. In that of *Pontus*, *Palmas*, as the moſt antient did govern. In that of the Biſhops of *Gall*, *Irenæus* preſided. There was another of the Biſhops throughout *Oſtroena*, and the Cities therein contained; and eſpecially held by *Bacchillus* Biſhop of *Corinth* with many others; all which ſaith *Euſebius* with one and the ſame ſentence and judgement ordained the ſame Decree. With thoſe alſo conſented *Caſſius* Biſhop of *Tyre*, and *Clarus* Biſhop of *Ptolemais*. They affirmed that it was the Apoſtolick tradition and cuſtom as yet retained, that the faſting dayes ſhould be broken up on no other day than that wherein our Saviour aroſe from the dead. And the Church of *Alexandria* celebrated *Eaſter* on the ſelf-ſame day with them.

Beda *de ſæſtura vernum cap.* 28. 46. *& de Æquinctiis.*

39. But all the Churches throughout *Aſia*, as of an antient tradition thought good to obſerve the high-feaſt of *Eaſter* in the 14th Moon, on which day the *Jews* were commanded to offer their Paſchal Lamb. As much as to ſay, that upon what day ſoever in the week that Moon fell, the faſting dayes were finiſhed and ended. *Polycrates* of *Epheſus*, chief of theſe Biſhops, in his Epiſtle

Epiſtle to the Church of *Rome*, ſheweth the cuſtom of *Aſia* obſerved unto his time, in theſe words. *We obſerve the unviolated day of* Eaſter, *neither adding any thing thereto, neither taking any thing from it. For notable pillars of Chriſtian Religion have reſted in* Aſia, *which ſhall ariſe at the laſt day when the Lord ſhall come home from Heaven with glory, and reſtore all the Saints to joy.* Philip, *one of the twelve Apoſtles nam lying at* Hierapolis, *and his two daughters, who kept themſelves Virgins all the dayes of their lives, the third alſo after the end of her holy converſation reſted at* Epheſus. John *alſo, who lay on the Lord's breaſt, and wore the Prieſtly Attire, both a* Martyr *and a* Doctor *ſlept at* Epheſus. *Moreover,* Polycarpus *Biſhop of* Smyrna, *and a* Martyr. Thraſeas *an* Eumenian, *both a* Biſhop *and a* Martyr *ſlept at* Smyrna. *What ſhall I ſpeak of* Sagaris, *both a Biſhop and a* Martyr *lying at* Laodicea? *Alſo of bleſſed* Papirius *and* Melito *an Eunuch, who was led and guided in all things he did by the holy Ghoſt, and now reſteth at* Sardis, *waiting the meſſage from Heaven when he ſhall ariſe from the dead. All theſe celebrated the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *according to the Goſpel, in the fourteenth Moon, ſwarving no where, but obſerving the rule of faith. To be ſhort, and I* Polycrates *the meaneſt of you all do retain the tradition of my forefathers, of which alſo I have imitated ſome. For there were ſeven Biſhops before me, and I am the* 8th *which always have celebrated the Feaſt of* Eaſter *on that day in which the people remove the leaven from amongſt them. I therefore (my brethren) who now have lived* 65 *years in the Lord, have conferred with the brethren throughout the World, and have read, and overread the holy Scriptures, yet will not be moved as all with thoſe things which are made to terrifie us. For my Anceſtors and Elders have ſaid that we ought rather to obey God than men.* Afterwards he ſpeaketh of the Biſhops that conſented, and ſubſcribed to his Epiſtle, after this manner: *I could repeat the Biſhops that were preſent, whom you requeſted me to aſſemble, whom alſo I have aſſembled together, whoſe names if I ſhould write would grow unto a great number; they have viſited me a ſimple Soul, and a man of ſmall account, and have conſented to this Letter. They alſo know that I bear not theſe gray hairs in vain, but always have had my converſation in* Chriſt Jeſus.

40. Immediately upon this, *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* went about to ſever from the unity in the Communion all the Churches of *Aſia*, together with the adjoyning Congregations, as favoring not aright, and inveyed againſt them in his Epiſtles, and pronounced flatly all the brethren there for excommunicated perſons. But this not pleaſing all the Biſhops, they exhorted him to ſeek after thoſe things which concerned peace, unity, and love between brethren. Their words are at this day extant (ſaith *Euſebius*) that ſharply reprehended *Victor*. Of which number *Irenæus* in the name of all the brethren in *Gall* that were under his charge, wrote, and allowed the ſame ſentence, *viz.* The *Myſtery of the reſurrection of our Saviour to be celebrated on the Sunday onely.* Yet as it was very meet he put him in mind at large of his duty, that he ſhould not eſtrange, or cut off all the Churches of God, which retained the tradition of old cuſtom. He told him, that there was not onely a controverſie about the day, but alſo the kind or manner of faſting, that this variety began long before their time; yet for all this they were at unity one with another, *for this variety of faſting*, ſaith he, *commendeth the unity of faith.* He told him, that his Predeceſſors in the Sea of *Rome*, *Anicetus*, *Dius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſphorus*, and *Xiſtus*, neither did ſo obſerve it themſelves, neither left any ſuch commandment unto poſterity, and yet they were at unity with them which reſorted to them from other Churches, and did obſerve the ſame. *Polycarpus* being at *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus*, they varied between themſelves about trifling matters, yet were they ſoon reconciled, and not a word of this matter. Neither was *Anicetus* able to perſwade *Polycarpus* that he ſhould not retain that which he had always obſerved with *John* the Diſciple of our Lord, and the reſt of the Apoſtles with whom he had been converſant: neither did *Polycarpus* perſwade *Anicetus* to obſerve it, but told him he ought

Victor Biſhop of *Rome* ſharply reprehended.

ought to keep the antient custom of the Elders whom he succeeded. These things being at this point, they communicated one with another. And in the Church *Aniceus* granted the Eucharist unto *Polycarpus* (or as *Russinus* understandeth it, granted the ministration of the Communion to him) for the reverence he owed him, and in the end they parted in peace; and all such as retained contrary observations throughout the whole universal Church held fast the bond of Love and Unity. Thus *Irenæus*, not degenerating from the Etymology of his name, and passing all others in the gift of reconciling the brethren, practised for Ecclesiastical peace. He wrote not onely to *Victor*, but also to sundry Governours of divers other Churches, in several Epistles concerning the said Controversy.

41. Thus do we see the first controversies about this *Feast* of *Easter*. Although the hypotheses of *Theophilus* concerning the *Æquinoctial* will not abide tryal, yet doubtlesse, those had more reason on their side, who intending to celebrate the resurrection of Christ, refused to do it, but on that day he rose from the dead; the other practice seeming to have risen from a custom of keeping the Passeover at that time, by such as were originally of the *Jewish* Nation. Notwithstanding they differed about time and manner, yet before the government of *Victor*, we see they agreed in brotherly love. And it appeareth that the custom of observing this *Feast*, was most antient, even in the Apostles dayes, as appeareth from what is said by *Polycrates*, and by *Irenæus*, in behalf of *Polycarpus*. Though they differed in the manner about keeping it, yet we do not find that any denied it was to be kept at all, although they were also for the true and spiritual observation of it, and against abuses, as all good Christians have reason to be. But (that we may conclude this controversie) in processe of time both they of *Asia* and others, leaving their own customs, admitted of the *Paschal Canons*, made by the Orientals, especially by those of *Palastine* and *Alexandria*. At length few dissenters remaining, a necessity of obedience was imposed by *Constantine*, who herein followed the judgement of two Synods, *viz.* that of *Arelatum* or *Arles*, A. D. 314, and the other of *Nice*, A. D. 325. But (that we may note thus much by way of Anticipation) The antient *British* Church as it seemeth submitted not to those Decrees, observing *Easter* from the fourteenth to the twentieth Moon, which computation, saith (*a*) *Beda*, is conteined within the Circle of 84. years. And for this, when they would not comply with *Augustine* the Monk (who had been sent from *Gregory* the Great Bishop of *Rome* to convert the *Saxons*, and was made by him the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) who sought to draw them to uniformity, 1200 Monks of *Bangor* were put to the sword (whether through procurement of *Augustine* or no, I shall not now determin) by King *Ethelfrid*, A. D. 603, the *Scots* also then inhabiting *Ireland* observed *Easter* at the same time as the *Britains* did, to whom therefore *Laurentius* the Successor of *Augustine* in the Sea of *Canterbury* wrote, to drive them from their singularities. *But how much he hereby profited, the present times do yet declare*, saith (*b*) *Beda*, who lived A. D. 700.

(*a*) *Eccles. Hist. Ang. l. 2. c. 2.*

(*b*) *ubi supra c. 4.*

42. And being thus occasionally brought to *Britain*, we must observe in behalf of our native Country, that the thick mists of superstition being scattered, in the reign of *Commodus* (not under *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*, as *Beda* writeth) when *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome*, the heavenly light and brightnesse of Christianity, by the means of King *Lucius* shone upon this Island. This Prince admiring the holy life of Christians, made petition unto *Eleutherus* by mediation of *Elvan* and *Meduan*, *Britains*, that both himself and his Subjects might be instructed in the Christian Religion. He sent forth with *Fugatius* and *Donaitanus*, two holy men, with letters, which at this day, saith *Cambden*, be extant, and, as very many be perswaded, not forged, but Authentical, as bearing date when *L. Aurelius Commodus* the second time, and *Vespronius* were Consuls. This *Vespronius* was *Vespronius Candidus*, whom *Onuphrius* and *Baronius* make the Collegue of *Commodus* in the first year of his Fathers reign, though an Inscription of *Gruterus* mentions

When Britain received the Christian Faith.

tions *Aurelius Verus*; so that to the very first beginning of *Commodus* the preaching of these men is to be ascribed. These holy men instructed the King and others in the mysteries of Christian Religion. Hereupon *Ninnius* writeth: *King* Lucius *is firnamed* Lever Maur, *that is, a Prince of great glory, for the Faith which in his time came.* Now such as call the being of this King into question, for that they think there was at this time no King in *Britain*, which was wholly and fully reduced into a Province before; *Cambden* wisheth to remember, That the *Romans* had by antient custom in their Provinces, Kings, as the instruments of their bondage, that the *Britains* even then refused to obey *Commodus*, and that they themselves possessed and held freely those parts of the Island, which were beyond the aforesaid wall, and had there Kings of their own, and that *Antoninus Pius* a few years before, having put an end to War, permitted Kingdoms to be ruled by their own *Kings*, and Provinces by their own *Comites*. He citeth *Tertullian*, who much about this time wrote, that *Those places amongst the* Britains *which yielded the* Romans *no accesse, are now subdued unto Christ.* Britain *is inclosed within the compasse of the Ocean. The Nation of the* Mauri, *and the barbarous* Getulians *are beset by the* Romans, *for fear they might passe beyond the limits of their Countries. What should I speak of the* Romans, *who with Garrisons of their Legions fortifie their Empire? neither are they able to extend the power of their Dominion beyond these very Nations. But the Kingdom and Name of Christ reacheth further still, it is believed in every place, and is worshipped of all those People above named*, &c.

43. But our *Ecclesiastical* Writers (thus *Cambden* proceedeth) who have imployed both time and diligence in the consideration of this point, endeavour and labour to prove, and that out of antient Fathers of credit, that before this time, in the very dawning and infancy of the Church, *Britain* had received Christian Religion: and namely that *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, a Noble Senator, sailed out of *Gall* into *Britain*, and that *Claudia Rufina* the wife of *Aulus Pudens* (which woman as is credibly thought St. *Paul* nameth in his later Epistle to *Timothy*) and whom the Poet *Martial* so highly commendeth, was a *Britain* born. They cite the testimony of *Dorotheus*, who commonly goeth under the name of the Bishop of *Tyre*, who in his *Synopsis* hath recorded, that *Simon Zelotes* having travelled through *Mauritiana*, was at last slain and buried in *Britain*, as also that *Aristobulus*, whom St. *Paul* mentioneth in his Epistle to the *Romans*, was made Bishop of *Britain* (to which *Nicephorus* inclineth) notwithstanding he speaketh of *Britiana* and not of *Britania*. They report likewise upon the authority of *Simeon*, that great Metaphraste, and of the *Menology* of the *Greeks*, that St. *Peter* came hither and spread abroad the Light of Gods Word: out of *Sophronius* also and *Theodoret*, that St. *Paul* after his second imprisonment in *Rome*, visited this our Country. Whereupon **Venantius Fortunatus* wrote of him, (except he speaketh of his Doctrine) if he may be believed as a Poet. But to this purpose, saith our Author, maketh especially, that which ere-while I alleged out of *Tertullian*, as also that which *Origen* recordeth, how *The* Britains *with one consent imbraced the Faith, and made way themselves to God by means of the* Druidæ, *who did alwaies beat upon this Article of Belief, That there is but one God.* And verily of great moment is that with me, which *Gildas* writeth, after he had mentioned the rebellion of *Boodicia*, and treated of the revenge thereof. *In the mean while*, saith he, *Christ that true sun shining with his most glittering brightnesse upon the universal World, not from the temporal skie and firmament, but even from the highest cope of Heaven, exceeding all times, vouchsafed first his beams, that is to say, his precepts and doctrine, in the time, as we know, of* Tiberius Cæsar, *unto this frozen Island full of ice, and lying out as it were in a long tract of earth remote from the visible Sun.* *Chrysostome* likewise, to note so much by the way, writeth of the Christian Religion in this Island as followeth. *The British Islands seated without this Sea, and within the very Ocean, have felt the power of the Word (for even there also be Churches founded, and Altars* erected

* *Transiit Oceanum & qua facit insula portum Quasque Britannus habet terras quasque ultima Thule.*

erected) of that Word I ſay, which is planted in the Souls, and now alſo in the lips of all People. And the ſame *Chryſoſtome* in another place: *How often have People in* Britain *fed of mans fleſh? but now with faſting they refreſh the Soul.* Likewiſe St. *Hierome*: *The* Britain *divided from our World, if he proceed in Religion, leaving the Weſtern parts towards the Suns ſetting, will ſeek* Jeruſalem, *a City known to him by form onely, and relation of Scriptures.*

Hereticks. 44. As for *Hereticks* which lived in the time with the forementioned *Biſhops*, and the reigns of *Marcus* and *Commodus*: There were the *Secundians*, calle d ſo from *Secundus*, who together with *Epiphanes* and *Iſidorus* taught the ſame with *Valentinus*. In life they were beaſtly, all women among them were common: they denied the reſurrection of the fleſh. *Ptolomæus* of whom were named the *Ptolomei*, taught the heretical opinions of the *Gnoſticks* and of *Valentinus*, adding thereunto of his own certain heathenish doctrines out of *Homer*. *Marcus* of whom the *Marcoſii*, *Colorbaſus* of whom the *Colorbaſii*, and *Heracleon* of whom the Hereticks were called *Heracleonites*, ſacrifized with witchcraft; to amaze their auditory they pronounced Hebrew words. Many women coming to Church, under colour of receiving the power of Prophecy from them, confeſſed they were abuſed by them. *Marcus* ran away with another mans wife. They poured oyl and water upon the head of the deceaſed, hoping ſo to redeem them. They ſaid, that the life and generation of man conſiſted in ſeven Starrs: that Chriſt ſuffered not indeed, and that there was no reſurrection of the fleſh. *Alcibiades* refraining the uſe of Gods Creatures, was reformed by *Attalus* the Martyr. *Archontici*, Hereticks in *Paleſtine*, referred all things unto mans powers. They ſaid, the *Sabbath* was the God of the *Jews*, and the Devil the ſon of the *Sabbath*. (*b*) *Tatianus* the Scholar of *Juſtin Martyr* gave original to the *Encratitæ*, ſo called from continencie. For they abhorred mariage, forbad the uſe of living creatures, offered water inſtead of wine in the Sacrament, and denied that *Adam* was ſaved. *Severus* of whom were named the *Severians*, added to the opinions of *Tatianus*, reviling *Paul*, rejecting his Epiſtles, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. He ſaid, that a woman was of the Devil, that man from the midle upwards was of God, and beneath of the Devil. *Apelles*, *Ponticus*, and other *Marcionites*, about this time alſo diſturbed the Peace of the Church.

Epiphan. Auguſt. de hæreſibus. Euſeb.

Euſeb. l. 5. c. 3.

(*b*) *L. 4. c. 27.*

45. There were alſo certain Hereticks of *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* called *Pepuziani*, as alſo *Quintiliani* and *Priſcillianiſt*, becauſe they ſaid, that Chriſt in form of a woman being the bed-fellow of *Quintilla* or *Pricilla*, revealed unto her Divine Myſteryes. Women were Prieſts amongſt them, and their ſacrifices were alike to the *Montaniſts*, of which Sect they ſeem to have been, ſeeing alſo his Propheteſſes were of the Town *Pepuza*. *Artotyrite* were Hereticks which offered bread and cheeſe in the Sacrament. *Alogi* denied Chriſt to be the Word, condemned *John*'s Goſpel, and ſaid, that *Cerinthus* the Heretick wrote the *Revelations*. *Theodotus* a *Montaniſt* through Sorcery took his flight towards Heaven, but down he fell and died miſerably. *Adamites* deviſed a Church after the faſhion of an hot-houſe, to keep them from cold for the ſpace of an hour or Service time: they were all naked men and women: Virgins preached unto the reſt: their Church they called *Paradiſe*, and themſelves *Adam* and *Eve*. (*a*) *Florinus* and *Blaſtus* fell from the Church, and taught at *Rome*, that God was the Author of evil, whom *Irenæus* confuted. (*b*) *Theodotus* a Tanner denied the Divinity of Chriſt: he was the firſt Author of the Hereſy of *Artemon*, for which cauſe *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* excommunicated him. *Artemon* his diſciple accounted Chriſt but a bare and naked man. He lived in the time of *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*. His companions were *Aſclepiodotus* and *Natalius*, who repented and fell at the feet of *Zephyrinus* Biſhop of *Rome* for abſolution. (*c*) *Marcianus* the Heretick maintained an heterodox opinion, out of the prerended Goſpel of *Peter*, whom *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch* confuted. (*d*) *Noetus* denied there were three Perſons, ſaying, All three were one. He called himſelf

Epiphan. Aug.

(*a*) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 14, 19.*

(*b*) *L. 5. c. 28.*

(*c*) *Lib. 6. c. 12.*

(*d*) *Epiphan. hæreſ. 57.*

ſelf *Moſes*, and ſaid, *Aaron was his* brother. He ſaid, the Father, Son, and HolyGhoſt, ſuffered in the fleſh.

CHAP. V.

From the death of Pertinax, *and the expoſing of the Empire to ſale, to the death of* Maximinus *the firſt elected Emperour without conſent of the Senate, the ſpace of* 45 *years.*

1. THE Soldiers having murdered *Pertinax*, got them to their Camp, and ſet the Empire to ſale, proclaming, that they would prefer him that ſhould offer moſt. Two there were found who bade money for it: firſt *Sulpicianus* a man of *Conſular dignity*, Governour of the City, and Father in Law to *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus* of the ſame degree, a great Lawyer, and exceeding rich. The Soldiers being jealous leſt the former ſhould have an intention to puniſh them for the murther of *Pertinax*, accepted the offer of *Julianus*, who promiſed what they would ask, having, as he ſaid, treaſures of Silver and Gold. Being by a ladder received up to the wall, and ſo into the Camp, he promiſed to reſtore the honours and ſtatues of *Commodus*, to grant them what liberty they enjoyed under that Prince, and to give them more than they cold ask or expect, he was caried into the Palace, the people by the way curſing and upbraiding him with his purchaſe. Having thus invaded the Empire, he gave himſelf up to all Luxury, but being unable to perform his promiſe to the Soldiers, loſt their favour, and fell into the contempt of all men, the people deſiring another Prince. At this time *Pescenninus Niger* was Governour of *Syria*, who as well for the greatneſſe of his place (his Province containing all from *Phœnicia* unto *Euphrates*) as for his popularity, was moſt eminent: him did the People extol, and they implored his aſſiſtance. He being glad of this opportunity, eaſily perſwaded his Soldiers to accept of him for their Emperour, and entertained Ambaſſadors which now had recourſe to him as the lawful Prince. But then giving himſelf up to idleneſſe, he neglected to ſetle and confirm his eſtate by going to *Rome*, and (what was more) by drawing the Army in *Illyricum* to his ſide, and ſo loſt all.

Herodian. l. 2.

Didius Julianus purchaſeth the Empire.

2. At this time governed both the *Pannoniaes* L. *Septimius Severus* an *African* born, a man forward and crafty, who ſeeing the *Roman* Empire thus obnoxious to every man's catch, reſolved to venture for it amongſt the reſt, eſpecially in regard that of thoſe two who had ſeized on it, the one was negligent and ſecure, the other hated and deſpiſed. Being alſo incouraged by ſome dreams, he firſt of all inveighed againſt the *Prætorian* bands which had killed *Pertinax*, whom knowing to be much beloved by his Soldiers, he highly extolled him, and eaſily perſwaded them to revenge his death, who once was Lieutenant of the forces in *Illyricum*. Then preſently (though he pretended he ſought it not) was he ſalured *Emperour*, and took upon him the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew was acceptable to all. After this he marched with great ſpeed to *Rome*, the *Italians* (who ever ſince the dayes of *Auguſtus* had not been uſed to War) receiving him in all places, and *Julianus* his Soldiers very ſlowly providing for reſiſtance, though he had now diſtributed to them all the money he could by any means compaſſe. *Severus* conveyed his Soldiers in a diſguiſed manner into the City, which was full of them privily armed ere *Julianus* or the People were aware; whereupon *Julianus* wrote to him, to ſignifie he was willing to receive him into participation of the Empire, and afterwards deſired he might reſign it. For the Senate ſeeing him ſo timorous, and the other now at hand, being called together according to the antient cuſtome by the Conſuls, decreed death to him, and the Empire to *Severus*. *Julianus* held the dignity ſeven monethis, having purchaſed death at an exceſſive rate.

Severus obtaineth it.

3. *Severus* having thus obtained the Empire, that he might not at first crack his credit by falsifying his word, got those Soldiers into his power that had slain *Pertinax*, & making them be stripped of their Military Cloaths, banished them 100 miles from the Citie. Then entring the Court, he promised great things to the Senate, professing his intention was to govern after the prescript of *Marcus*, and not onely to take the name, but also disposition of *Pertinax*, although there were some who so well knew him that they could not be deceived. After this he prepared for an expedition against *Niger*, but fearing to leave an Æmulator at his back, he endeavoured to prevent him. This was *Clodius Albinus*, who at this time governed *Britain*, was of *Patrician rank*, and had a strong Army at his Command. He flattered him with the title of *Cæsar*, beseeching him, as the fittest person, to take care of the Empire, for that he himself grew old, and his Children were Infants. *Albinus* overjoyed that he should obtain what he had desired without any trouble, fooled himself in his vain confidence, especially for that *Severus* had written to the Senate in the same strain, had ordered money to be stamped with his Image, erected him some Statues, and did him honour otherwise, to deceive him. *Olymp.* 243. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 946. *A. D.* 193.

4. *Niger* much troubled at his coming towards him, took care for securing the passages into *Asia*, gathered together all the forces in those parts, obtained aid from the *Parthian* and *Arsenian* Kings, seized on *Byzantium*, and fortified the straights of the Mountain *Taurus*. *Severus* therefore directed not his course towards *Byzantium*, but marched for *Cyzicus*, where *Æmilianus* General to *Niger* met him, and either for that he was overmatched, or desirous to save his Children (whom *Severus*, as also others of his adversaries had got into his hands) betrayed his trust, and lost his Army. Then did *Severus* invade *Bithynia*, wherein they of *Nicomedia* revolted to him; but the Inhabitants of *Nice* stuck close to *Niger*: thence he proceeded into *Galatia*, and so into *Cappadocia* to passe over *Taurus*. The passage was so fortified and defended, that no hope there was of breaking through, till abundance of Rain-water falling down from the Mountains broke down the Wall, whereupon the Defendants fled. Then came *Niger* with an Army very numerous, but not to be compared with the Legions of *Illyricum* for skill and valour, and they met at *Issus*, where *Darius* was overthrown by *Alexander*. Here *Niger* had the same fortune in a great and bloudy battel, after which going back to *Antioch*, and being pursued by a party of horse, his head was cut off, having brought himself to this end by his delay and idleness. *Severus* having thus removed him, now cast his thoughts towards his friend in *Britain*. *Lege Herodian. lib.* 3. *Eutrop. lib.* 9. *Aurelium Victorem. Xiphil. ex Dione. Orosium lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

Suppresseth *Niger*,

5. He now consulted how he might secure the Empire to his family, which could not be done as long as *Albinus* continuing *Cæsar* had some title to it, and to whom in his absence the great ones had demonstrated their affections, as to a man of great nobility, and far more worthy of the Sovereignty than he who at present possessed it: he therefore resolved to remove him out of the way. By open War he thought it not convenient to do it, and therefore at first attempted his design by treachery, sending some who under colour of bringing Letters should make him away. *Albinus* having warning to beware of him, this succeeded not, so that he betook himself to force, and with incredible expedition returned into the West. *Albinus* terrified at his hasty retreat made all possible Provision for resistance, and passed over into *Gaul*, where after many skirmishes they joyned in a pitcht battel near *Lugdunum*. Victory at the first so far inclined towards *Albinus*, that *Severus* cast off his Robe, and hid himself, but by the coming in of *Lætus*, who designed to destroy them both, and set up for himself, the fight was so changed, that *Albinus* was routed, and flying to the Citie, there had his head struck off. Then returned *Severus* to *Rome* with all his Army, which to reward, he not onely bestowed money upon them, but also such privileges, which though to him they might procure respect and service, yet proved the bane of the Commonwealth. For the Soldiers having formerly through the loosenesse and neglect

And *Albinus*.

neglect of some Emperours, contracted sloth and covetousnesse, were thence more animated to violate the Sovereignty, to depose, and set upon whom they pleased. Now he adding more fuel to this flame increased their allowance of Corn, gave them license to wear Rings of Gold as Knights, and to marry and maintain vvives, which broke in pieces the Relicks of the antient Discipline, and effected that we shall hear more of them upon very sad occasions.

6. He made another expedition into the East to be revenged upon such as had assisted *Niger*. Peircing into *Arabia* he besieged *Atra* the Metropolis of the *Atræni*; but found such entertainment as glad he was to retreat without any thing performed, and onely by chance as some say saved his reputation.

His successe in the East.

For in his return being driven by Tempests into *Parthia*, he was constrained to land near *Ctesiphon*, the chief Citie where *Artabanus* the King then resided. *Artabanus* struck with the suddennesse of the thing fled amain, and *Severus* taking the Citie with ease, got great Treasures, with multitudes of Captives, and returned to *Rome* in a Triumphant manner, having more by good fortune than policy atchieved this Enterprize. When he had done these great things abroad, and (considering the Princes by him defeated, and the wonderfull expedition he used at all times) had approached near unto the greatest Military glory of the most famous Captains, he lay idle at home, or spending his time in judicial affairs he let fall the vizard of goodnesse, which in the beginning he had put on. His extraordinary covetousnesse increased his innate cruelty, so that under pretence of taking off his Enemies, he put to death unheard 43 persons of chiefest rank. In despite of the Senate he Canonized *Commodus* for a God, cast *Narcissus*, who strangled him (as he had deserved) to the Lyons, called himself his brother, and to his son *Bassianus*, whom he made partner with him in the Empire, he gave the sirname of *Antoninus*. His cruelty was also extended to the Church, against which he raised the fifth persecution in the 10th year of his reign, wherein perished many.

His Vices.

The fifth persecution.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 6. *c.* 1. *&c.*

7. *Severus* after the overthrow of *Albinus*, sent first *Heraclianus* to seize upon *Britain*, and to rule it: then *Virius Lupus* as Proprætor and Lieutenant (whom *Ulpian* the Lawyer calleth *President of Britain*) who being wearied with the inrodes and insolences of the *Mæatæ*, sent for the Emperour himself over. He was glad of this occasion, not onely for desire of glory, but also to draw away with him his two sons from the Citie, where they gave up themselves to licentious rioting, and exercised irreconcileable enmity betwixt themselves. The *Britains* sent Ambassadors to him to beg peace, but he detained them till he had made sufficient Provision for War, and then dismissed them without granting their requests. Leaving his son *Geta* (whom at his arrival he also created *Augustus*) in the hithermost part of the Province (which continued in obedience) for the civil Jurisdiction and Administration of affairs there; he himself with *Antoninus* went into the further parts, where being busied in cutting down Woods, making Bridges, and drying up the Meers, he fought no battel, but what with the Enemies ambuscadoes, and with sickness lost 50000 men, according to *Dio*. *Herodian* writeth that the *Britains* found him work enough, being able to retreat where the *Romans* could not follow by reason of the Fens, which the Natives easily passed being naked, very nimble and skilfull in the places, so that by ambuscadoes laid in the *Caledonian* Forest, and through the unwholesomnesse of the Meerish grounds he lost many thousands of his men; but he forced them to Peace with delivery of a good part of their Countrey and their Arms. For these victories he stamped certain pieces of money with this inscription *Victoria Britanica*, assumed the sirname of *Britanicus Maximus*, and his son *Geta* was also sirnamed *Britanicus*, as appeareth by his Coins, saith *Cambden*. But shortly after they revolted, whereupon he brake out into such a rage that he gave his Soldiers charge to make a general Massacre of them all, and returning, though much tormented with the Gout, against them raised a Wall 130 miles in length crosse the Island to separate betwixt the *Barbarians*

Coming into *Britain*.

barians and *Romans*, which *Bassianus* afterwards increased. When he had in some sort repressed the Rebels, he sickned, not so much out of any bodily distemper, as for grief, and sorrow of mind, by reason of the desperate and unreclaimable demeanour of his son *Antoninus*, who once or twice gave the attempt to kill him with his own hand. These were his last words: *A troubled State of the Commonwealth I found in every place, but I leave it in peace and quietnesse even amongst the Britains.* He died at *Eboracum*, now called *York* (having tried as he * said all sorts of lives, and condemned all of vanity) on the day before the *Nones* of *February*, having reigned 18 years, and almost lived 66. *A. V. C.* 964. *A. D.* 211. *Q. Epidius Rufus* and *Pomponius Bassus* being *Consuls*.

Here he dieth.

* *Omnia fui & nihil expedit.*

8. *Severus* his body was in a Military sort carried forth by his Soldiers to the funeral fire, and honoured with a solemn justing and running at tilt performed by his Sons and Soldiers. He was also Canonized a god after the ordinary manner of the *Apotheosis* of the *Roman Emperours*, which being not formerly touched its convenient in this place to describe, as we have it from *Herodian*. A *custom*, saith he, *the* Romans *have to consecrate those Emperors that die, their sons or successors surviving. And whosoever are thus honoured, be canonized, and registred in the Roll of their* Divi *or* gods. *During this complement they hold a general mourning through the whole City, and the same mixed with a festival solemnity. For the dead body they bury with a sumptuous funeral, according to the manner of other men. But they frame an Image of wax, resembling in all points the party deceased, and lay the same openly at the Entry of the Palace, upon a most ample and stately bed of Ivory erected on high, and covered with Cloath of Gold. And verily that Image lieth with a pale colour like unto a sick man. About the bed there sits a good part of the day the whole body of the Senate on the left hand arrayed in their blacks; and on the right hand certain Matrones honorable by the Dignity of their Husbands or Parents. And there is not one of them seen to wear any Gold about them, nor to be adorned with Jewels, but clad in white and slender Garments they represent mourners. This they do for seven dayes together: during which time the Physicians resort dayly to him to feel his pulse, and consider of his disease, and thereupon as of their Patient judicially pronounce that he groweth worse and worse. Then when he seemeth to be dead, certain of the noblest, and most choice young men, as well of Senatorian as Equestrian rank, take up the bed, and carry it through the* Via Sacra *into the old Forum, where the* Roman *Magistrates were wont to lay down their Offices. Here on both sides are certain steps raised in manner of stairs; upon which on the one hand are placed a quire of boyes of noblest birth and Patritian dignity, and on the other a Company of women of noble parentage, singing in commendation of the deceased Prince, Hymns and Sonets tuned to a solemn and mournfull note.*

Lib. 4. ad initium.

The manner of the *Apotheosis* of the *Roman* Emperours.

9. *These things done, they take up the bed or hearse again, and carry it out of the City into the* Campus Martius, *where in the broadest place thereof a frame or turret four-square, with equal sides, is raised, and made in manner of a Tabernacle, of no other matter than great pieces of Timber. Now this within is all filled with dry fuel: but without adorned with rich hangings interwoven with Gold-wire, with divers Ivory portraicts of Imagery, and sundry curious pictures. Over this frame stood another somewhat lesse; but in form and furniture like unto the former, with windows and doors standing open. And so a third, and fourth Turret, smaller every one than that next beneath it, and others like it still one after another, till you come to the last, which is the least of all the rest. The manner of this building you may compare to those Lanterns, or light Towers standing by Haven sides, and commonly called* Phari, *which give light by fire in the night time, and direct ships at Sea in their course to safe Harbours. The Hearse then being mounted up into the second Tabernacle, they get together spices, and odours of all sorts, as also all the sweet smelling fruits, herbs, juyces, and liquors, that the whole World will afford, and thereon pour them by heaps. For there is no Na-*

Nation, City, or State, nor any person of rank and quality, but strive every one to bestow in honour of the Prince, these last gifts and presents. Now when there's a mighty heap of spices raised, and the whole room is therewith filled, then all of Knights degree first ride about the edifice, marching in a certain measure: and therewith in their courses and recourses observe a Warlike kind of motion round, in just measure and number. Chariots are also driven about by such, as sitting in them are cloathed in purple, and represent all the famous Roman *Captains and Emperours. These things thus performed, he that succeedeth in the Empire takes a torch, and sets it to the tabernacle: then all the rest on every side put fire under, and every place being filled with that dry fuel and odors, instantly are taken with a vehement fire. Then presently from the last and least tabernacle, as from some high turret, when the fire is put underneath, an Eagle is let flye, which is believed to carry the Princes Soul up into Heaven. And so from that time forward the Emperour is adored amongst the rest of the gods.*

10. *Severus* left his two son *Antoninus Bassianus* (called also *Caracalla* from a barbarous habit he gave to the people, as *Spartianus* writeth) and *Geta* equal sharers in the Empire. They after his death left not off their former contentions, but increased them to that height, that they could neither live nor reign together, but thought of parting the Empire betwixt them; but their mother *Julia* (*Spartianus* maketh her the step-mother of *Antoninus*, and to have loved him better than her own son *Geta*, nay filthily, insomuch that she maried him afterwards) by her passionate interposition hindred it. They then betook themselves to secret conspiracies, which succeeding not, *Antoninus* resolved though it were by open force to kill his brother, whom he perceived to be far better beloved than himself, and either breaking into his brothers chamber, or getting in by his mothers means, under pretence of reconciliation to be made, killed him in her bosom. This done, he secured the Empire to him by bribing the Soldiers, to whom he was so profuse, that in one day he bestowed on them, what his father had been unjustly scraping together for eighteen years. Then falling like a savage beast into cruel courses, he cut off all *Geta*'s friends and acquaintance, all the Senators of any considerable rank or wealth, the Lieutenants and Governours of Provinces, with the Vestal Nuns, and set the Soldiers to kill the people beholding the *Circensian* Games. After this going into *Germany*, to please his Army he lived an hard and labouring life; and thence passing into *Thrace*, he there imitated *Alexander* the Great, whom he ever much affected to talk of, and pretended to emulate. He went thence to *Ilium*, were he counterfeited *Achilles*, and so to *Alexandria*, where he made the Inhabitants dearly repent of their rashnesse and folly.

Bassianus having killed his brother, cruelly rageth against others.

Lege Herodian. l. 4. *Aurel. Vict. Spartian. Eutrop. l. 9. Dion. lib. 77. Orosium l. 7. c. 8.*

Olymp. 247. an. 4. V. C. 964. A. D. 212. Bassiani 2.

11. Being naturally given to much tatling, they had formerly railed against him for his cruelty towards his brother, and despised him, for that being a man of so contemptible stature, he compared himself to their *Alexander*. Resolving then to be revenged on them, he first entertained them very plausibly, but afterwards drawing forth all the youth by a wile, he compassed them in with his Army, and killed them all. After this desirous to become famous by some great exploit, he sent to the *Parthian* for his Daughter, and pretended that he himself would come and mary her, whereby that King being perswaded to meet him with a great number of people, he fell upon them and made a great slaughter, for that they thought it needlesse to come armed to a wedding; and *Artabanus* himself with difficulty escaped. Getting here much booty, and as he thought much glory, he returned into *Mesopotamia*, where he received punishment from above, for his manifold cruelty. There was one *Opilius Macrinus* an *African* born, and one of his Captains, whom he unworthily used. This *Macrinus* receiving a letter from *Maternianus* directed to the Emperour (who had commanded him to call together the Magicians, and consult them about his end, and whether any lay in wait for the Empire) wherein *Antoninus* was advised to cut him off, as aiming at the Soveraignty, when he had ventured to open it, perceiving that either he or his

his Master must dye, and therefore procured one *Martialis* to kill him. This man being inraged against the Emperour, for that he had condemned his brother without sufficient hearing, slew him as he was making water, on the sixth of the *Ides* of *April*, after he had reigned six years, and two moneths, in the first year of the 249 *Olympiad*, A. V. C. 970. A. D. 217, *Brutius Præsens* and *Extricatus* being *Consuls*. Amongst many others *Caracallus* put to death *Papinianus* the great Lawyer, as its said, because he would not defend his paricide.

Bishops.

12. In the first year of *Severus* (that we may continue our method concerning *Ecclesiastical* matters) died *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, on the fifth of the *Calends* of *August*, and *Zephirinus* succeeded, the fifteenth Bishop of that Sea, according to *Damasus*. In the last of *Antoninus Bassianus*, *Zepherinus* died on the seventh before the Calends of *September*. The Sea was vacant five dayes. Then succeeded *Callistus*, who therefore was elected, the day before the Calends of *September*, on the first feria. After *Dios* Bishop of *Jerusalem* whom the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches had ordained after the departure of *Narcissus*, *Germanion* succeeded, and after him *Gordius*, in whose time *Narcissus* shewed himself again, as if he had been risen from the dead, and was intreated by the brethren to enjoy his Bishoprick, being much marvelled at for his departure, for his Philosophical course of life, and especially for the vengance and plagues of God poured upon his accusers. And because for his great age he was not able to supply the place, *Alexander* Bishop of *Cappadocia* was joyned with him, and governed alone after his death. In the Church of *Antioch*, *Asclepiades* was Bishop after *Serapion*, about the first year of *Caracalla*, and was succeeded by *Philetus* about the last of that Prince's reign. *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l.6.c.10.*

13. Upon *Zepherinus* Bishop of *Rome* falleth very foul *Tertullian* a Presbyter or Priest of *Carthage* in *Africk*, for that he was more severe against such, as through fear had sacrified to Idols, than against Whoremongers and Adulterers, wherein not without cause truly (saith *Cappellus*) but yet without measure he blameth *Zepherinus*, and the whole *Roman* Clergy, the manners of whom were even now very corrupt, if we may believe *Tertullian*. But really not so much out of hatred to their vices, as out of prejudice to the truth he calleth the *Roman* Clergy *Psychicus*, as well in his book *de pudicitia*, as in that *de monogamia*, which he thus beginneth, *Hæretici nuptias auferunt Psychici ingerunt.* He pretendeth therein onely to condemn second mariages, but indeed most of his arguments respect both first and second, although he himself had maried a wife, and retained her in his Presbytery. But mariage which he had learnt of the Orthodox to approve, he learnt of *Montanus* to despise, to whom he would have more revealed than to the Apostles, because they as yet (or for certain the Church) could not bear the yoak of fastings and cælibate which *Montanus* brought in, and he as a *Montanist* would inculcate. This humour at length so possessed him, that neither content with the title of *Christian*, nor that of *Presbyter*, he put on the Philosophick *Pallium*, as a token of a more austere life, wherein he would be eminent not onely amongst *Christians* but also *Montanists*. The *Africans* either being amazed or laughing at this novelty, he wrote an elegant but most obscure Book *de pallio*, which before being miserably lacerated, hath been of late dayes restored by the most learned *Salmasius*. He wrote his Book *de præscriptionibus* about the eighth year of *Commodus*, as *Cappellus* gathereth, because in the end thereof making a Catalogue of Hereticks, he mentioneth *Theodotus* (who was censured by *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, for holding Christ to have been a meer man) but not *Artemon* the Heretick who appeared shortly after.

Tertullian.

14. His book *de corona militis* acquainteth us with the occasion of the persecution of the Christians, in the reign of *Severus*. The Emperour ere he marched into the East (in that Expedition wherein he overthrew the *Parthians*) made his elder son his partner in the *Tribunitial* power, and by his liberality pleased the People formerly inraged by the many punishments he inflicted.

flicted. By occasion of this liberality, as it seemeth, a Christian Soldier holding a certain garland or crown in his hand, as if it were wickednesse for him to set it on his head as the rest did, was asked why he did so, and answered, that *he was a Christian*. This was the occasion of the Emperours rage. About the fifteenth of *Severus* he wrote against the *Marcionites*, whom he so impugneth, as yet underhand he inculcateth his *Montanism*. For saith he: *Amongst us spiritual reason derived from the Comforter, perswadeth in the Faith single matrimony.* But we must not forget, that about the fourth of *Severus* he wrote a most excellent *Apology* for the Christian Faith. At the same time with *Tertullian* flourished *Clemens Alexandrinus*, because a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, the Scholar of *Panienus*, and Master of *Origen*. *Eusebius* mentioneth him, and *Panienus* in the second of *Severus*, at which time it's probable he wrote his *Stromata*; for not intending his Chronology beyond the time of *Commodus*, he seemeth not long after his death to have begun that Work. At this time also lived *Minutius Felix* an eminent Lawyer, and the Author of that excellent Book inticuled *Octavius*, which, as *Lactantius* writeth, *doth declare how fit an assertor of the truth he might have been, had he applyed himself wholly to that study.* This Book being intended as an Apology for Christian Religion, acquainteth us what thoughts the Heathen at that time had thereof, as also do the Apologies of *Justin Martyr*, the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus*, and especially that of *Tertullian*. We have already shewn the rise and increase of Christian Religion, we have delivered the series of the most eminent *Bishops* and *Fathers* thereof, as also of the several Hereticks which from within disturbed the peace thereof. We have also given an account of the several fiery tryals the faithful underwent. But what opinions the Infidels had of Christians and Christianity, of what crimes they accused them, whence their hatred proceeded, whereupon the Emperours grounded their bloody Edicts: what the Primitive Saints did in the mean time, how they behaved themselves under these pressures, how they caried it towards their Enemies, how they stood affected in duty towards their Princes; in sum, what their conversations both as men and Christians were, is most worthy to be considered, and those things in short out of the Apologies aforenamed, and other Authors, we shall endeavour to discover.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Minutius Felix.

15. The first thing that the Heathens cavilled at in Christianity was the newnesse of it. (*a*) St. *Paul* seemed to them to be a setter forth of new gods. And there was an antient Law at (*b*) *Rome* which forbad introducing new ceremonies into Religion, as worshipping strange deities, unlesse approved by the Senate, and this was an inviolable Law, which binding Emperours as well as others, *Tiberius* could not as he desired receive *Jesus Christ* amongst their gods; for the Senate would not approve of a God they did not know. This prejudice (which yet in Idolatry often effected nothing amongst the *Romans*) was increased by a misapprehension of our Lord and Saviours sufferings; his being crucified made them despise both him and his. Hence (*c*) *Tacitus* telling the original of the *Christians*, will let the World know, that *Christ* from whom they derived their name, was *Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatium supplicio affectus.* And hence *Trajan* (*d*) in his discourse with *Ignatius*, when he would mean Christ, called him *Crucifixus*, the Crucified, in way of contempt. This contempt was increased into disdain, by reason that Christ would have no other Gods (as they accounted them) sharers with him in worship, and this disdain was heightned into rage, when Christians preaching this saving doctrine, declaming against Idolls, proving the Heathen gods to be devils, and striking at the root of Paganism, endeavoured to draw even the whole World from superstition and Idolatry so antient and universal. *You say, we do not worship the Gods*, saith (*e*) *Tertullian*. This was accounted a crime of sacrilege, and worthy of death; much more then to dissuade others from doing it. *Quid, homines (justinebitis enim me impetum suscepta orationis liberius exerentem) homines (inquam) deplorata, illicita ac desperata factionis grassari in Deos*

(*a*) *Acts* 17, 18.
(*b*) *Tertullian Apol. c.* 5.

An inquiry into the condition of Christians.

(*c*) *Annal. l.*15. *c.* 44.

(*d*) *Acta Ignatii.*

The reason of the prejudice of Heathens against them.

(*e*) *Apol. c.* 10.

nonne ingemiscendum est? saith (*f*) *Cecilius*, as he is brought in by *Minutius*. Hereupon the Christians were accounted Ἄθεοι or *Atheists*, and it was a custom to cry out against them where the *Greek* tongue was used (*g*) Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, *Take off the Atheists*, which words they would have had *Polycarp* utter as a sign of his recantation. This by reason of the malice of Devils (who were worshipped under the names of the several gods) did render them so highly impious in the opinion of the vulgar, and so inraged the multitude against them, that (*h*) if Tiber *over-flowed*, if Nile *watered not the plains*, if *Heaven stopped its course, and did not powr its rains here below, if there were Earth-quake, Famine, or plague, they would immediately cry out* Christianos ad Leones, *Cast the Christians to the Lions, as the cause (in their opinion) of all the calamities that arrived in the World, and all the evils that people suffered.*

(*f*) *Minuc. Fel. Octav.* p. 22.
(*g*) *Smyrnens. Ecclesiæ epist. De S. Polycarpi Martyrio p.* 16. & 20.
(*h*) *Tertull. Apol. cap.* 40.

16. Prejudice and hatred being risen thus high invented false accusations, and caught hold of idle surmises, nothing ill seeming incredible concerning those that are already odious. (*a*) *Athenagoras* saith, that three things they objected against Christians: *Atheism*, *Thyestes his feasts*, and the *Copulation of Oedipus*. The two later (whereof as much as concerneth *Thyestes* and *Oedipus* we have spoken above in their due places) (*b*) *Tertullian* thus explaineth. 'The Crimes pretended against us (the horror of which makes us passe for 'wicked in the opinion of the people) are, that we meet together to sacrifize a Child; that after we have taken away his life by a barbarous superstition, we devour his body, and when we have eaten the flesh of this innocent, we commit Incests. They add, that we have Dogs, which serve to overthrow the Candles, and doing the Office of those infamous Merchants of modesty, make us lose all shame in taking the lights from us, and covering our actions under the veil of darkness, embolden us to seek the use of ungodly, and sacrilegious pleasures. *Calicius* maketh beginners initiated by the bloud of an Infant, which they all licking up, and dividing his Members amongst themselves, by so horrid a Ceremony confirmed their league, and the Covenant of their mutual secrecy. "These Sacra (saith he) are more 'abominable than all sacrilege. And as for their feasting 'tis known sufficiently, all speak of it in all places; the Oration also of our *Certensis* doth witnesse it: They meet together to eat on a set day with all their Children, Sisters, Mothers, Persons of every Sex, and every age. There, after much eating, when the feast is now grown hot, & the heat of incestuous lust is kindled by drunkennesse, the Dog that is tied to the Candle-stick is provoked, by casting a piece of meat beyond the length of the string by which he is bound, to a violent leap. Thus the conscious light being overthrown and put out, *&c.* so he proceedeth to the same purpose, but in worse terms. And *Justin Martyr* in his Conference with (*c*) *Tryphon the Jew* demandeth of him after this manner. 'Do you also believe concerning us that we devour men, and after meat the lights being put out, use wicked and promiscuous Copulation? Lastly, *Theophylus* Patriarch of *Antioch* in his third book (*d*) to *Antolycus* against Calumniators of Christian Religion, summeth up what we have already said, in these words. 'They say that our wives are common, and accuse 'us that we use promiscuous Copulation. Besides, they lay to our charge that 'we do not abstain from our own sisters, but rashly dare to violate those with 'incestuous lust. But this is most cruel and brutish of the Crimes they object against us, when with an impious mouth they prate, that we eat mans flesh: neither do they cease to traduce our Religion or Doctrine as of yesterday, and destitute of all truth, which neither we our selves, if a controversie arise are able to defend with clear demonstrations. Further, they say that our Doctrine is nothing but folly, and meer toys.

Malicious slanders concerning the manner of their worship.

(*a*) Ἐπ' ἀθεότητι, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christian. pag.* 4.
(*b*) *Tertull. Apol. c.* 7.
(*c*) *Pag.* 227. B.
(*d*) *Pag.* 119. D.

17. That malice which invented these impious adjuncts of Christian Religion, found out a suitable object of worship; for the *Romans* had so far forgotten their own antient custom of serving their Gods without Images, or resemblances (for *Numa*, as *Plutarch* telleth us, and the antient *Romans* for many years admitted no Images in their Temples, because the Deity cannot be

be made out by any external resemblance) that they thought it impossible for any Religion not to be guilty of Idolatry towards some visible thing. Hence came that fable related by (*a*) *Tacitus* (an Author guilty of malice against both *Jews* and *Christians*) "that the *Jews* consecrated the Image of an Asse, 'because (forsooth) being pressed sorely with thirst in the deserts of *Arabia*, 'certain wild Asses shewed them the Fountains where they were wont to 'drink; although this Author, who saith he lies not, writeth, that *Pompey* having taken *Jerusalem*, and entred into the *Temple* to see the mysteries of the *Jewish* Religion, saw there no Image at all. (*b*) *Tertullian* conceiveth, that from this tale sprung that conceit that *the Christians* (the Religion of whom was drawn from that of the *Jews*, and succeeded it) *worshipped the Effigies of an Asse*, "I hear, (saith *Cecilius*) that they worship a Consecrated head 'of an Asse, the most filthy of all sorts of Cattel, I know not out of what 'foolish perswasion; a Religion worthy of, and descended from, such manners. But he goeth further, and relateth a report, that the very object of their worship was also obscene. (*c*) *Tertullian* further writeth, that some were of opinion *they worshipped the Crosse*, and *Cecilius*, from the ignominious death of our Lord, and this instrument of it, argueth to the infamy of Christian Religion in an abominable manner. *Tertullian* in the same place telleth us, that 'some with more apparent reason believed the Sun to be their God, and sent 'them to the Religion of the *Persians*, herein suspecting them for so doing, 'because when they prayed they turned themselves toward the East. [And after an answer to this lye he addeth:] "The calumnies invented to cry down 'our Religion arose to such excesse of impiety, that not long ago in this Citie, 'a picture of our God was shewed by a certain infamous person that got his 'living by exposing to the sight of the people, wild beasts: who by a strange 'faculty gotten by him to avoid their bitings, making use of his craft, shewed 'also the aforesaid picture to all comers, with this inscription thereon, *This is* 'Onochoetes *the God of Christians.* This supposed God of the Christians 'prerended by him, had the ears of an Asse, an hoof on one of his feet; carried a book, and was clothed with a Gown: we laugh at the barbarousnesse of 'this name, and the extravagancy of this figure. Such were the blasphemies of Pagans against Christian worship, and as an argument for them they produced the secrecy of Christian meetings, which their own cruelty and rage had made necessary. 'They (*d*) talked of nothing more than the excesse of 'the Tables of the Christians. And after all this they (*e*) objected, that they 'were not any way profitable in the commerce of the World.

And the object of it.

(*a*) *Histor. lib.* 5.
(*b*) *Apoll. cap.* 16.
(*c*) *Ibid.*
(*d*) *Tertul. Apol. cap.* 39
(*e*) *Idem ibid. cap.* 42.

18. As to their outward demeanour they accused them of Sedition as well as Atheism. Let (*a*) *Tertullian* speak upon what frivolous grounds: "You say 'we worship not the Gods; nor for the welfare of the Emperours offer sacrifices to them. The one of these two Crimes whereof you accuse us must 'necessarily follow upon the neck, or in consequence of the other: for, being 'resolved to render no manner of worship to your Deities, we must necessarily in like manner be resolved not to sacrifize at their Altars, whether for 'our selves, or for what person soever it be. Hereupon you conclude us guilty 'of Sacrilege and high Treason. *Pliny* was wont, as appeareth from his Epistle to *Trajan*, to try Christians by supplications made to the Images of the Gods, and amongst these to the Emperour's picture, by Frankinsence and Wine. This burning incense was an ordinary tryal in all ages. They were also counted singular and factious, for that they would not swear *by the Fortune or Genius of the Emperours.* This the holy Martyr (*b*) *Polycarp* was bidden to do by the *Proconsul* a little before his suffering. These prejudices and false opinions being heightned and irritated by the malice of Devils, who found themselves neerly concerned therein, procured wonderfull enmity and malice in the hearts of Pagans against the faith.

They were accused of Sedition.

(*a*) *Apol. cap.* 10.
(*b*) *Epist. Ecclesiæ Smyrnens. de S. Polycarpi Martyrio Pag.* 20, 21.

19. "Is it not strange (saith (*a*) *Tertullian*,) that the hatred wherewith 'this name is pursued, in such manner blinds the minds of most men, that 'when they witnesse the probity of a Christian, they mix in their discourse as 'a reproach that he hath imbraced this Religion. One saith, truely, he of

(*a*) *Apol. c.* 3.

'vvhom you ſpeak is an honeſt man, if he vvere not a Chriſtian, and his life 'vvould be free from blame. Another, Do you know ſuch a one, vvho had 'the reputation of a vviſe and diſcreet man? he is lately turned Chriſtian.

Hence wonderfull hatred.

[Again] "Theſe people by an extreme blindneſſe of hatred ſpeak to the advantage of the name Chriſtian, vvhen they ſtrive to render it odious. For, 'ſay they, How pleaſant, and of vvhat a good humour vvas that vvoman? How 'ſociable and jovial was that man? 'Tis pity they ſhould be Chriſtians. So 'they impute the amendment of their lives to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. 'Some of them alſo purchaſe the averſion they carry againſt the name 'Chriſtian, which we bear, with the price of what is moſt precious to them, 'rather deſiring to loſe the ſweetneſſe of life, tranquillity of mind, and all 'ſorts of commodities, than to ſee in their houſes that which they hate. A man 'who heretofore had his mind full of jealouſie, can no longer endure the com-'pany of his wife, what aſſurance ſoever he hath of her chaſtity, after once 'he perceives her to be turned Chriſtian, and parts from her now when her 'actions full of modeſty have extinguiſhed all ſuſpitions wherewith he was 'heretofore moved. A father who of a long time endured the diſobedience of 'his heatheniſh ſon, reſolves to take from him the hope of ſucceding him in his 'inheritance for turning Chriſtian, when at the ſame time executing his com-'mands without murmuring. A maſter that uſed his ſlave gently when his 'carriage gave him ſome cauſe of diſtruſt, now puts him far from him for a 'Chriſtian, when he hath moſt aſſurance of his fidelity. 'Tis committing of a 'Crime to correct the diſorders of a man's life by the motions of an holy 'converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and the good which is produced by ſo hap-'py a change works not ſo powerfully in the minds of men, as the hatred they 'have conceived againſt us. Indeed this hatred is ſtrange; and when I con-'ſider that the name of Chriſtian onely makes it to be ſo, I would willingly 'know how a name can be Criminal, and how a ſimple word can be accuſed? Thus much (and enough I ſuppoſe) to diſcover hatred it ſelf.

The ſad effects thereof.

20. And the fruits of hatred abundantly manifeſted themſelves. "1 In 'faſtning Chriſtians to Croſſes & pieces of wood. 2 Hanging them up as pub-'lick ſpectacles unto all men upon Gibbets. 3 Piercing their bodies with 'Irons. 4 Cutting off their heads. 5. Expoſing them to the rage of wild 'beaſts. 6. Throwing them into flames. 7. Condemning them to work in 'Mines, and 8. confining them to Iſlands; "all which ſorts are expreſſed in one (*a*) Chapter of *Tertullian's* Apology. In another (*b*) place he thus writeth. (*a*) *Cap.* 12. (*b*) *Cap.* 37.
'How often do thoſe people being our Enemies, of their own accord, without 'your authority, aſſault us with ſtones, or burn us? They are verily ſo inraged 'againſt us, that during the furies of the *Bacchinales*, they ſpare not even Chri-'ſtians that are dead, but trouble the reſt of their Graves, they violate their 'Sepulchres which are as Sanctuaries of the dead, they draw forth their bo-'dies not to be known whoſe bodies they are, after mangled by them, which 'with extreme inhumanity they tear, and drag in the ſtreets. (*c*) [Elſewhere;] (*c*) *Cap.* 9.
'How many are there among you, O ye people, that are this way greedy of the 'bloud of Chriſtians? and alſo among you, O ye Magiſtrates, after you ap-'pear ſuch Juſticiers by the ſeverity you treat us with, whoſe conſciences I 'would ſtrike with true reproaches of having procured the death of your own 'Children? Yet if you did but ſimply put them to death, it were ſomething; 'but by a ſtrange exceſſe of cruelty you throw them into the water, you ex-'poſe them to the rigour of cold and hunger, and the rage of Dogs; you will 'not take their lives away with the ſword, becauſe too gentle a death, and 'which men of the age of diſcretion had rather ſuffer, than any other that 'hath violence in it.

21. But, when the time of perſecution drew towards an end, then eſpecially did the Devil rage with variety of torments againſt the Primitive Saints. For beſides thoſe formerly mentioned, (*d*) *Serapion* was thrown down, and had his neck broken. Some having their fleſh rent in pieces with the laſh of the whip were broyled upon Gridirons; others having their skins razed, and ſcorched, being tied by one leg were hanged on Trees with the head downwards (*d*) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap.* 41.

wards. They pulled out the right eyes of others, ſearing the empty place, and ſawing off the left legs of others, ſeared their hams, and condemned them to the mines, which uſage was accounted clemency. Some they ſcourged to death, cut out their tongues, and ſtrangled them. One *Apphianus*, being all diſfigured with ſtripes, had his feet wrapped in flax, oyled all over, which being ſet on fire, it ran over his fleſh and conſumed it, and peirced into the marrow within the bones, ſo that his whole body diſtilled like to melting wax. Three dayes he was ſuffered to remain in priſon after this torture, and when, by reaſon of his wounds he was ready to yield up the ghoſt, then was he thrown into the Sea. Others were forced by buckling, juſting, and buffeting, to kill one another. Others of mens eſtate were gelded and condemned to the quarries. Others were tormented grievouſly and chaſtized with impriſonment and fetters, of which number was *Pamphilus, of all my familiars my deareſt friend, a man who among all the Martyrs of our time*, ſaith *Euſebius*, *excelled in every kind of virtue*. He had his ſides mangled with ſharp razors, and then was ordered to be kept in the noiſom ſtench of the cloſe priſon, where the reſt of the Confeſſors remained, till at length he was put to death, being a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæſarea*, concerning whoſe life *Euſebius* wrote three books, and for his familiarity with, and affection to him, had the ſirname of *Pamphilus*. This variety of the torments of Chriſtians, appeareth from ſeveral paſſages in the ſeventh and eighth Books of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which ſo far exceedeth all inferiour puniſhments, or (that I may ſpeak in the phraſe of Lawyers) the *diminutiones capitis*, that we need not mention how *Chriſtians were denied the title of* (*b*) Roman *Citizens*. But one kind of puniſhment far more grievous than the reſt there yet was, which more tormented Chriſtians than all other tortures put together: and that was *the loſſe of their chaſtity*. This Engine battered the fort of *Origen's* conſtancy, who choſe rather to ſacrifize to idols than be abuſed by an *Æthiopian*, as *Suidas* writeth. (*c*) *Tertullian* giveth us another inſtance, that we may enquire no further. "And indeed a few dayes ſince, (ſaith he) you condemned a Chriſtian maid to be rather proſtituted to an infamous corrupter of 'her chaſtity, than to be expoſed to the rage of a Lyon; you acknowledge 'there is no puniſhment nor kind of death, which is ſo intolerable to Chri-'ſtians, as the loſſe of their chaſtity. (*b*) *Tertul. Apol. l.* 36. (*c*) *Apol. c. ult.*

22. Such was the entertainment Chriſtians found in this World, now let us ſee how far they deſerved it, as to their demeanour, and cariage; for there is no need to ſpeak here to the two firſt objections. "The Heathens (*a*) be-'lieve a man could not make profeſſion of Chriſtianity, without being tain-'ted with all ſorts of crimes, without being an Enemy to the gods, to Prin-'ces, to the Laws, to good manners, and to nature, and that a Chriſtian 'could not be acquitted, unleſſe he denied himſelf to be ſuch an one. "But their cariage was ſo quite contrary to all theſe ſurmiſes, except that concerning the worſhip of Heatheniſh vanities, or Devils, under the name of gods, that they onely were the ſervants of the true God, they onely were free from all ſorts of crimes, were the beſt friends and Subjects of Princes, of the Laws, good manners, and nature, and truly affirming themſelves Chriſtians, might juſtly in this reſpect have been acquitted from theſe accuſations. "They '(*b*) aſſembled together by troops in their prayers to God, as if thereby they 'would carry by force the grant of whatſoever Prayers were preſented to him, 'this being a violence agreeable to him; they prayed to him for the Empe-'rours, their Miniſters the Magiſtrates that had the exerciſe of their power, 'for the State, the tranquillity of the Empire, and the retarding of the gene-'ral diſſolution that muſt put an end to all things. They aſſembled together 'to read the Holy Scriptures, and they read them according to the condi-'tion of the times; what ſerved either to admoniſh or confirm the faithful. 'In effect, the Scriptures nouriſhed their faith, lifted up, and aſſured the 'confidence they had in God, nevertheleſſe they ceaſed not to confirm their 'diſcipline by the ſtrength of precepts they continually repeated. In theſe 'Aſſemblies, (ſaith *Tertullian*, for the former are alſo his words) we make (*a*) *Tertul. ubi ſupra c.* 2. (*b*) *Idem ibid. c.* 39.

The unblameable demeanous of Chriſtians in their Aſſemblies.

'exhorta-

'exhortations and threatnings, and exercise Divine censure, which banisheth 'sinners, and excludes them from our Communion: we judge them with very 'much circumspection, because we know that God is in the midst of us, and 'sees what we do; and certainly it is a great foretelling of the judgment that 'God will one day pronounce against the wicked, when the Church moved 'with the enormity of their crimes, darts out upon wilful sinners the Thun-'derbolts of excommunication, and deprives them of the participation of it's 'prayers, it's society, and all sorts of holy commerce with it.

'23. In our assemblies there are Bishops that preside, and have authority over 'all the faithful committed to their charge; they are approved by the suffra-'ges of them whom they ought to conduct, and it is not bribes that acquire 'them this honour, but testimonies given of their good life. For in the 'Church of God nothing is done by the allurement of gifts; if there be 'among us any kind of treasure, the money laid up makes our Religion not 'ashamed. And every one contributes a little sum at the end of the moneth, 'or when he will; but it is if he will and can; for none are constrained to 'give. If we get any alms it is of good will, riches gathered in this man-'ner are as the pledges of piety; we do not confound them in eating and 'drinking with excesse; we make not use of them for the foul and loathsom 'exercise of gluttony: but we employ them in feeding the poor, burying 'them, in comforting poor Orphans, in helping old men who have spent their 'best dayes in the service of the faithful, in helping the poor that have lost by 'shipwrack what they had, and in assisting them that serve in the mines, are 'banished into Islands, or shut up in prisons, because they professe the Reli-'gion of the true God, that during the time they suffer for the confession of 'his name, they may be nourished by the stock of the Church. But it's a 'strange thing, that this charity among us gives occasion to some to blame us. 'See, say they, how they love one another; this astonisheth them, because 'they hate one another. See say they, how they are ready to die one for ano-'ther; but as for them they are ready to kill one another. [A little after:] 'As we live with the same intelligence, as if we had all but one spirit and one 'soul; we have nothing in particular but our wives, of all things in the 'World there is nothing but wives, whereof we reject community; and on 'the contrary, among them of their wives onely there is a community with 'other men. [Again]: Now seeing we live together with so much charity, 'that all our goods are common, why should they wonder if we make good 'chear? for it's one of the excesses you reproach us with; besides the infa-'mous crimes whereof you accuse our repasts, you charge it with prodi-'gality.

24. In the same place: "But you need but consider the name given to our 'repasts, to know the quality thereof. They expresse themselves with the 'same word that signifies *Love* with the *Greeks*; whatsoever the cost is that 'is made, it is profitable, for they gain alwaies in this expence, because it 'hath piety for it's foundation. Its a sweetness wherewith we comfort the 'want of the poor, but we do not treat them as you those infamous gluttons, 'who glory in selling you their liberty for the price of their good bits, where-'with they fill their bellies in the midst of a thousand indignities. But we 'will have the least served with our goods, because they we know, amongst 'all men, are the most acceptable unto God. Then seeing our feasts have so 'honest an end, consider what our discipline should be in the rest of our acti-'ons, even those which more concern the duties of Religion; it permits no-'thing that is dishonourable, nor far from modesty. Before we go to table 'we are fed with heavenly meat, which is the Prayer we make to God; we 'eat as much as is necessary to satisfie one's appetite, we drink as much as is 'permitted to persons that have a care of their purity. They that sit there, take 'their refection with so much temperance, as they may remember they are 'obliged to worship God even at night. They entertain one another as People 'that know God hears what they say. After the repast done, they have washed 'their hands, and lighted the candles, they are invited to praise God and sing

Aganon.

Psalms

'Psalms taken out of the holy Scripture, or Hymns every one composeth 'according to the capacity of his mind. By this it may be known, if they 'have committed any excesse at table; as the repast began with Prayer, so it 'ends; they go forth not in divers troops to defile their hands with the blood 'of men, nor in several bands running in the streets, not to do insolencies; 'but with the same care they had in coming in, preserve their modesty and 'chastity.

'25. Finally, Christians retire with so much stayednesse, that we may very 'well see they are not fed so much with corporal meats as the substance of 'heavenly and holy discipline. Certainly, it were but reason that this soci-'ety of the Christians should be reputed unlawful, if it were like to that the 'Laws forbid; it were but good reason it should be condemned, if it were 'not different to that which deserves to be condemned; if one would re-'proach it with the same things wherewith they accuse factious societies. But 'tell me, Did we ever assemble to procure the hurt of any one? we are the 'same in a body, as when separated: as we are in particular, so we are in ge-'neral: that is to say, in whatsoever estate we are found, we injure no body; 'when any virtuous or godly People are associated, when any pious or chast 'persons assemble together, their union should not be called a faction, but a 'lawful society. Thus *Tertullian*, to whose words, as to the harmlesse cariage of the Christians in their Assemblies, Apostates witnessed, as appeareth from what *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan*. As for the crimes supposed to be committed by them, they ever challenged any witnesse to be produced of them, and sufficiently confute the vain reports in their Apologies. They laughed at the fiction of the Asses head, and such like stuff, and as for worshiping Crosses, *Octavius* in his answer to *Cecilius* saith, *Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus. Crosses we neither worship nor wish for.* Neither did they meet for seditious ends, as for the alteration of Governments, destruction of Princes, or changing of Magistrates. Though they rather than any of late time might pretend to Saintship, yet did they not make it an advantage to raise themselves; whereby they laid no claim to the riches, power, or dominion of the World; they did not hold that temporal dominion was founded in grace, nor that the true and spiritual Kingdom of Jesus Christ destroyed the right and interest of earthly Princes. They made no insurrections, covered on rebellious designs with the name of Religion, neither did by violence attempt a reformation; although they were so many thousands, as in all probability they might have born down all before them; though they filled all places, consisted of all degrees, and hereby shared in all interests, in power and intelligence, and by their combinations might have taken their opportunities, and easily by force of arms made way for their designs; yet obedience to their Princes they ever held most inviolable by the Principles of their Religion, and made use of no other weapons than prayers and tears, though for their own safety and preservation. Hear to this purpose what challenges *Tertullian* makes to such, as if he had not had truth on his side, would have been sufficiently ready to instance wherein the Christians offended, which they yet never adventured to do.

They were good and loyal Subjects.

'26. In the midst of all these outrages have you observed that these People, 'who (as you think) have framed so strange a conspiracy, and on the other 'side might be animated enough for revenge, by the punishments wherewith 'you take away their lives, endeavoured any thing against you to resent the 'evil treating they have received? Think you that they want an occasion? 'when in one night onely a small number of torches would be enough to sa-'tisfie their Revenge, if with us it were permitted to render evil for evil; 'but God forbid we should do so. A Religion that is all divine, ought not to 'revenge by the instigation of men, and must not think it strange to suffer that 'which is made use of to prove them. If we would declare against you as 'open, rather than pursue you as secret Enemies, might we not have forces 'and troops enough? It may be the *Moors* and *Marcomanns*, the *Parthi-'ans*, or whatsoever People they are shut up in the bounds of the Country they

Tertul. Apolog. c. 37.

'inhabit,

'inhabit, make a greater number of men than they that are ſpread throughout 'all the Univerſe, and have no other limits than that of the World. Our Re- 'ligion is but of late, and we fill already all that your power acknowledg- 'eth, Cities, Fortreſſes, Iſles, Provinces, the Aſſemblies of the People, 'the Armies alſo, the wards and tenths of *Rome*, the Palace, the Senate, 'and the Publick places; Finally, we leave you but the Temples. What 'Wars were we not able to undertake? with what readineſſe might we not 'arm our ſelves, although we ſhould be the weaker? we that ſuffer our ſelves 'ſo willingly to be killed, if in our Religion it were not rather lawful to let 'our ſelves be killed than to kill others, we could alſo make War againſt you 'without taking up arms, by caſting our ſelves into a revolt; it were enough 'not to live with you, and to ſeparate our ſelves, our divorce would print 'ſhame in your foreheads. For if Chriſtians, who make ſo great a multi- 'tude of all ſorts of perſons, ſhould abandon you to retire unto ſome Coun- 'try of the World diſperſed from all ſociety; truly the loſſe of ſo many Ci- 'tizens, of what condition ſoever, would diſparage your Government, and 'alſo our retreat would be a rude puniſhment to you; without doubt this ſo- 'litude that would remain with you, this ſilence of all things, this general 'aſtoniſhment of nature, even as if all the world were dead, would frighten 'you; you might go ſeek Subjects to command, there would remain to you 'more Enemies than Citizens: now you have more Citizens than Enemies, 'becauſe there are a greater number of Chriſtians among you.

27. Thus we ſee their peaceable demeanour, how their minds ſtood af- fected towards their Princes, let *Tertullian* alſo inform us. 'As for us, in *Apol. c.* 30. 'the prayers we make for the Emperours, we call upon the eternal God, the 'true God, the living God, *&c.* [In the ſame place:] It is to him to whom 'we Chriſtians addreſſe our prayers, make them with hands opened and lifted 'up, becauſe innocent; the head bare, becauſe no cauſe to be aſhamed when we 'pray to God. There are none teſteth us the words we are to ſay, becauſe it 'is our heart that acteth rather than our tongue. We pray for all the Empe- 'rours, and ask of God that he would give them a long life, that their Em- 'pire enjoy a profound Peace, their houſe happy concord, their Armies be 'innumerable, themſelves aſſiſted with good Councils, the People remain in 'their duties, no trouble ariſe in the World againſt their authority. In con- 'cluſion, we forget nothing the Prince can wiſh for, either as a man or as an 'Emperour. [A little after:] Whilſt we implore the grace of God for the 'Emperours with our hands lifted up, and ſtretched towards Heaven, let 'irons peirce us, let us be put on gibbets and croſſes, fires conſume us, knives 'cut our throats, beaſts devour us: A Chriſtian while in prayer lifting up 'his hands to God, is in a condition fit to receive all ſorts of puniſhment; 'and therefore continue O Magiſtrates ſo affected to Juſtice; raviſh our 'Souls whilſt they are in prayers for the welfare of the Emperours, and make 'a crime of Truth and the Service of God. [In the following Chapter] 'We intreat them who believe our Religion takes no care of the preſer- 'vation of the Emperours, to examine the Laws of our God, to read our 'Books which we hide not, and which by divers accidents fall into other 'hands than ours. They will learn there, that it is commanded by a ſupera- 'bundant charity, to pray to God for our Enemies, and to wiſh good to them *Chap.* 31. 'that perſecute us. Now have we greater Enemies, and ruder perſecutors, 'than thoſe who make offended Majeſty the ground of the crime they impute 'unto us? Holy Scriptures content not themſelves with this commandment, 'they have another more preciſe and clearer. Pray, ſay they, for Kings, 'Princes, and Powers, that you may live in peace in the midſt of publick 'tranquillity. [In another place:] But why ſhould I ſtay longer in making 'known with what ſence of Religion and Piety Chriſtians honour Empe- 'rours? It ſufficeth to ſay, we are obliged to render them our duties, as to *Chap.* 32. 'whom our Maſter hath commanded us ſo to do.

28. As theſe Primitive Saints were good Chriſtians in the excerciſe of their Religion, and dutiful Subjects towards their Princes, ſo alſo good men, free from

from vice, and adorned with Virtues; or if any were noted to be of contra- ry practice they were diſowned, and the Cenſures of the Church cut them off *Chap.* 44. from it's ſociety. "We ſpeak as boldly (ſaith *Tertullian*) of the Chriſti- 'ans you put to death, for we have an unreproveable teſtimony of their in- 'tegrity, which we take alſo from your Regiſters. You who are imployed 'every day in judging thoſe that are kept in priſons, and who terminate their 'proceſſes by the ſentences you give againſt them, of all the malefactors ac- And good men. 'cuſed before you of ſo many ſorts of crimes, is there any of them charged 'with Murther, Robbery, Sacrilege, and other faults, to whom they im- 'pute alſo that he is a Chriſtian? either, when Chriſtians are preſented to be 'puniſhed as Criminals, becauſe they are Chriſtians, is there any amongſt 'them whoſe life is like that of other priſoners? all the Malefactors where- 'with your priſons are ſo filled, that they are overcharged, are of your Reli- 'gion; they are alſo of your Religion that make the Mines grone under the 'weight of their ſtroakes, they are the wretched creatures of the ſame Reli- 'gion you are, wherewith the wild beaſts fill their bellies. All thoſe poor 'Criminals which your Citizens keep to make them cruelly kill one another 'before a bloody people, have the ſame opinion you have of the Deity. Fi- 'nally, among all thoſe wretched creatures there's not one Chriſtian, unleſſe 'he be charged by juſtice, becauſe of his name *Chriſtian*: Or if there be a 'Chriſtian found attainted of the ſame crime, he hath no more the name '*Chriſtian*, becauſe he hath loſt that divine quality in loſing his innocency. [Elſewhere:] But ſome will ſay, even among us there are a people that give *Chap.* 46. 'themſelves the liberty of doing evil, that free themſelves from ſubjection to 'our Laws, from any what ever exact obſervation of what is legally comman- 'ded by us. It is true there are ſome ſuch, but ſo ſoon as they fall into this 'diſorder, we hold them no more for Chriſtians. The fear of God, and purity of his precepts conſtrained them to this holy demeanour; for opinion of men and their rules, as this our Author obſerveth, cannot reach the heart, not procure that Virtue which is truly good. "The admirable fruits their 'doctrine produced (the knowledge whereof became publick by the com- 'merce they had in the World) made ſo down-right a conflict with rude in- 'credulity, that to defend herſelf ſhe was forced to ſay, that their profeſ- 'on had no Divine matter in it, but was onely a Sect of Philoſophy, that 'obliged Chriſtians to rank themſelves there in the exerciſe of Moral 'Virtues.

29. Though there was ſome diverſity of opinions amongſt them, yet as we ſhewed before, they maintained mutual Love; and that herein they were highly eminent as to all pious effects, is already evident. *Origen* in his Work againſt *Celſus* (wherein he eſpecially anſwereth to cavils raiſed againſt They were eminent for love and uni- ty of affection. the Author and Doctrin of Chriſtian Religion) takes off that prejudice that might ariſe from diverſity of opinions, by a compariſon of this difference with the numerous (or rather innumerous) Sects of Heathen Philoſophers. *Ter- tullian* layeth the great guilt of Hereſie upon ſuch, who being animated with the ſpirit of Philoſophy, infected the purity of the Goſpel with the corrup- tion of their own opinions. In the ſame place he acquainteth us what was the Primitive touch-ſtone of Doctrines moſt worthy now to be conſidered. "Theſe People (ſaith he) that are ſeparated from us have violated the Faith 'of Jeſus Chriſt, and we beat down their errors by this onely exception, *Apolog. c.* 47. 'that the true rule of Truth is, that which hath been taught by our Maſter, and 'tranſmitted to us by thoſe holy perſons, who had the happineſſe to hear his 'Word, and receive his Divine Inſtitutions; we ſhall ſhew in another place, 'that all which is not conformable to this rule, hath been invented by new 'Doctors, who came not till after the bleſſed companions of the Sonne of 'God.

They forced Devils out of bodies, and to confeſſe the truth. 30. All theſe excellent qualities in thoſe holy perſons, might have ſufficed to ſtop the mouths of Calumniators, and had weight ſufficient to have moved the minds of all men to the truth. But that Victory which Chriſtians obtain- ed over Devils, might much more have convinced them of the power which

was superiour to that of their false Gods. "Christians were wont to drive away 'these Devils from the bodies of men, forced them to confesse that they were 'no other than Devils, and that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and his 'way the true Religion. [As to the former, first hear *Tertullian*:] But if *Apolog. c. 37.* 'we were not near you, who would snatch you away from these secret Ene- 'mies, whose malignant operations make so strange a confusion in your 'minds, and so horrible an alteration of your healths? I have heard speak of the 'possession of Devils, wherewith you are tormented, from whence we deli- 'ver you freely, and without reward; if we had the spirit of Revenge, it 'were enough to satisfie us, that these corrupted spirits might at all times 'seize on your bodies, and that entrance therein were alwayes open to them. 'But as you do not think of that you ought, viz. so dear a protection, you 'cease not to declare a People to be your Enemies, who do you no hurt, 'whose assistance is so absolutely necessary for you. It is true, we are Ene- 'mies, yet not of men but of their errors. [In another place:] As for *Chap. 31.* 'Devils or Genies, we are wont to conjure them, to drive them away from 'the bodies of men, whereof they are seized, and render them not the ho- 'nours due to God only, by swearing by them. [*Justin Martyr* in his fifth * Apology:] Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ πολλοὺς, &c. For many possessed with * *Pag. 45. tolius operis.* 'Devils throughout the World, and this your City, whom many Exorcists, 'Inchanters, and Conjurers could not cure, Many of our men through the 'name of Jesus Christ crucified under *Pontius Pilate* have healed, and now 'also do heal, disarming and driving out of men those Devils that had posses- 'sed them. [In his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the *Jew*:] 'Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα- 'τοῦ, &c. For in the name of this the Son of God, the first-born of *Pag. 311.* 'every creature, and born of a Virgin, and made a man subject to suffering, 'and crucified by your people under *Pontius Pilate*, who died, arose from 'the dead, and ascended into Heaven, every Devil adjured is overcome and 'subdued. [In another place of this Apology:] And now we who believe *Pag. 302.* 'in Jesus Christ our Lord crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, adjuring all Devils 'and malignant spirits, have them subject under our power. He affirmeth the same thing in other places.

31. That Christians constrained Devils to confesse themselves such, and to acknowledge the truth of the Gospel, in this matter hear also *Tertullian*: "If a man should bring before your tribunals one that were truly possessed of 'a Devil, if a Christian should command him to speak, this wicked spirit 'will confesse that he is a Devil, with as much truth as he saith falsely at ano- *Apol. cap. 23.* 'ther time he is a god. Let them present any one of these they believe to be 'wrought upon within by a deity; that in the ceremony of the Sacrifices they 'offer on the altars have the virtue of a God, in fenting the smell which goes 'out of the Sacrifices; who with force belch out words out of their sto- 'machs; within breathing declare Oracles; if this heavenly Virgin that pro- 'misseth rain; if this *Æsculapius* who teacheth the secrets of Physick, who 'preserves the lives of them that must lose the same soon after, confesse not 'by the mouths of these Impostors, the fegined inspirations of whom deceive 'the World, that they are but Devils, if the presence of a Christian takes 'not from them the boldnesse of lying, we are willing, that in the same place 'you shed the blood of this Christian, and punish him as a wicked person. [In the same Chapter:] Now seeing by our means your gods discover to you 'that they are no gods, and that all the other to whom men erect altars are 'none in like manner; but this at the same time they make you know, who 'the true God is, if it be this onely God whom we that are Christians 'worship, if we must believe of him what the Christians believe, if he must 'be served as their Laws ordain. When you conjure your gods in the name 'of Jesus Christ, do they ask who is that Jesus Christ? do they call the Hi- 'story of his life a fable? do they say he is a man of the same education as 'other men? that he was a Magician? that after he was dead, his disciples 'took away his body privately from the Sepulcher? and that he is now in 'Hell? say they not rather, he is in Heaven? that he must descend to the 'terror

'terror of all the World? with horrour to the Universe? with the lamenta- 'tion of all men but Christians? and that he shall come down on the Earth 'full of Majesty, as the Virtue of God, the Spirit of God, the Word, Wis- 'dom, Reason, and the Son of God?

32. Whence Christians came to be so strong, as to wrest these confessions from them, hear him in the same place. "Now all the power we have of Whence they had this strength against them. 'them, is the name of Jesus Christ who gives it us, it is the threatning we 'give them of the evils God is ready to pour on their heads, and which one day 'Jesus Christ must declare unto them. As they fear Jesus Christ in God, and 'God in Jesus Christ, they are under the Government of the servants of 'God and of Jesus Christ: so by the onely touch of our hands, and breath of 'our mouthes, the Devils seized with fear at the sight of the flames that en- 'viron them are forced to obey us, to come out of the bodies they possesse, 'in despite of them, and with murmuring to suffer this shame in our presence. 'You that are wont to believe them when they lie, believe them when they 'speak of themselves. None will tell a lye to get shame by it, but rather 'to gain honour; one will sooner believe them that confesse against their own 'interest, than those that denie to their advantage. These testimonies which 'we have of your gods make men to be Christians; for we cannot give a full 'belief to what they say, without believing in Jesus Christ our Master. 'Your gods kindle in our hearts the Faith which the holy Scripture teacheth 'us, they strengthen our hope, and confirm us in the assurance we have of 'our Salvation. As for you, to honour them, you offer them also the blood 'of Christians; and if it were permitted them to lie when Christians inter- 'rogate them, and labour to make you know the truth by their confession, 'they would take good heed of discovering your errors to you, as well 'for keeping the profit they have of them, and the honours you render 'them, as for the fear they might have, that in becomming your selves Chri- 'stians, you drive them away as we do, from the bodies they torment with so 'much rage. [In the beginning of the following Chapter:] "We need no- 'thing but the acknowledgement we have from your gods, when we make 'them confesse they are no gods, and when they answer us, there is no other 'God than the onely God we serve, to purge us from the crimes of high-trea- 'son and impiety to the *Roman* Religion.

33. No wonder then that these impure Spirits inraged at Christians, fought all manner of wayes to destroy them. But yet in their deaths they overcame them, and in all sorts of indignities and tortures triumphed over their im- placable adversaries; for *The blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church.* That this was so indeed, *Tertullian* also informeth us, the veracity of whom, as to these things alleged is unquestionable, because appealing to his adversaries, he must needs in behalf of his cause produce such things as were most certain: the contrary whereof would have Apologized sufficiently for what he laboured to confute. We shall with the last words of his excel- lent Apology conclude this most delightful Subject. "But do what you They triumphed over their enemies in their very sufferings. 'please, all inventions the most exquisite cruelty can advise you unto are to no 'purpose; so far are they from profitting you, that contrarily they draw all 'the World to our Religion. The oftner you make an harvest of the Chri- 'stians, the oftner their number increaseth: their blood is a seed which dies 'not on the earth, but puts forth prosperously. Many among you have la- 'boured to perswade men to suffer constantly pain and death, (as *Cicero* in 'his *Tusculans*, *Seneca* in his Treatise against casual things, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, 'and *Callinicus*) but Christians have better taught constancy, by the examples 'they have given, in supporting patiently so many evils, than all the Philo- 'sophers with all their discourses. This same obstinacy, wherewith you re- 'proach us, is an excellent mistresse of truth which we believe: for who is 'there not that striveth with contemplation to seek what it is? who after his 'search made, comes not on our side? who having imbraced the Faith of 'Jesus Christ, desires not to suffer for him, that by his sufferings he may get 'the infinite treasures of the grace of God, and that in the price of his blood,

'they may obtain the pardon of their faults; for the remiſſion of all our ſins,
'is the aſſured recompence of our puniſhments. This is the reaſon that when
'they read your ſentences of death unto us, we render you thanks; becauſe
'by an happy emulation that meets between the Judgements of God, and the
'judgement of men, at the ſame inſtant when you condemn us here below,
'God pronounceth our abſolution in Heaven.

34. The Soldiers being at a ſtand after the murther of *Antoninus Baſſianus*, were without an Emperour for two dayes. Then hearing that *Artabanus*, the *Parthian*, was coming to revenge the injury offered to him, they made choice of *Ardantus* one of their principal Officers, but he excuſed himſelf by his age, and the dignity was conferred on *Macrinus*, by the eſpecial indeavour of the Tribunes, who alone were conſcious of the fact towards *Antoninus*. He gave battel to *Artabanus*, and made incredible ſlaughter of men for two dayes, during which time, the *Parthian* knew nothing of his Enemies death, but on the next day being certified thereof by *Macrinus*, he received the Captives with the ſpoil taken in his Country, and making a League with the *Roman* Emperour, departed into his own Kingdom: *Macrinus* returning to *Antioch*, by letters gave the Senate an account of his ſucceſſe, and endeavouring to remove all prejudice which might ariſe from the obſcurity of his birth, promiſed to rule with as much moderation as any. He was chearfully owned, not ſo much out of reſpect to himſelf, as hatred towards his Predeceſſor. During the time he reigned, things were well reformed; but lying idle at *Antioch*, he gave up himſelf to pleaſures, and keeping there the Soldiers againſt their inclination, thereby drew contempt and hatred upon himſelf, which wrought his deſtruction.

Lege Herodian. l. 4.

Oroſium l. 7. c. 18.

Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dione.

Macrinus ſucceedeth Baſſianus.

Olymp. 249. an. 1. V. C. 970. A. D. 217.

35. *Maſa* a *Phœnician*, ſiſter to *Julia* the wife of *Severus*, had two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mammea*. The former had a ſon named *Baſſianus* fourteen years old, and the later one called *Alexianus* two years younger. Both theſe boyes were Prieſts of the Sun, in the *Phœnician* language called *Heliogabalus*, and the elder being the chief, was alſo a youth of an excellent beauty, and for it was very much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers. Their Grandmother *Maſa* hereat took occaſion to affirm (whether truly or otherwiſe) that they were both the ſons of *Antoninus*, who had been familiar with both her daughters, dwelling with her under the ſame roof. Having got great ſtore of wealth by living at Court in her ſiſters time, ſhe promiſed large ſums to the Soldiers, in caſe the Empire could be devolved upon one of them. The Soldiers gladly cloſing with her offer, received them into their Camp; which *Macrinus* hearing of, neglected it, onely he ſent *Julianus* with a party againſt the Revolters; but this party allured with the ſight of the boy and money together, cut off their Captains head, and ſending it back to *Macrinus*, were alſo received into the Camp. After this a battel was fought in the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, wherein *Macrinus* having the worſt fled towards *Italy*, but was taken at *Chalcedon*, where he fell ſick of his journey, and his head was ſtruck off after he had reigned about fourteen moneths. He was more ſharp towards his Soldiers than was ſuitable to his condition, being otherwiſe alſo very ſevere, ſo as he burnt Adulterers quick with their bodies joyned together. He was ſlain in the 54 year of his age, together with his ſon *Diadumenianus*, to whom he had given the title of *Ceſar*.

Heliogabalus.

36. *Antoninus Heliogabalus* ſucceeding *Macrinus*, continued ſtill in his Office of Prieſt, wearing the ornaments belonging to it, and dancing continually in that Antick habit. He gave up himſelf to all filthineſſe, luxury, and uncleanneſſe, and killed many that talked againſt his courſes. He maried the Image of *Pallas* (which never had ſeen light, except when the City was burnt, ſince its bringing from *Troy*) unto his god, as alſo that of *Urania* (by which the *Africans* meant the Moon) reported to be brought out of *Phœnicia* by *Dido*. He built a ſumptuous Temple for his god, who was brought into it in a chariot adorned with gold and precious ſtones, the Prieſt himſelf leading the horſes, and going backward all the way. He painted his face though he had

had much natural beauty, wore Pearls in his ſhooes, never ſupped under the rate of thirty pounds, was drawn by Dogs in a Chariot up and downe the Palace, alwayes ſate either amongſt Flowers or ſweet Odours, and when he journeyed had no leſſe then 600 Carriages in his train. Being told by the *Syrian* Prieſts that he ſhould die a violent death, he provided ſilken Halters, Golden Knives, and a Turret floored with Gold and Pearl, ſaying, his death ſhould be coſtly and luxurious, that it might be ſaid, *No man died in ſuch a ſort*. Of his mother he was ſo fond, that he would do nothing without her, and carried her with him into the Senate-houſe. But theſe courſes occaſioned the ruine of them both.

37. His Grand-mother fearing theſe courſes would bring him into contempt with the Soldiers, prevailed with him, though otherwiſe heady enough, to adopt *Alexianus* his Couſin German, that all might not miſcarry together with him. She perſwaded him to it, by ſhewing how hereby he might provide for his pleaſures and attendance on his God, the other taking care of State affairs. He ſought to train up *Alexianus*, now called *Alexander*, in his own way, and *Mammea* having provided him Tutors, able men to bring him up in good literature, he either put to death or baniſhed the chief of them, as corrupting his ſon. He preferred none but Players to publick Dignities, and gave the governments of Provinces to the filthieſt amongſt his ſlaves. By theſe things he drew more and more upon him the hatred of the Soldiers, who all inclined to *Alexander* as a youth of good hope, who alſo had money from his mother for a bait, without which all had been nothing. *Antoninus* knowing this, endeavoured all wayes to poyſon him, and this ſucceeding not, he gave out he was dead, to ſee how the Soldiers would take it, who hereupon mutined. To appeaſe them, he took him along with him in a Chariot beautified with Pearl and Gold to the Camp. Here was *Alexander* ſaluted and honoured alone, no reſpect being given to *Heliogabalus*, who being incenſed thereat, went about to animadvert upon ſuch as made acclamations; but the Soldiers catching at this advantage, ſlew him, together with his mother, and thoſe that accompanied him, their two bodies being tumbled up and down the ſtreets were at length caſt into *Tiber*. He thus died having lived 18 years, and reigned five; *A.V.C.* 975. *A.D.* 222.

Alexander.

38. *Alexander* then was received as Emperour, and ruled with great moderation and clemency, being kept from ill company by *Mammea* his mother, and otherwiſe of his own inclination abhorring bloud, ſo that in all his time not any one was put to death innocent and unheard. He carried himſelf with great courteſie towards all; nay, *Camillus* attempting new matters, he onely thanked that he was willing to receive that burthen which good men refuſed. His ſaying was, *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris. What thou wouldeſt not have done to thy ſelf, do not to another.* Although the peace which *Macrinus* had made with the *Parthian* was diſgracefull to the *Roman* Empire, yet it pleaſed not the *Parthians*, who thought the perfidiouſneſſe of *Baſſianus* deſerved much greater puniſhment. Thence aroſe diſſatisfaction, contempt, and hatred amongſt the ſubjects of *Artabanus*, the iſſue whereof was, that *Artaxares* or *Artaxerxes* ſtirred up the *Perſians* to the recovery of their antient honour, and tranſlated the Kingdom from *Artabanus*, and the *Parthians*, upon himſelf, in the fourth year of this *Alexander*, 538 years after *Alexander* the Great, or rather in the 538 year of the *Seleucida*. Not content herewith, he ſent to *Alexander* to demand whatſoever the *Romans* had taken from the *Perſians*, and having a great ambition to recover what ever had belonged to that Empire, invaded *Meſopotamia*, giving out he would reduce all *Aſia* unto his power. *Alexander* was conſtrained to march againſt him, and ſo repelled and weakned him, though with great loſſe of his own men, that for divers years no more was heard of him. By his Lieutenants he proſpered in the Wars of *Mauritiana*, *Illyricum*, and *Armenia*, but being called for againſt the *Germans* who waſted *Gall*, either becauſe he was deſpiſed for want of ſucceſſe in this expedition, for his ſeverity, or rather for that the Soldiers loved to fiſh in troubled waters, he was traiterouſly murdered, together with his mother,

Olymp. 250. ann. 2. V. C. 975. A. D. 222. Conſule Herodian. ubi ſupra.

Lamprid. in Alexand. Eutropium l. 8. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 28. Oroſium lib. 7. cap. 18.

ther, and *Maximinus* was set up in his stead. *Mammæa* his mother was first instructed in Christian Religion by *Origen*, whom she called to her at *Antioch*, but afterwards learnt of the *Gnosticks*, 1. Openly to deny what she privately owned, and 2. to keep, and worship images of Christ. She instructed her son in the same Doctrine, who would have made a Temple for Christ, but was prohibited saith *Lampridius*; that is, would have made one if he could have done it with the good will of the *Romans*. *Ulpian* the great Lawyer was his chief Justice, and was slain by the Soldiers. *Paulus* also, *Pomponius*, and *Modestinus* flourished in his time, which abounded with able men of this profession. *Alexander* was slain in *Gall* near *Moguntiacum*, on the fourth before the *Nones* of *October*, having lived 29 years, and reigned 13. *A. V. C.* 988. *A. D.* 235. *L. Catilius Severus*, and *L. Ragonius Quintianus* being *Consuls*.

Maximinus made Emperour by the Soldiers.

39. *Maximinus* by whose procurement *Alexander* was murdred, was born in *Thrace*, his father being a *Goth*, and his mother an *Alane*. Being at first an Herdsman, he was for the vastnesse of his body made a Soldier, and by degrees was preferred in the Army. He had been set over the new raised Soldiers, to train, and exercise them, and by his great valour, and enduring all labour and toil together with them, procured their favour, and hereby his own rise. As he was a man of stupendous bulk and proportionable diet, so also of avarice and cruelty, to the later whereof he was the more provoked by a conspiracy or two, which were discovered ere they took effect. He overthrew the *Germans*, and wasted their Countrey, threatning also to subdue all the Northern Nations as far as the Ocean, and had his other carriage been answerable to his valour, he might have enjoyed time and opportunity for the performance of much. This occasion of revolt from him was first given in *Africk* by his Officer at *Carthage*, whose rapacity so far incensed certain young men, that they killed him, and compelled *Gordianus* the *Proconsul* to take upon him the Purple, who being of the age of 80 years, was joyfully owned both by Senate and People. But he going about to revenge private injuries, destroyed himself, by constraining *Capellianus* who governed *Mauritiana* to come upon him with an Army, wherewith being worsted he hanged himself, his son having perished in the fight at the age of 46. They scarcely enjoyed the title 36 dayes.

Herod. lib. 7, 8. *Capitolinus Eutropius lib.* 9. *Orosius lib.* 7. *cap.* 19.

Gordianus.

Maximus and *Balbinus.*

40. The Senate, that they might have some to oppose against *Maximinus*, chose two Emperors, *Maximus* and *Balbinus*; but the people not being satisfied therewith, and being desirous to have a Prince out of the stock of *Gordianus*, they gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Gordianus* his Grandson by his daughter, a boy of 13 years of age. A little after it hapned that two old Soldiers who had belonged to *Maximinus* going to the Senate-house to hearken for news, were slain by two Senators, which thing raising a great tumult, the Soldiers in Town set the Citie on fire, whereby a great part of it was burnt down, and got them to their Camp. *Balbinus* was appointed to take care of *Rome*, and *Maximus* went into *Italy* to raise forces against *Maximinus*, who now marched fast for *Rome*. Finding no resistance at the *Alpes*, he accounted himself most sure of victory, but found so much at *Aquileia* as stopped his journey; for the Inhabitants furnished by the commodiousnesse of the place with all sorts of Provisions most stoutly defended themselves. They threw down so much scalding Pitch and Sulphur upon his Soldiers, that they were not able to continue the storms, and the women, 'tis said, cut the hair from their heads to make Provision for bow-strings. This unexpected opposition drove him to such a rage, that having no power to torment the Enemy, he exercised his fury upon divers of his Captains whom he put to death, as if through their lazinesse and neglect the Town stood out. This cruelty, together with the scarcity of Victuals in the Camp (for the besiegers were so besieged that all Provisions were cut off from them) induced such of the Soldiers, as had their Wives and Children at *Rome*, to conspire against him. Together with him fell his son, such an one as himself, whom he had named *Cæsar*, the Soldiers crying out, that of *an ill Litter not a Whelp was to be preserved*. He also persecuted the Church by the sixth persecution, commanding that Governours onely and the principal Ministers of our Saviour's Doctrine should be put to death. But to such an end came he, being the first Emperour created onely by the Army without consent of the Senate, after he had reigned three years, A. V. C. 991, A. D. 238.

Maximinus killed by his own men.

Euseb. Hist. l. 6. *c.* 29, *&* 31 *in Chron.*

Bishops.

41. Now to our continuation of Ecclesiastical matters. In the first year of *Alexander* or the last of *Heliogabalus*, the day preceding the *Ides* of *October*, *Callistus* Bishop of *Rome* was crowned with Martyrdom. The See was vacant six dayes, and then succeeded *Urbanus* the seventeenth Bishop, according to *Damasus*, on the twentieth of *October*, and first Feria. In the tenth of *Alexander*, on the eighth before the *Calends* of *June* died *Urbanus*. The See was vacant thirty dayes, and then *Pontianus* succeeded on the eighth before the *Calends* of *July*, the sixth Feria. In the first of *Maximinus*, *Pontianus* being banished into the Island *Sardinia*, there died on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *December*, and *Antherus* succeeded him, who in the year following on the third of the *Nones* of *January* was crowned with Martyrdom, because he had diligently gathered an History of the Martyrs, and laid it up in the Church. The seat was vacant thirteen dayes, and then was *Fabianus* elected on the seventeenth of *January*, and the first Feria, being the twentieth Bishop of *Rome*, according to *Damasus*. And about the eleventh year of *Alexander*, *Heraclas* who once was *Origen's* Usher in the School of *Alexandria* was Bishop of that See, where he continued sixteen years.

Damasus. Euseb.

* *Euseb. Hist. l.* 6. *c.* 15, 26, 35.

CHAP. VI.

From the death of Maximinus *the first created Emperour without consent of the Senate, to the Monarchy of* Constantine *the first Christian Emperour, who reformed Religion, and translated the Imperial seat to* Byzantium, *the space of* 86 *years.*

1. THE news of *Maximinus* his death being brought to *Rome*, filled the City with extraordinary joy, having taken *Maximus* as he was listing men in *Italy*, who thereupon went to *Aquileia*, and received the Army, to which he pardoned all things past. Then returned he to *Rome*, where he and his Collegue managed matters with discretion enough, could they have agreed betwixt themselves; but the one being jealous of the other, and both endeavouring to grapple all the power into their own hands, thereby wrought to themselves sodain destruction. The *Prætorian* bands hated them both, as created by the Senate, and resolved for the removal of such an indignity offered to the Army, to make them away, which *Maximus* understanding, would have sent for the Guard of *Germans*, which he knew both to be faithful to him, and able to resist the power of the other; but *Balbinus* suspecting that he intended something against himself, would not suffer it; and so the Soldiers entering the Palace haled them out, and after all sorts of indignities offered to their persons, upon report that the *Germans* were coming, slew them both. Now knowing no fit person whom they might prefer, and being assured it would be very acceptable to the People, they made choice of *Gordianus*, who had been formerly made *Cæsar*. At his beginning so great an Eclypse of the Sun happened (*April* 2. on the second Feria, as *Cappellus* agreeth with *Mulierus*) that the day seemed to be turned into night, and nothing could be done in houses without candles. *Sabinianus* in *Africk* attempted new matters, but was slain. *Gordianus* being yet very young undertook an Expedition against the *Persians*, over whom *Sapores* in his third year began to reign, having succeeded *Artaxerxes* their first King. By the good conduct of *Misitheus* his Father-in-Law he prospered very well, but he being

Herod. Capitol. Zozimus l. 1. *Eutrop. l.* 9.

Gordianus.

Olymp. 254. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 991. *A. D.* 238.

being slain or made away, the Soldiers not enduring the rawneſſe of *Gordianus*, transferred the Soveraignty unto *Philip*, and killed him, after he had reigned six years. Its observed, that all those nine that slew him perished by their own hands, their own swords, and the very same with which they destroyed him.

M. Julius Philippus.

2. *M. Julius Philippus* was by birth an *Arabian* of *Trachonitis*, his Father being a notable Captain of thieves in that Country. He made his son partaker with him in the Imperial dignity. In his fourth year fell out the 1000th of *Rome*, which was celebrated with great pomp, and all manner of Games, from *April* 21 to *April* 21 of the following year. *Eusebius* reports of him, that he was the first Christian Emperour, and that being desirous to joyn with the multitude in the Eccleſiastical Prayers, he could not be admitted till he had first rendred an account of his Faith, and joyned himself with such, as for their sins were examined, and set in the place of penitents, therefore becauſe he was faulty in many things, saith the Hiſtorian, he willingly obeyed, and declared by his works his sincere and religious mind towards God. The Martyrologies will have him and his son converted by occasion of the solemnity of the 1000th year, and being baptized by *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome*, after confeſſion of his sins, to have been admitted to the Communion. But saith *Cappellus*, if any of this had been true, would the Senate, that was so set against the Christians have reckoned him amongst the gods? At least would not *Decius* have objected this as a crime against him? The *Scythians* in his time infesting the Empire, he repelled by his Lieutenants. *Marinus* raising a Commotion in *Pannonia*, he sent *Decius* to quiet the Soldiers, who put the purple upon him. *Philip* then led an Army against this Usurper, and they met at *Verona*, where the old Emperour was defeated and slain, which news coming to *Rome*, his son a child of twelve years of age was murdered by the *Prætorian* bands, after they had reigned about five years.

Eutrop. l. 9. Victor. Euseb. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 34. & in Chron.

Decius.

3. *Quinctus Trajanus Decius*, as *Oroſius* calleth him, was born in *Pannonia*. According to the custom he assumed his son into participation of the Empre. He quieted at his beginning some motions in *Gaul*, but raised a great one against the Church, being Author of the seventh Perſecution out of hatred to *Philip*, or as others say, having conspired against *Philip*, out of hatred to Christianity: by his edicts many were put to most cruel deaths. He received his reward after a short time; for now the *Gothes* (originally inhabitants *Scanzia*) invaded *Thrace*, and other places, both by Land and Sea; becauſe such of them as served in the Wars had been defrauded of their pay. At the desire of the Senate, to which he commended the Commonwealth in his absence, he marched against and overthrew them in several battels (notwithstanding that he lost his son, and *Priſcus* Governour of *Philippi* revolted) and had perfected his Victory, but that he was betrayed by *Gallus Hoſtilianus* Governour of the lower *Maſia*. He perſwaded him to fight in a fenny ground, and then revealed his intention to the Enemy, by whom he was beset, and was shallowed up in a bog, so as his body could never be found. He was courteous enough to all but Christians, and gave satisfaction to Senate and People. He reigned two years and an half.

Olymp. 257. an. 1. V. C. 1002. A. D. 249. Oroſius lib. 7. cap. 21. Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 39. Lege item Zozimum lib. 1. Eutrop. l. 9. Pomponium Lætum.

Gallus.

4. *Vibius Gallus Hoſtilianus* succeeded him, both in his Empire, his malice towards Christians, and his punishment. He clapped up an ignominious Peace with the *Gothes*, unto whom he promised money, a thing scarcely heard of before amongst the *Romans*; and this not being long kept, the *Gothes* and *Scythians* made incursions into *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*, and also into *Aſia*, making great spoils in all places. Many other Nations after their example rebelled, and made havock of the Provinces: the *Parthians* also peirced into *Armenia*, and thence expelled *Tiridates* the King. The *Scythians* proceeded so furiously, that they seemed to carry all before them, till that *Æmilianus* a *Moor*, and who commanded the Legions in *Pannonia*, by promiſes drew on his Soldiers against them, and so repelled them, that he invaded their Country, for which service he was saluted Emperour by this Army.

Eutrop. l. 9. Pompon. Lætus. Victor.

Æmilianus.

Army. *Gallus* hearing of this, went presently against him, but was slain together with *Voluſian* his son and partner in the Empire. Such was the end of him who perſecuted the Church of God, and chased away such holy men as praied for his peaceable and prosperous estate. The perſecutions of the Christians in the dayes of *Decius* and *Gallus* were accompanied or followed with a most grievous Pestilence, which so vehemently raged, that there was scarcely any Province, City or house, but was almost wasted and ruined by it. *Gallus* and *Voluſian* his son reigned little more than one year.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 1. Oroſius l. 7. c. 21.

Valerianus.

5. *Æmilianus* enjoyed the dignity not long, for another Army near the *Alpes* creating Emperour one *Valerianus*, a man of noble descent, his Soldiers, left they should incur any danger or trouble killed him after three moneths. *Valerianus* then taking the Government upon him in *Rhætia*, the Senate at *Rome* gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Gallienus* his son. He was at first very courteous to the Christians, and so familiarly imbraced them, that his Palace was filled with Profeſſors of the Faith; but afterward, he was perſwaded by the Master of the *Ægyptian* Sorcerers to slay them, as Enemies to their Art, and hinderers of it's operation in their presence; so that he raiſed the eighth Perſecution, wherein many perished. But God avenged the cause of his Saints upon him; for going against *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians*, he was taken priſoner, and could not be releaſed, notwithstanding the interceſſion of the *Perſian*'s confederates, who alleged, that the *Romans* the more they were overcome, the more vehemently they ever reſisted. *Sapores* kept and used him as a stool to tread on when he got on horse-back, and at length pulling his skin over his ears, tortured him to death. *Gallienus* his son who all this time had reigned with him terrified hereat, stopped the Perſecution of the Christians; but many of the *Romans* who had been the instruments of the Emperours cruelty, being to be punished as well as he, many Nations fell like a flood upon the *Roman* Empire, *Gallienus* giving up himself to all wantonneſſe and luxury. The *Germans* over-running *Rhætia* and part of *Italy*, came as far as *Ravenna*, the *Allemans* also wasting *Gall* peirced into *Italy*. *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus*, and *Aſia*, were overwhelmed with an inundation of the *Gothes* and *Scythians*. *Dacia* beyond *Danubius* was perpetually lost, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ* seized on *Pannonia*, and the *Parthians* having got into their hands *Meſopotamia*, made incursions into *Syria*.

Olymp. 258. an. 1. V. C. 1006. A. D. 253. Lætus. Oroſius ubi ſupra. Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 10.

Gallienus.

Oroſius l. 7. c. 22. Eutrop. l. 9.

6. *Gallienus* neglected these motions, answering always concerning these matters, as if notwithstanding them the Empire might flouriſh and do well enough. He thus little minding the Commonwealth, the Soldiers almost in all places chose them Emperours; so that at this time there were no leſſe than thirty Tyrants. The most notable of these upstarts was *Poſthumus*, who reigned in *Gall* with great commendations ten years; he used much moderation, expelled the Enemies, and recovered Provinces. All those thirty fell at length, either fighting with one another, or with the Emperour. But *Gallienus* at last, being contemned, was slain, having reigned six years together with his father, and nine by himself, A. V. C. 1021. A. D. 268. His Succeſſor was *Flavius Claudius* a *Dalmatian* born, according to his own desire, and the will of the Senate, who killing of the *Gothes* and other Barbarians to the number of 330000 men, and sinking 2000 Veſſels, the Senate decreed him a Golden Shield to be set up in the Court, and a Statue in the Capitol; but to the great loſſe of the Commonwealth he was slain at *Syrmium*, when he had scarcely reigned two years. Into his place was advanced *Aurelius Quintillus* his brother, an excellent perſon; but being too good, they that set him up pulled him down, becauſe they could not bear his gravity and strictneſſe, killing him the seventeenth day after at *Aquileia*. Then reigned *Valerius Aurelianus*, born either at *Syrmium* of some place in *Dacia*, of mean parentage. Being by *Claudius* appointed to drive the *Gothes* out of *Thrace*, he was after his death saluted Emperour. He was an excellent Soldier, and reſtored the Empire well nigh to it's former bounds. He drove out the *Gothes* from about *Danubius*; then returning to *Rome*, and there punishing

Aurelius Victor. Pollio de 30 Tyrannis. Oroſius ubi ſupra. Pomponius Lætus.

Claudius.

Quintillus.

Aurelianus.

Oroſius l. 7. c. 23.

punishing some Seditious persons, he marched into the East, to reduce those parts to their former obedience.

7. In the dayes of *Gallienus*, the *Persians* having subdued *Mesopotamia*, and invaded *Syria*, One *Odenatus* an inhabitant of *Palmyra*, a Citie of this Countrey, gathering together a company of Boors, fell upon them, and so ordered his affairs, that he beat them out of *Syria*, recovered *Mesopotamia*, and incamped before *Ctesiphon* the *Metropolis*. Being slain after this Conquest, *Zenobia* his wife in right of her Children kept possession of the East together with *Egypt*. *Aurelianus* now going against her, in his way, in *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and other places, defeated such Enemies as he met, and then entring *Syria*, after some trouble and danger, overthrew, and took the Queen her self near *Antioch*, and then recovered all her Dominions. But after his departure the Inhabitants of *Palmyra* killed his Garrison and revolted, which calling him back, he destroyed both the Citie and them therein, sparing neither Sex nor age; and after this recovered *Egypt*. Then returning into the West, he bent his endeavours against *Tetricus*, who reigned in *Gall*. *Tetricus* being vexed by his Seditious Soldiers, desired him, whom he termed *Invincible*, to rescue him from such evils, and betrayed his Army into his hands. *Valerian* growing proud upon such successe, first of all *Romans* set a Diadem on his head, and adorned himself with Gold and Pearl. He began also to persecute the Christians; but undertaking a War against the *Persians*, he was slain betwixt *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, through the malice of his Secretary, in the sixth year of his reign. In his first year, *Hormisda* the third *Persian* King began his reign, which lasted but one year. Him succeeded *Varane*, and reigned three years, and him followed *Narses* who continued 28. In his first year also died *Plotinus* the *Platonist*, who deriding all religion, perished through the just judgement of God by a filthy and painfull disease, although he had chosen a pleasant and wholesom place wherein to live in *Campania*. Now also flourished *Porphyrius* his Scholar, who of a Christian became a great Enemy to Christianity, and wrote 15 books against it, to which *Eusebius* answered in 30. of which 20 were extant in the time of *Jerome*, but at this day not one.

Orosius.
Eusеb. in Chron.
Zosimus lib. 1.
Victor. Orosius.
Eusеb. Hist. l. 7. cap. 30. & in Chron.
Agathias.
Firmicus lib. 1.

8. There was an *inter-regnum* after the death of *Valerian* for 8 moneths, the Senate and Army straining courtesie the one with the other, at length the Senate made choice of *Tacitus*, a man of Consular Dignity, who in his sixth moneth died of a Feaver at *Tarsus*. The Senate desired him, that in case he should die presently, he would not leave his Children his Successors, but some man of approved worth and valour, as the necessity of the State required. This man was *Probus*; yet notwithstanding *Florianus* the brother of *Tacitus* invaded the Empire, but was cut off by *Probus* near *Tarsus*, within the space of two or three moneths. *Probus* unwillingly receiving the burthen upon him, managed the Government with great commendation. He recovered *Gall* out of the hand of the *Francones* a people of *Germany*, which now first seized on it, after many bloudy battels, and after this was ingaged in Civil Wars. For *Saturninus* was saluted Emperour in *Egypt*, who was overthrown also, and killed also against his mind, and the same successe he had against *Proculus* in *Gall* and *Bonosus* a *Britain* born. He overthrew the *Sarmatians*, subdued several barbarous Nations about *Thrace* by the terrour of his name onely, quieted all *Asia*, and forced the *Parthian* King to desire peace, which he granted. Returning afterward into *Thrace*, he planted several barbarous people within the *Roman* Empire, whereof some revolting, he chastized and reduced them. Now all things flourished exceedingly through peace and security, which made him something slight the Soldiers, who thereupon, as he was marching through *Illyricum* against the *Persians*, murdered him at *Syrmium*, though he fled for safety into a fortified Tower. That saying undid him, *Si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*, a speech of great despair for the Soldiers. Witty and sharp speeches fallen from Princes have often given fire to Seditions. *Surely*, saith the most learned *Viscount* of St. *Albans*, *Princes had need in tender matters, and tickli-*

Tacitus.
Probus.
Orosius lib. 7. cap. 24.
Eutrop. lib. 9.
Fl. Vopiscus.
Zosimus.
Pomponius Laetus.

lish times, to beware what they say; especially in those short speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Carus.

9. *M. Aurelius Carus*, of the Province of *Narbon* in *Gall*, succeeded him, who, when he had created *Cæsars* his two sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, restrained the *Sarmatians*, that upon the death of *Probus* threatned *Italy*: But going against the *Persians*, after he had recovered *Mesopotamia*, and taken the two noble Cities of *Parthia*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Cochis*, he was slain by a Thunder-bolt in his Tent near to the River *Tigris*. Of his two sons, *Numerianus* was with him, and *Carinus* was left behind to look to *Gall*. *Numerianus* returning out of the East as Conquerour, and lying sick in his Litter, was killed by *Arius Aper* his father-in-law, who gaped after the Empire. Scarcely after some dayes was this wickedness detected by the stench of the Carkase, and then the Author of it being also discovered, *Valerius Deocletianus*, who governed the family of *Carus*, was chosen Emperour, and rewarded *Aper* as he had deserved. On the 15th before the Calends of *December*, and 10 dayes after, he entred *Nicomedia* in Purple. From the beginning of this *Diocletian* the *Egyptians* began a new *Æra*, fetching its rise from the new Moon of *Thoth* the preceding moneth (*August* 29) which they called the *Æra of Grace* for some reason or other. *Cappellus* observeth, that the fluctuating and vitious Chronology of *Baronius* henceforth beginneth to be right. For thinking, saith he, that he exhibited the years both of the true, and received *Æra* of Christ, in truth, he exhibited neither the one sort nor the other. Beginning the *Æra* of *Diocletian* from the 284 year of our Lord, its true, and right, so that it be understood of the received, not of the true *Æra* of Christ: and the same is to be said concerning the years of the following Emperours. But after this, *Carinus* and *Diocletian* fought for the Soveraignty, and *Carinus* after much ado was slain by his own Soldiers for his lasciviousness, which made an end of a bloudy and laborious War.

Olymp. 265. ann. 3. V. C. 1036. A. D. 283.
Orosius. Eutrop. Vopiscus.
Diocletian.

10. *Diocletian* then enjoyed the Dignity alone; but great stirs arising in *Gall*, *Carausius* also who was set to defend the Sea-Coasts from the invasion of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, rather taking part with them than otherwise, he was constrained to create *Cæsar*, *Maximianus Herculeus*. He suppressed the motions in *Gall*, but commanding *Carausius* to be killed, this man put on the Purple, though a man of mean condition, and seized upon *Britain*. *Achilleus* rebelled in *Egypt*, *Africk* was in trouble, and *Narses* King of *Persia* invaded the Eastern parts. *Diocletian* awakened with these dangers, promoted *Maximianus* to be *Augustus*, and they two adopted for *Cæsars* *Maximianus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus*, who married *Theodora* the wive's daughter of *Herculeus*, and by her had six sons, as the other, the daughter of *Diocletian*. *Carausius* valiantly held *Britain* for seven years, and then was slain by *Allectus*, who having kept possession of the Island three years, was overthrown by *Asclepiodorus*. *Constantius* fighting against the *Allemans* in *Gall*, at first was worsted, but afterwards got a great victory, wherein 60000 of them are said to have been slain. *Maximianus Herculeus* reduced *Africk*, *Diocletian* himself besieging *Achillens* in *Alexandria* 8 moneths, at length slew him therein, gave up the Citie to be plundred by the Soldiers, and vexed all *Egypt* with proscriptions and slaughters. *Galerius* was overthrown by the *Persian* King, and fled to *Diocletian*, who received him with great disdain, and made him run in his Purple Robe for some miles before his Chariot. *Galerius* much moved by this disgrace recruited his Army throughout *Illyricum* and *Masia*, and returning against *Narses*, routed his Army, took his Camp, his Wives, Sisters, and Children, many of his Nobles, and great Treasure, wherewith returning into *Mesopotamia* unto *Diocletian*, he was then received most honourably; for he had taken *Ctesiphon*, subdued *Assyria*, and recovered those five Provinces beyond *Tigris*, which revolted from *Trajan*.

Olympius ubi supra cap. 25. Eutrop. lib. 9. Festus Rufus.

11. After this were the *Carpi*, *Bastarnæ*, and *Sarmatians* overthrown, and divers other Nations quieted. *Diocletian* now suffered himself to be called *Lord*, and worshipped as a God. He in the East, and his Collegue in the West, raised against the Christians the most heavy persecution that ever yet had hapned both for length and cruelty. The Soldiers were first begun with, whereof all such as would not sacrifize to Devils were cashiered; but the persecutors proceeded to such cruelty and rage that some were Crucified, others burnt alive, others roasted with slow fiers, and others pulled in pieces by having their limbs made fast to boughs of Trees, which being brought together to their natural position. Some were starved to death, many slain with the sword, and many devoured of wild beasts. Some were flead alive, others beaten to death by hot burning iron rods, and some returned to prison after their torments, there to languish away. Women were hung naked by one foot, and some had their breasts seared: no Sex, no Age, no condition was spared. A terrible Earthquake followed in *Syria*, which destroyed many thousands about *Tyre* and *Sidon*. But in the second year of this persecution *Diocletian* perswaded his Collegue, though unwilling, that they both might resign the Empire to the two *Cæsars*; so that he being seized with a fowl disease after he had almost reigned twenty years, put off the Purple at *Nicomedia*, and *Maximianus Herculius* the same day at *Milain*. The former withdrew to *Salena* into his own Countrey, and the later into *Lucania*.

The tenth Persecution. *Orosius ut supra.* *Eusseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 8. c. 3.* *&c.*

12. The two *Cæsars*, *Maximianus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus* became *Augusti* after the resignation of their fathers in Law, and first of all others parted the Empire between them. To *Constantius* fell *Gall*, *Britain*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Africk*; to the other *Illyricum*, with *Greece*, and *Asia*. *Galerius* created *Cæsars* his sister's two sons, *Galerius Maximinus* and *Severus*. The East he appointed to *Maximinus*, and intended *Italy* for *Severus*, if he could but take it from *Constantius*. For this purpose he kept at *Rome* as an Hostage *Constantine* the son of *Constantius* by *Helena* a *British* woman as some say, which he put away when he married the daughter of *Maximianus*. But *Constantine* made an escape to his father, who died at *York* in *Britain* not long after, on the 25 of *July*, in the third year of his reign, and his Collegue both the sixth time being *Consuls*, in the 1058 year of the City, the 306 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ, the first year of the 271 *Olympiad* ending. His son *Constantine* in *Britain* was now saluted Emperour.

Maximianus Galerius, and *Constantius Chlorus.* *Eutropius l. 10.* *Orosius.* *Constantine.* *ann. 1.* *V. C. 1058.* *A. D. 306.*

13. The *Prætorian* Soldiers at *Rome* named Emperour *Maxentius* the son of *Maximianus Herculius*, who together with *Diocletian* had resigned the Government. Against *Maxentius*, *Galerius* sent *Severus*, who besieging *Rome* was betrayed by his Soldiers, and flying away was killed at *Ravenna*. Now *Maximianus Herculius* out of desire to recover the Empire joyned with *Constantine*, to whom he married *Fausta* his daughter by *Eutropia*; then to obtain his design did he plot against both son and son-in-law, but being frustrated by both, hanged himself at *Massilia*, now *Marseils*, a Citie in *France*. *Maxentius* his son, and *Galerius Maximinus*, otherwise disagreeing joyned in renewing the persecution against the Christians, by *Eusebius* called the *second*, which we understand of his age. But *Galerius Maximianus Augustus* made *Licinius* his Collegue in the Empire in the fifth year after the death of *Constantius*, in which year also *Sapores* the seventh King of *Persia* began his reign. *Galerius Augustus* heightning the persecution of Christians by several cruel edicts, rotted within, and was eaten with vvorms, vvhich crawled out of his belly, so that the Physicians not able to endure the stench of his body vvere put to death. Perceiving the hand of God upon him, in his own and *Constantines* name he recalled his Edicts, and at last miserably died. This vvas the second persecution, vvhich if it be joyned vvith the former, both make up about 8 years. But this rest scarcely continued 6 moneths; for *Maximianus* being dead at *Salona*, *Maximinus* being nothing amended by so sad an example, renevved the persecution. His fury God chastized by putting him to flight before the *Armenians* vvhom he had provoked, as also by pesti-

Zozimus lib. 2. *Orosius.* *Eusseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 8. Capp. 14, 15, 16, 17.* *Idem.* *Aurelius Victor.*

pestilence and famine, wherein by Gods Grace the humanity of Christians was as admirable as formerly their constancy had been. Now the *Roman* Empire was under four Princes, viz. *Constantine* and *Maxentius* sons of Emperours, and *Maximinus* and *Licinius* new raised men.

14. The chief men at *Rome* being wearied with the Tyranny of *Maxentius* sent for *Constantine* against him. *Constantine* in his journey by the benefit of a famous vision tasted of Christianity, being formerly inclined towards it. The truth of the story he confirmed to *Eusebius* by an oath (as that Historian relleth us in the History of his life) and relateth it after this manner: A little past noon he beheld the sign of a Crosse lively figured in the air, with an Inscription in it, containing these words: *In hoc vince. In this overcome.* He said, that both he and his whole Army did wonder at so strange a prodigy. It's further said, that Christ appearing to him in a dream, commanded him to make the figure of the Crosse which he had seen, and to wear it in his Colours in the field. Proceeding against *Maxentius*, he overthrew his forces four times, although four times larger than his own; at the later time *Maxentius* flying amain towards *Rome*, was drowned in the River. *Maximinus* published an Edict against Christians, but was forced to sing a palinode twice, although his flattery was as unprofitable as his threats, for he died of an horrible disease at *Tarsus*. Then did *Constantine* and *Licinius* enjoy the Empire together. The former after his Victory over *Maxentius* was confirmed in the Christian Faith, and owned Christ for the Author of his successe. *Licinius* complied with him for a time in incouraging the Christians; but afterwards plotting against him, he also began a grievous persecution against the People of God, changed the good Laws, and laid heavy impositions on his Subjects. *Constantine* being hereby constrained to make Warre upon him, overthrew him in *Pannonia*, and several times afterwards, for that he had renewed the War both by Land and Sea most perfidiously, and given the title of *Cæsar* to *Martinianus*. At length he forced him to yield his person, and deliver up his Robe by the hand of his wife, which was *Constantine's* sister, given him on purpose to oblige him. He sent him to *Thessalonica*, where he afterwards attempting new matters, he commanded him to be slain.

Eutrop. ubi supra. *Orosius.*

Constantine converted.

Licinius put to death.

15. Thus did *Constantine* obtain the *Monarchy* of the *Roman* Empire, in the nineteenth year of his reign, the fourth of the 275 *Olympiad*, A. V. C. 1077, A. D. 324. Six years after, in the 25 of his reign, he repaired *Byzantium*, and making it larger than ever, caried from *Rome* the greatest part of the ornaments, and of Christian Senators, and calling it after himself *Constantinople*, would have it also named *New Rome*, and to be head of the *Roman* Empire with the same right as the other. He first of all had designed to build a City near *Sardis* in *Asia*, afterwards begun one at *Sigæum* a Promontory of Mount *Ida*, in the Country of *Troas*. The third time the design was begun at *Chalcedon*, where walls were erected; but fowls snatching up and carrying away the cords of the workmen to *Byzantium* a City of *Thrace*, upon it the Emperour pitched. This Town was first built in the third year of the thirtieth *Olympiad*; *Hesychius* saith by a Colony of the *Argives*, *Ammianus* by one of the *Athenians*, *Velleius* saith, it was a Colony of the *Milesians*, and *Marcianus Periegetes* of the *Megarians*, being so named from *Byzas* their Country-man and Captain of the Colony. It stood right over against *Chalcedon* in a far better soil, which made *Apollo* term the founders of the later blind men, because they passed by so excellent a place. It ran through various fortune according to that influence which *Greece* had into it's affaires; as we have from time to time observed upon occasion. *Severus* the Emperour almost destroyed it, but by the Soldiers of *Galienus* it was brought to ruine, and now restored and augmented by *Constantine*.

Constantine obtaineth the Monarchy.

Buildeth Constantinople.

Vide Ludovicum in Augustin. de Civitate Dei. lib. 5. c. 25. *Simsonium in Chron. cathol. ad A. M. 3347.* *Joan. Baptistam Egnatium in Constantino l. 2.* *Rom. Principium.*

16. This Empire being now in it's declining condition, by reason of it's old age (for all sublunary things are subject to the vicissitude of time) and sorely distempered by inward heats, into which want of hereditary Monarchy, and the horrid licentiousnesse of a standing Army had thrown it, as also labouring under so huge a bulk, and so great a plethora as Nature could not well govern,

govern, being forced as it were by *Conſtantine* to change its natural, ſuitable, and native air, by ſo violent an alteration contracted it's mortal infirmity. For as plants being tranſplanted out of their native ſoil, into other regions divers in climate and quality, retain little of their natural virtue; ſo humane affairs, eſpecially Dominions and Empires, by ſuch great mutations loſe their vigour and ſtability, even alſo as we ſee it happeneth to ſeveral ſorts of Animals. For this cauſe the *Senate* would never conſent to the *Commons* to depart from *Rome* to *Veii*, though a place much more pleaſant and commodious, eſpecially after *Rome* was burnt by the *Galls*. All great and ſodain mutations as to the body natural, ſo to the body Politick, are ever dangerous. But this tranſlation of the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*, ſeemeth alſo to have given ſome occaſion to a ſecond error of *Conſtantine*, whereby dividing his Empire into three parts to his ſons, of one great one he made three, with a notable diminution of authority and ſtrength. For his ſons falling out amongſt themſelves, they ſo defeated one another, as the Empire was exhauſted, and enervated amongſt them.

Conſtantine by tranſlating thither the Imperial ſeat occaſioneth the ruine of the Empire.

17. For although it ſometimes a little recovered under one Prince, yet remained it ſo lyable to diviſions, that it ſeldom happened but it was divided into *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, till at length *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* and *Turingi* entering *Italy* with a great Army, caſt *Auguſtulus* into ſuch ſtraights, that out of deſperation he quitted the Weſtern Empire, which happened about the year 476. The *Hunni* ere this had paſſed over *Danubius*, *Alaricus* King of the *Vandals* had taken *Rome*. The *Vandals* firſt ſeized on *Andaluſia*, and afterwards on *Africk*: the *Alani* on *Luſitania* (now *Portugal*) and the *Gothes* on the greater part of *Spain*, the *Angli* on *Britain*, and the *Burgundians* on *Provence*. *Juſtinian* the Emperour by driving the *Vandals* out of *Africk* and the *Goths* out of *Italy*, did a little repair theſe decayes. but the effect thereof continued not long, for about the year 710 the Armies and Hereſie of *Mahomet* began to diſturb the Eaſtern Empire; and in a ſhort time the *Saracens* over-ran *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Africk*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. About the year 735 they alſo ſeized on ſeveral parts of *Gall*. Thus was the Weſtern Empire by little and little torn in pieces and cantonized. At length by a new title it came to *Charls* the Great, in whoſe family it ſcarcely continued 100 years, and then came to be Elective by ſeven Perſons, and ſo continueth rather a reſemblance of an Empire than otherwiſe unto this day. As for the *Eaſtern*, it continued ſo weak, that ſcarcely ſometimes could it defend the *Metropolis* againſt the *Saracens*; much leſſe could it afford any aſſiſtance to the other; and after the *Saracens*, the *Turks* got ground of it by little and little, till having for many years left the Emperours little more than an empry name, at laſt *Conſtantinople* alſo was taken by *Mahomet* the Great. No more at preſent by way of Anticipation, either concerning the decay of the *Roman* Empire, or of thoſe particular Kingdoms, Principalities, and States that were cut out of it, all which are referred to the method of another Volume. But as we ſaid, the diviſion of the Empire took it's original from the tranſlation of the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*, it increaſed by plurality of Princes, and came to perfection in the promotion of *Charls* the Great, after which there was no communion of Government, Laws, Magiſtracy, or Councils, as had been before. Now to our continuation of Eccleſiaſtical matters.

How this came to paſſe.

Biſhops.

18. In the ſecond year of *Decius* was *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome* crowned with Martyrdom on the fourteenth of the *Calends* of *February*. The Sea was vacant for one year, and then was choſen *Cornelius*, whoſe election diſpleaſing ſome, *Novatus* ordained againſt him *Novatianus*. The year following *Cornelius* was Martyred on the eighteenth before the *Calends* of *October*, and *Lucius* ſucceeded him, who ſhortly after was baniſhed. In the ſecond of *Gallienus* was he beheaded, and after a vacancy of 35 dayes, *Stephen* ſucceeded on the ninth of *April* the firſt feria, who interceding for *Baſilides* condemned by the *Spaniards*, they defended their right againſt him, and condemned his uſurpation againſt the *Africans* as appeareth from *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles,

Epiſtles, as alſo that the boldneſſe of the *Roman* Sea was now checked by all the Provinces. After three years *Stephen* was beheaded by the command of *Valerian*, and *Sixtus* ſucceeded him, who being beheaded when *Laurence* the *Deacon* was fried to death by the command of *Valerian*, *Dionyſius* ſucceeded. After him came *Felix*, and then *Eutychianus*, who being martyred in the firſt of *Carus*, after nine dayes *Caius* ſucceeded, *December* 16. *Caius* was crowned with Martyrdom in the twelfth of *Diocletian*, and after eleven dayes *Marcellinus* ſucceeded, who through fear offering incenſe to Idols, when he denied it, was overborn by the teſtimony of a multitude of witneſſes, confeſſed his fault, and afterwards redeemed his credit by ſuffering Martyrdom. *Marcellus* ſucceeded him. After *Marcellus* ſucceeded *Euſebius*, and then *Miltiades*, then *Sylveſter*, who was Biſhop at the time of the Council of *Nice*, in the twentieth year of *Conſtantine*.

19. After *Alexander*, *Mazabanes* was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* untill the reign of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*, after him *Hymeneus* till the time of *Aurelian*. Then followed *Zambdas* and *Hermon*, according to (*a*) *Euſebius*, who writeth, that the Sea of *Jeruſalem* was alwaies honoured, and the ſucceſſion continued unto his own dayes. After *Hermon Macarius* was Biſhop, and was preſent at the Council of *Nice*. In the Church of *Antioch* after *Philetus* ſucceeded *Zebinus*, and then *Babylas*, who died in priſon, in the perſecution under *Decius*. Him followed *Fabius*, him *Demetrianus*, and him *Paulus Samoſatenus* the heretick, who denying the Divinity of the Son of God, was excommunicated, and deprived by the ſecond Synod held againſt him at *Antioch* in the dayes of (*c*) *Aurelianus*. And when he would neither depart the Church, nor avoid the houſe, the Emperour was beſought (the firſt application to the Prince in this nature by the Chriſtians) to interpoſe and command by edict, that ſuch ſhould have the houſe as agreed in doctrine with the followers of the Biſhop of *Rome* and *Italy*. *Domnus* was by the Synod appointed to ſucceed him, after whom followed *Timeus*, *Cyrillus*, *Dorotheus*, *Tyrannus*, *Vitalis*, *Philogonus* a Martyr, and (*d*) *Euſtathius*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. He fell into the Hereſie of *Sabellius*, who being the Scholar of *Noetus*, taught that the three Perſons of the Trinity were but one; but they differed, in that *Sabellius* ſaid not the Father to have ſuffered. He was depoſed by a Council held at *Antioch*. *Euſebius Pamphilius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* confuted him. After his depoſition the Sea was vacant eight years. In the Sea of *Alexandria* after *Heraclas*, *Dionyſius* the Scholar of *Origen* was Biſhop, in the third year of *Philip*. He reporteth in (*e*) *Euſebius* the peril he ſtood in, and the perſecution he ſuffered under *Decius*. He wrote of the *Alexandrian* Martyrs to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*; and to *Novatus* the Heretick, who being a Prieſt of *Rome* fell from his order, and calling his Sect *Cathari*, would not admit unto the Church ſuch as fell after repentance, and he abhorred ſecond mariage. *Dionyſius* alſo wrote to *Hermanion*, to *Steven*, and *Xiſtus* Biſhops of *Rome*, unto *Philemon* a Miniſter of *Rome*, and unto *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*. He confuted the Book of *Nepos* the *Chiliaſt*, and confounded in open diſputation *Coracion* his diſciple. Hitherto this error of the *Millenaries* propagated by *Papias*, had many of the Fathers that adhered to it, who yet held that Chriſt when he came was to do his own work, without any prejudice to Earthly Princes in the mean time. Some obſerve, that *Dionyſius* ſtriking at this error, traduceth the *Apocalypſe*, as alſo defending the diſtinction of Perſons againſt *Sabellius*, ſeemeth to make three Eſſences. Many betook themſelves to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he would reclaim him, and obtained it. After he had governed the Church ſeventeen years he died, and *Maximinus* ſucceeded him, whom followed *Theonas*, and him *Peter*, who was martyred under *Diocletian*. Him ſucceeded *Achillas*, and then came *Alexander*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. Hee by preaching of the Trinity ſomewhat curiouſly, gave occaſion to *Arius* one of his Clergy to fall from the Faith, as * *Socrates* informeth us.

(*a*) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 19.

Socrat. Scholaſt. l. 1. *cap.* 9, 13.

(*c*) *Euſeb. l.* 7. *c.* 29, 30.

(*d*) *Socrat. l.* 1. *c.* 9, 23.

(*e*) *Quem vid. l.* 6, & 7. *paſſim.*

* *L.* 1. *c.* 5.

20. In the fifth year of *Philip* whilſt *Fabianus* was Biſhop of *Rome*, *Do-*

natus

natus the Bishop of *Carthage* died, and *Cyprian* succeeded him by consent of all men except *Felicissimus*, who, whilest the Heathens invaded his patrimony, endeavoured to deprive him of his Bishoprick. *Felicissimus* was ordained Bishop by *Novatus*, who also ordained *Novatianus* against *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*. Yet *Cornelius* favoured *Felicissimus* against *Cyprian*, and would have taken Cognisance of their businesse, whereupon *Cyprian* vehemently rebuketh him, and denies that any one beyond the Sea hath right to passe judgement upon any matters concerning *Africk*. And a little after, the pride of the *Roman* Sea was reprehended by all those of the Provinces, an occasion being given about *Basilides*, who being censured in *Spain*, complained to *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*. *Cyprian* was several times driven into exile. (a) *Eusebius* maketh him to have erred in rebaptizing Hereticks. *Vita & epistole Cypriani.* (a) *Lib.7. c. 3.*

Origen. In the fourth of *Valerian* died *Origen* seventy years old, a man of admirable parts, most austere life, indefatigable industry, and stupendious learning, but of impure Doctrine. *Jerome* sheweth how full of portentous errours his book περὶ ἀρχῶν is. (b) *Augustin* saith, he held the Devil at length should be delivered from Hell, and associated with the holy Angels, and for this, and other things, especially for holding alternate or successive blessednesse and misery for ever, the Church did reject him. *Pamphilus* wrote an Apology for him. But his works are to be read with especial care, and especially his Commentaries upon the Scripture, concerning some of which *Theodore* (c) *Beza* passeth this censure: *Certe hoc ausim dicere, si hæc sunt Origenis cujus titulum præferunt, hunc hominem fuisse selectum Diaboli organum Apostolicæ Doctrinæ evertendæ destinatum*; for he evaporateth the solid and substantial Doctrine of the Gospel, into Allegorical, and aery Notions. (b) *Quem consulede Civitate Dei l.21. c.17.* (c) *In Rom. cap.3. vers.20.*

21. But, God having exercised his people by many a fiery trial, was pleased to preserve the bush unburned, and at length to grant them Peace by *Constantine*, who proved a nursing father to the Church, taking away all penal Laws against them, and enacting new ones, not onely for their preservation, but convenience and comfort. And as he preserved them from external violence; so he also took care for their inward peace. This had been somewhat of late disturbed by the Heresie of *Manes*, from whom his followers were named *Maniches*, who began to publish his impure Doctrine in the first of *Probus*, in the 277 year of the ordinary, or received *Æra* of Christ. This fellow being a *Persian*, said that he was born of a Virgin, that he was both Christ and the holy Ghost, and sent out twelve Disciples to preach his Doctrine, which was made up of many old Heresies heretofore named. But his, and other grosse opinions found not such entertainment as to procure so much disturbance as that of *Arius* did, who having as we said heard *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria* discoursing curiously of the Trinity, and thinking that he maintained the error of *Sabellius*, in opposition to him fell to deny the blessed *Trinity*, and affirmed that the son of God was like unto God in name onely, and not in substance. His Heresie having been condemned in many Synods, *Constantine* in the 20th of his reign A. D. 325, summoned a General Coupcil to meet at *Nice*, where assembled 318 Bishops. In opposition to *Arianism* was framed the *Nicene Creed*, June 19. *Hosius* presided as he had done in the Synodes of *Egypt*, and first subscribed the Canons. Besides the condemnation of *Arius*, the Sanction concerning *Easter* made at *Arles* and in *Palæstine* was confirmed. Moreover, twenty Ecclesiastical Canons were established, than which no good Author mentioneth more. Now were the Temples of Idols overthrown, and Churches Erected, the service of Devils was banished, and the worship of the true God owned and incouraged: now faith and patience triumphed over most tedious and exquisite persecutions, and truth dispelled the Clouds of prejudice and errour. *Euseb.l 9.c.28.*

The Council of *Nice.*

Reli-

Mr. *George Herbert* his Church Militant.

Religion now flourish'd *in* Greece, *where Arts*
Gave her the highest place in all mens hearts.
Learning was pos'd, Philosophy was set.
Sophisters taken in a fishers net.
Plato, *and* Aristotle *were at a losse,*
And wheel'd about again to spell Christs Crosse.
Prayers chased Syllogisms into their den,
And Ergo *was transform'd into* Amen.
Though Greece *took horse as soon as* Egypt *did,*
And Rome *as both, yet* Egypt *faster rid,*
And spent her period, and prefixed time
Before the other. Greece *being past her prime,*
Religion went to Rome, *subduing those,*
Who that they might subdue made all their foes.
The Warriour his dear skars no more resounds,
But seems to yield Christ hath the greater wounds,
Wounds willingly endur'd to work his blisse,
Who by an ambush lost his Paradise.
The great heart stoops, and taketh from the dust
A sad repentance, not the spoils of lust;
Quitting his spear, lest it should pierce again
Him in his members, who for him was slain.
The shepherds hook grew to a Scepter here,
Giving new names, and numbers to the year.
But th' Empire dwelt in Greece, *to comfort them*
Who were cut short in Alexander's *stem.*
In both of these Prowesse and Arts did tame
And tune mens hearts against the Gospel came,
Which using, and not fearing skill in th' one
Or strength in th' other, did erect her Throne.
Many a rent, and strugling th' Empire knew
(*As dying things are wont*) *untill it flew*
At length to Germany, *still Westward bending,*
And there the Churches festival attending:
That as before Empire, and Arts made way,
(*For no lesse Harbingers would serve than they*)
So they might still, and point us out the place
Where first the Church should raise her down-cast face.
Strength levels ground, Art makes a Garden there,
Then showrs Religion, and makes all to bear.
Spain *in the Empire shar'd with* Germany,
But England *in the higher victory*
Giving the Church a Crown to keep her state,
And not go lesse than she had done of late.
Constantines *British line meant this of old,*
And did this mystery wrap up, and fold
Within a sheet of paper, which was rent
From time's great Chronicle and hither sent.
Thus both the Church and Sun together ran
Unto the farthest old Meridian.
How dear to me, O God thy Counsels are!
Who may with thee compare?

F I N I S.

READER, there being many proper names in this work, which the Printers rarely meet with elsewhere, this hath occasioned the more faults in the Impression; yet most of them are corrected by a frequent printing of them aright, especially towards the later end of the Book; most faults being onely the alteration of one letter in a word. Such of these, or others, that are most notable thus correct, and passe by the rest by thy candour.

Page 1. *line* 12. *for* eat it, *read* eat of it, *p.* 2. *marg.* for *Meyerum* r. *Merceyum*, *p.*7. *l.*43. *f. Ivelan.* r. *Jovian*, *p.*11. *l.*22. *f. Amonite* r. *Amorrhite*, *p.*12. *l.*3. *f. Clesiphon.* r. *Ctesiphon*, *p.* 13. *l.*14 *f. Pesen* r. *Resen*, *p.* 21. *l.* 47 *f. Judea* r. *India*, *p.* 24. *marg. f. Asbeu*, r. *Athenæus*, *p.*34. *l.*26. *f. Damascenus.* r. *Damascus*, *p.*39. *marg. f. Deut.* r. *Ovat. p.*78. *marg f. Phicium*, r. *Phocium*, *p.* 82. *l.*57 *f. fenerity* r. *fevenity*, *p.* 86. *l.* 21. *f.* caried r. varied, *p.*88. *l.*21. *f. Agptians* r. *Æginetans*, *p.*91 *l.*20. *f. Generation* r. *veneration*, *p.*94. *l.* 54. *f. Aphutes* r. *Iphicles*, *p.*95. *l.* 32. *f. Ganchoniathon* r. *Sanchoniathon*, *p* 109. *l.*51. *f.* law r. cave, *p.*111. *l.*7. *f.* antient r. after, *p.*116. *l.*1. *f. Greece.* r. *Crete*, *p.*187 *l.*31. *f. Pubaves* r. *Bubares*, *p.*192. *l.*46. *f. Mossa* r. *Atossa*, *p.*199. *l.*18. *f.*161. *r.*16. *p.*213. *f. penult.* r.490. *so. p.*214. *l.* 10. & 17. & 18. *r.*489, & 490. *p.*238. *l.*16. *f. Glos* r. *Glaw*, and *l.*26. *p.*293. *l.*4. *f. Corcyræans* r. *Corinthians*, *p.*297. *l.* 1. *f. Menton* r. *Meton*, *p.*362. *marg. Sordanus* r. *Sovanus*, *p* 364. *l.*34. *f. Dubares* r. *Bubares*, *p.*429. *l.*30. *f. Buleo* r. *Buteo*, *p.*484. *marg. Scribonianus* r. *Tyrbonianus*, *p.*544. *l.*29. *f. Antiochus* r. *Antigonus*, *p.*585. *l.*51. dele self, *p.* 596. *l.*28. *f. Phæucia* r. *Phænicia*, 646 *l* 38. *f.* took r. loose, *p.*743. *l.*21 *f.* a fight, r for flight, *p.* 749. *m.* betwixt *avus & Rex*, r. *Cecima*, ibid. *l* 45. *f.* induced r. indued, ibid. *l.*73 *f. Enemies* r. *Armies*, *f.*760. *m.* Principalities r. Provinces, *p.*792. *l.*16. *Hypotyposeon* r. *Hypotyposton*, *p.* 798 *penult.* r. *Marcellus* r. *Marcellinus*, *p.* 800. *penult. f. Canis* r. *Cangi*, *p.* 830. *l.* 44. *f.* three r. the, *p.*839. *l.*10. *f. Municipi* r *Municipia*, *p.*853. *l.*10. *f. Atrævi* r. *Atrevi*, *p.*857. *l.*10. betwixt *Clemens & Alexandrinus*, add called, *p.*866. *l.*18. *f.* fifth r. first.

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